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EVOLUTION OF AWADHI

(A BRANCH OF HINDI)

BY

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To
Professor R. L. Turner
with
gratitude, affection and devotion
from
his first pupil
of
Indian Linguistics

188
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PREFACE

This work is based upon a Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Allahabad in 1931 and approved by a Board of Examiners comprising of Sir George A. Grierson, Professors R. L. Turner, Jules Bloch, S. K. Chatterji and Dr. A. C. Woolner. It was hoped that the University of Allahabad would publish it but owing to financial stringency the then Vice-Chancellor, in spite of his wishes, could not find funds for it. In the circumstances it was kind of The Indian Press, Ltd., to agree to print and publish it.

The main additions to the thesis are (a) the origin of sounds in Part I, (b) the appendices giving unpublished texts of Early and Modern Awadhi, (c) the index of words, and (d) the map. I hope these will prove useful.

The transliteration alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been adopted for transcribing such modern languages as I know intimately and that of the Royal Asiatic Society for the rest. The current abbreviations found in works of Linguistics have been used in this book also.

It remains for me now to acknowledge my gratitude to those who helped me in the preparation of this work. My revered *guru* Professor R. L. Turner planned this work for me in 1921 at Benares and supervised its completion. I received my first and last lessons in Linguistics at his feet and all that I know of the subject is entirely due to him. I am also deeply beholden to the Professor for his kind permission to dedicate this work to him. Professor S. K. Chatterji did me the favour of looking through the manuscript before it went to the press ;

Rothney
Benares 18/11/- 31-3-51

and he made many useful suggestions. Professor Jules Bloch wrote the encouraging Foreword. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha and Professor P.K. Acharya gave all facilities and encouragement. Dr. Dharendra Varma kindly saw most of the proofs with me and several improvements in the arrangement of matter are due to his suggestions. Professor Amaranatha Jha looked into the proof of the Foreword and Mr. Bhagwat Dayal corrected the first proof of the Introduction. Mr. Lalita Prasad Sukul collected three specimens of Modern Awadhi and Mr. Siddhanath Choubé helped me in the preparation of the statistics of the frequency of pronouns. Mr. Mata Prasad Gupta translated two texts and Mr. Uday Narain Tewari prepared the index. Mr. Shiva Prasad Singh prepared the sketch of the map. To all these kind friends my best thanks are due.

While in London in 1929-30, I received instruction and advice from Professors Daniel Jones and E. W. Scripture and from Mr. A. Lloyd James, Mr. Stephen Jones, Mr. N. B. Jopson and Dr. H. W. Bailey. I am grateful to all these teachers.

This work has been my companion for the last seventeen years; I am not unaware of its deficiencies. However, I dare submit it to the world of linguists only in the hope that it will receive their kindness and indulgence.

śivās te panthānaḥ santu

December 1st, 1937.

B. R. SAKSENA

FOREWORD

It is gratifying to see Linguistic science settle down and prosper once more in India, its birth-place. It is a well-known fact that grammar, which had been cultivated in Europe with a view to fixing the best usage in each language, did not become a science, capable of universal acceptance and application, until India revealed Sanskrit to the world. Not that Sanskrit was in itself a sufficient revelation: Bopp, it is true, traced all the consequences of the relationship, more than once recognised by others before him, between Sanskrit and the Indo-European languages of Europe, and thus constituted the new science of Comparative Grammar. Earlier Rask had already established the relationship between the Germanic languages and Greek, Latin, Lettic and Slavonic.

All the same, it was the revelation of Sanskrit that permitted the immense and rapid progress of historical Linguistics. But in spite of the numerous instructive archaisms of Sanskrit and clear gradation of sounds and the mechanism of forms in that language, how much less benefit should we have derived from this discovery had we not had the wonderful analysis of these facts by the Sanskrit Grammarians themselves, an analysis a knowledge of which was to lay the foundation not only of comparative and historical grammar, but of a science of general and universal validity? See a powerful mind like Volney's when in 1795 it tackles the problem of the "Simplification of Oriental languages" in a treatise (in recognition of which he was elected an honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). He took up the subject again in his book on 'the European alphabet applied to Asiatic languages.' There we witness his painful efforts

to lay the foundation of Phonetics. He discovers that a vowel, as distinguished from a mere glottal sound, is articulated "in and by means of the cavities of the mouth and nose" and that a consonant is "the contact of two or several parts of the mouth, made perceptible to the ear by the muffled sound of its breaking away." What would he have said, if he had been told that two thousand years before his time these problems had already been solved and thoroughly investigated, that for instance, consonants were actually called contacts—*sparśa*? Without calling to mind all the subtleties of the *Prātiśākhya*s, all we need remember is the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, where the sounds are placed according to the degree of aperture and the place and mode of articulation, in order to realize that Indian science supplied the one necessary basis for the constitution of that phonetic science that Volney dreamed of, though with still purely practical purposes. In any case it already provided us with the model of a precise classification, enabling European linguists to understand much better the evolution of languages, which was the object of their first researches.

This is not the place for a survey of this research work, but we can sketch the way in which Europe, after having received Sanskrit grammar as a wonderful present from India, gave her back historical Linguistics in exchange. The first application of the method to Indian languages was the "Essay on Pali" by Burnouf and Lassen (1826) in which the latter specified the circumstances of the transition from Sanskrit to Middle Indian. Strangely enough, a roundabout way had to be taken before we arrived at modern Aryan. According to the testimony of Beames himself, it was the initiative of Bishop Caldwell in connection with Dravidian languages (1856) that suggested to his mind the idea of turning to account his perfect fluency in four different languages and his fair knowledge of three others, to draw up a general survey of them. The study of the Indian branch

of Indo-European languages far-outdistanced as it was, thanks to Grimm, by the researches in the Germanic family, was not then very much behind the study of Keltic, Slavonic and Latin.

Just as with Europe, it was then a general survey that opened the way, the study of particular languages came only afterwards. In this respect Dravidian lost the lead, as Kittel's grammar of Canara was published only in the 20th century. In the Aryan domain, thanks once more to the help of native grammarians, progress was not slow. As early as 1872 Trumpp's Sindhi was published, a descriptive grammar with comparative illustrations; in 1880 Hoernle gave in one book the thorough description of a modern dialect together with its comparative grammar. The method had now taken root in India and was yielding good fruit when applied by Europeans.

But what the Europeans were able to do by adding to their reading knowledge the first-hand practice of native languages, would not the Indians themselves do the same by grafting on their intimate experience of local usage the newly revised method of which the Europeans showed them the use?

The Great Bhandarkar in his fine Wilson Lectures (1877) even before the publication of Beames' volume concerning the Verb, was the first to endeavour to show the development of Indo-Aryan from Vedic down to the present-day languages.

After him perhaps for some time, at any rate, it was not so useful to treat this subject again * as to get a deeper insight into the principal languages. From this point of view the most important Indian contribution is Professor

* Mention should be made here of Professor Bloch's own brilliant work, *l'Indo-Aryen* (Paris, 1934), a landmark in the field of Indian Linguistics. Obviously the Professor's modesty has prevented him from making a reference to it.

Chatterji's "Origin and Development of Bengali Language," a book too well-known for me to characterize it and give it here the praise it deserves.

Here is now Dr. Saksena's contribution. The language he describes is not so illustrious as Bengali or Marathi. Awadhi is but one of the Eastern Hindi dialects; but let not our ignorance blind us to its importance. If we annex Bagheli to it, as Linguistic science bids us to do, Awadhi is the language of a people numbering more than twenty millions and a half. This number is a little less than that of those who use Polish, but definitely more than European Spanish or Dutch; in India it is almost as large as Telugu can boast of, and more than Marathi or Tamil; still all these languages are among the twenty most extensive in the world according to Prof. Tesnière's calculations. Moreover Awadhi glories in a fine literature, though not in the present generation, as Dr. Saksena explains in this treatise. As is well-known the renowned Rāma-charitamānasa of Tulsī Dās was written in an old form of this language. It may be added that this work bears a date, which is extremely important to the philologist; and that some manuscripts are almost contemporary with the work. An earlier record still is the Padmāwat of Muhammad Jāisī, a text which besides its being dated, has the advantage of avoiding Sanskritisms; neither does it excessively Islamise its diction. A language that possesses such masterpieces and that is able to resist victoriously the encroachments of Hindustani in current usage was well worth studying for its own sake.

But it prescribed to the historian a special difficulty which was to prevent him—fortunately to my mind—from following the plan already used by other scholars for Marathi or Bengali.

The documents in Awadhi are not of the same kind in different periods: we have just seen that there is no written Awadhi today. Now, the description of a spoken

language entails special problems and imposes duties of its own.

First of all, the scrupulous precise phonetic notation, which is not quite so necessary when the spelling gives useful hints as regards its previous stages, now becomes indispensable if only to avoid an unconscious imitation of neighbouring literary languages. But this phonetic accuracy demands special training; here again Europe gave the clue, the teachings of grammar having been elucidated there by the results of physiology and acoustics. Here the analysis of sounds was carried out with a precision far superior to the powers of hearing, thanks to the artificial palate, which Oakley Coates had borrowed from the dentists (1871) and to the sound-registering instruments borrowed by Rosapelly (1876) from the physiologists who had more or less adopted them from the 18th-century meteorologists.

To master these methods, Dr. Saksena undertook a visit to Europe and devoted himself to a course of tedious laboratory work. The results of this can be seen in the photographs illustrating this book. This is the first time that the historical treatment of an Indian language has been supported by a description carried out according to the graphic method. It is desirable that particularly in this point Dr. Saksena should find followers, and that the Universities in India might offer facilities to their members for a voyage to Europe to enable them to work on these lines.

The description, specially the graphic description, of an unwritten living language, cannot be made in a general way, the whole study must be based on a particular speech, if not on an individual speaker. Dr. Saksena started from his own dialect, which was the right thing to do. His former study of Lakhimpurī, which he had done under Professor Turner's guidance was already conspicuous by qualities of order and precision and contained important remarks. Later on, thanks to the consent of the Allahabad University, to

whom we should all be grateful for this, he was able to explore the other dialects and prepare the still unpublished monographs which served as a basis for the present work. He thus prepared himself for the use of the geographical method, which is one of the most recent achievements of European Linguistics.

The main originality of Dr. Saksena's work lies in the accurate and complete description of both the ancient and modern stages of Awadhi. The historical explanations have been assigned a subordinate position, and rightly so, as the connection of Awadhi with Indo-Aryan in general renders useless the repetition of theories which have already been propounded in the well-known and authoritative works on the subject. In a few places Dr. Saksena has left a few facts unexplained which, in the present stage of our knowledge, are impossible to be tackled. Dr. Saksena has, in such cases, shown the facts and stated the problems connected with them in a clear light. This in itself constitutes great progress.

Dr. Saksena, in the following pages, gives evidence of a close, varied and comprehensive study of his own language and of promise of studies on parallel lines. It is with great pleasure that I underline the merits and novelty of the great work which Dr. Saksena has produced.

JULES BLOCH

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	i
Foreword	iii
Map	

INTRODUCTION

Section

1. Name of the language	1
2. Linguistic boundaries of Awadhi	2
3. Characteristics of Awadhi	5
4. Origin of Awadhi...	6
5. Importance of Awadhi	9
6. Materials for the study of Awadhi	11
7. Dialects of Awadhi...	19
8. Formation of Awadhi	19
9. Vocabulary of Awadhi	19
10. Orthography of Awadhi	20

Part I

AWADHI PHONETICS

CHAPTER I

INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

11. Sound-system—Early Awadhi	23
12. " " Modern Awadhi	24
13. Mutes—Early Awadhi	26
14—33. Modern Awadhi—Plosives and Affricates— <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>p, b, t, d, t̪, d̪, k, g, ph, bh, th, dh, t̪h, d̪h, kh, g̪h, c, j, ch, j̪h ...</p> </div>	28

Section	Page
34. General Notes on the Plosives ...	32
35—54. Origin of k, kh, g, gʱ, c, ch, ɟ, ɟʱ, t, tʰ, d, dʱ, p, ph, b, bʱ ...	33
55. Nasals—Early Awadhi ...	42
56—62. „ —Modern Awadhi ...	43
63. General Notes on Nasals ...	44
64—66. Origin of Nasals ...	45
67. Early Awadhi semi-vowels ...	47
68. Modern Awadhi j ...	47
69. „ „ w ...	48
70. „ „ r ...	48
71. „ „ ɾ ...	49
72. „ „ rʱ ...	„
73. „ „ ɾʱ ...	„
74. „ „ l ...	„
75. „ „ lʱ ...	„
76. Origin of j (y) and w (v) ...	50
77-78. „ „ r, rʱ ...	„
79. „ ɾ (r) ...	51
80. „ ɾʰ (dʱ) ...	52
81-82. „ l, lʱ ...	52
83. Early Awadhi Sibilants and h ...	53
84—86. Modern Awadhi Sibilants and Aspirate ...	54
87. Origin of s ...	54
88. „ „ h, ʃ ...	56
89. Early Awadhi Simple Vowels ...	57
90—100. Modern Awadhi Simple Vowels ...	58
101-2. General Notes on the Vowels ...	61
103—12. Origin of Vowels ...	63
113—19. Whispered Vowels ...	74
120. Early Awadhi Nasalised Vowels ...	77
121-22. Modern Awadhi Nasalised Vowels ...	77
124-25. Origin of Nasalised Vowels ...	79

CHAPTER II

VOWEL COMBINATIONS

Section			Page
126.	In Early Awadhi ..	...	81
127.	In Modern Awadhi ..	...	82
128.	Origin ..	...	84

CHAPTER III

129—31.	The Syllable	85
---------	-----------------	-----	----

CHAPTER IV

132—35.	The Word	87
---------	-------------	-----	----

CHAPTER V

137-38.	The Accent	91
---------	---------------	-----	----

CHAPTER VI

139—56.	Assimilation	93
---------	-----------------	-----	----

CHAPTER VII

157-58.	The Sentence	99
---------	-----------------	-----	----

CHAPTER VIII

159—61.	The Intonation	101
---------	-------------------	-----	-----

CHAPTER IX

162-64.	Other Characteristics	103
---------	--------------------------	-----	-----

GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

Inscriptions from Kymograph Machine
 Palatograms
 Drawings of the palate
 Charts

Part II

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AWADHI

CHAPTER I

NOUNS

Section	Page
165. Stem in Early Awadhi ...	107
166. „ „ Modern Awadhi ...	108
167—69. Forms of the Stem ...	110
170—74. Gender ...	112
175-76. Number ...	115
177—86. Origin : Stem, Gender and Number ...	115
187—89. Case in Early Awadhi ...	120
190-91. Terminations of Cases in Early Awadhi ...	124
192—96. Cases in Modern Awadhi ...	126
197-98. Terminations of Cases in Modern Awadhi ...	129
199—202. Cases other than Direct and Oblique in Modern Awadhi ...	130
203—15. Origin of Cases ...	132

CHAPTER II

ADJECTIVES

216. General Observations ...	137
217. Gender and Number in Early Awadhi ...	137
218—21. Gender and Number in Modern Awadhi ...	138
222. Stem in Early Awadhi ...	142
223-24. Stem in Modern Awadhi ...	143
225. Degrees of Comparison ...	144
226. Origin ...	145

CHAPTER III

NUMERALS

227-28. Cardinals ...	146
229. Ordinals in Early Awadhi ...	152
230. Ordinals in Modern Awadhi ...	153

Section		Page
231.	Multiplicatives, etc. ...	154
232.	Origin ...	155

CHAPTER IV

PRONOUNS

233.	Introductory ...	157
234.	First Person in Early Awadhi ...	157
235.	First Person in Modern Awadhi ...	162
236.	Origin ...	163
237.	Second Person in Early Awadhi ...	163
238.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	169
239.	Origin ...	170
240.	Third Person in Early Awadhi ...	170
241.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	178
242.	Origin ...	179
243.	Proximate Demonstrative in Early Awadhi ...	181
244.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	184
245.	Origin ...	185
246.	Relative and Correlative in Early Awadhi ...	185
247.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	189
248.	Origin ...	191
249.	Interrogative in Early Awadhi ...	191
250.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	193
251.	Origin ...	194
252.	Reflexive in Early Awadhi ...	195
253.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	198
254.	Origin ...	199
255.	<i>aura</i> in Early Awadhi ...	200
256.	<i>kōi</i> " " ...	201
257.	<i>saba</i> " " ...	203
258.	<i>Aur</i> in Modern Awadhi ...	204
259.	<i>kōir</i> " " ...	204
260.	<i>sab</i> " " ...	205
261.	Origin of Indefinite Pronouns ...	205

Section		Page
262.	Compound Pronouns in Early Awadhi ...	206
263.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	206
264.	Pronominal Adjectives in Early Awadhi ...	207
265.	" " in Modern Awadhi ...	209
266.	Origin ...	210

CHAPTER V

POSTPOSITIONS

267—70.	Introductory ...	212
271.	Accusative-Dative in Early Awadhi ...	215
272—74.	Accusative-Dative in Modern Awadhi ...	216
275.	Genitive in Early Awadhi ...	217
276.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	220
277.	Origin of Accusative-Dative-Genitive ...	221
278.	Instrumental-Ablative in Early Awadhi ...	222
279.	" " in Modern Awadhi... ..	224
280.	Origin ...	224
281.	Locative in Early Awadhi ...	225
282.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	226
283.	Origin ...	227
284.	Other Postpositions—Use ...	227
285.	" in Early Awadhi ...	227
286.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	229
287.	Origin ...	230

CHAPTER VI

VERBS

288-89.	Root ...	232
290.	Auxiliary in Early Awadhi ...	233
291.	" in Modern Awadhi... ..	234
292.	Origin ...	237
293.	Tenses ...	238
294-95.	Participles in Early Awadhi ...	239
296-97.	" in Modern Awadhi ...	247

Section	Page
298—300. Origin	252
301. Present Indicative in Early Awadhi ...	254
302. " " in Modern Awadhi ...	257
303. Origin	258
304. Past Indicative	260
305. Future Indicative in Early Awadhi ...	261
306. " " in Modern Awadhi ...	264
307. Origin	265
308. Imperative in Early Awadhi ...	266
309. " in Modern Awadhi ...	268
310. Origin	268
311. Future Imperative in Early Awadhi ...	269
312. " " in Modern Awadhi ...	269
313. Origin	270
314. Past Conditional in Early Awadhi ...	271
315. " " in Modern Awadhi ...	272
316. Origin	273
317. Present Imperfect Indicative in Early Awadhi	273
318. " " " in Modern Awadhi	274
319. Past Imp. Indicative in Early Awadhi ...	275
320. " " in Modern Awadhi...	275
321. Future Imperfect Indicative	276
322. Imperfect Imperative in Early Awadhi ...	276
323. " " in Modern Awadhi...	276
324. Imperfect Future Imperative	276
325. Present Imperfect Conditional	277
326. Present Perfect Indicative in Early Awadhi	277
327. " " " in Modern Awadhi	277
328. Past Perfect Indicative in Early Awadhi...	278
329. " " " in Modern Awadhi	279
330. Future Perfect Indicative	279
331. Perfect Imperative	279
332. Perfect Future Imperative	280
333. Past Perfect Conditional	280

Section	Page
334. Origin of periphrastic tenses ...	280
335. Absolutive in Early Awadhi ...	280
336. " in Modern Awadhi ...	281
337. Origin ...	282
338. Verbal Noun in Early Awadhi ...	282
339. " in Modern Awadhi ...	283
340. Origin ...	284
341. Noun of Agency in Early Awadhi ...	285
342. " in Modern Awadhi ...	285
343. Origin ...	286
344. Phonetic Rules for Conjugation in Early Awadhi ...	286
345. " " in Modern Awadhi	287
346. Causative in Early Awadhi ...	288
347. " in Modern Awadhi ...	288
348. Origin ...	290
349. Passive in Early Awadhi ...	290
350. " in Modern Awadhi ...	293
351—53. Origin ...	295
354. Compound Verbs in Early Awadhi ...	296
355. " in Modern Awadhi ...	298
356. Origin ...	300

CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS

357. General Observations ...	301
358. Adverbs of Time in Early Awadhi ...	301
359. " in Modern Awadhi ...	301
360. Origin ...	302
361. Adverbs of Place in Early Awadhi ...	303
362. " in Modern Awadhi ...	304
363. Origin ...	305
364. Adverbs of Manner in Early Awadhi ...	306
365. " in Modern Awadhi ...	306

CONTENTS

xvii

Section		Page
366.	Origin	307
367.	Miscellaneous Adverbs in Early Awadhi ...	307
368.	„ „ in Modern Awadhi ...	308
369.	Comparison of Adverbs ...	308
370.	Origin	308

CHAPTER VIII

CONJUNCTIONS

371.	In Early Awadhi	310
372.	In Modern Awadhi	310
373.	Origin	311

CHAPTER IX

EMPHATIC FORMS

Sections		Pages
374.	Two varieties	313
375.	Inclusive Forms in Early Awadhi ...	313
376.	„ „ in Modern Awadhi ...	314
377.	Origin	317
378.	Restrictive Forms in Early Awadhi ...	318
379.	„ „ in Modern Awadhi ...	319
380.	Origin	321
381—84.	Repetition, etc.	322
385.	Origin	324

CHAPTER X

WORD ORDER

386-87.	In Early Awadhi	325
388—98.	In Modern Awadhi	327
399.	Origin	332

APPENDIX I

SPECIMENS OF EARLY AWADHI UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

(With English Translation)

(a) Awadha Bilāsa	...	...	...	338
(b) Prēma Pragāsa	...	...	...	381
(c) Gura Anyāsa	...	...	...	393
(d) Yūsuf Zulēkhā	...	...	...	404

APPENDIX II

MODERN AWADHI TEXTS

(With English Translation)

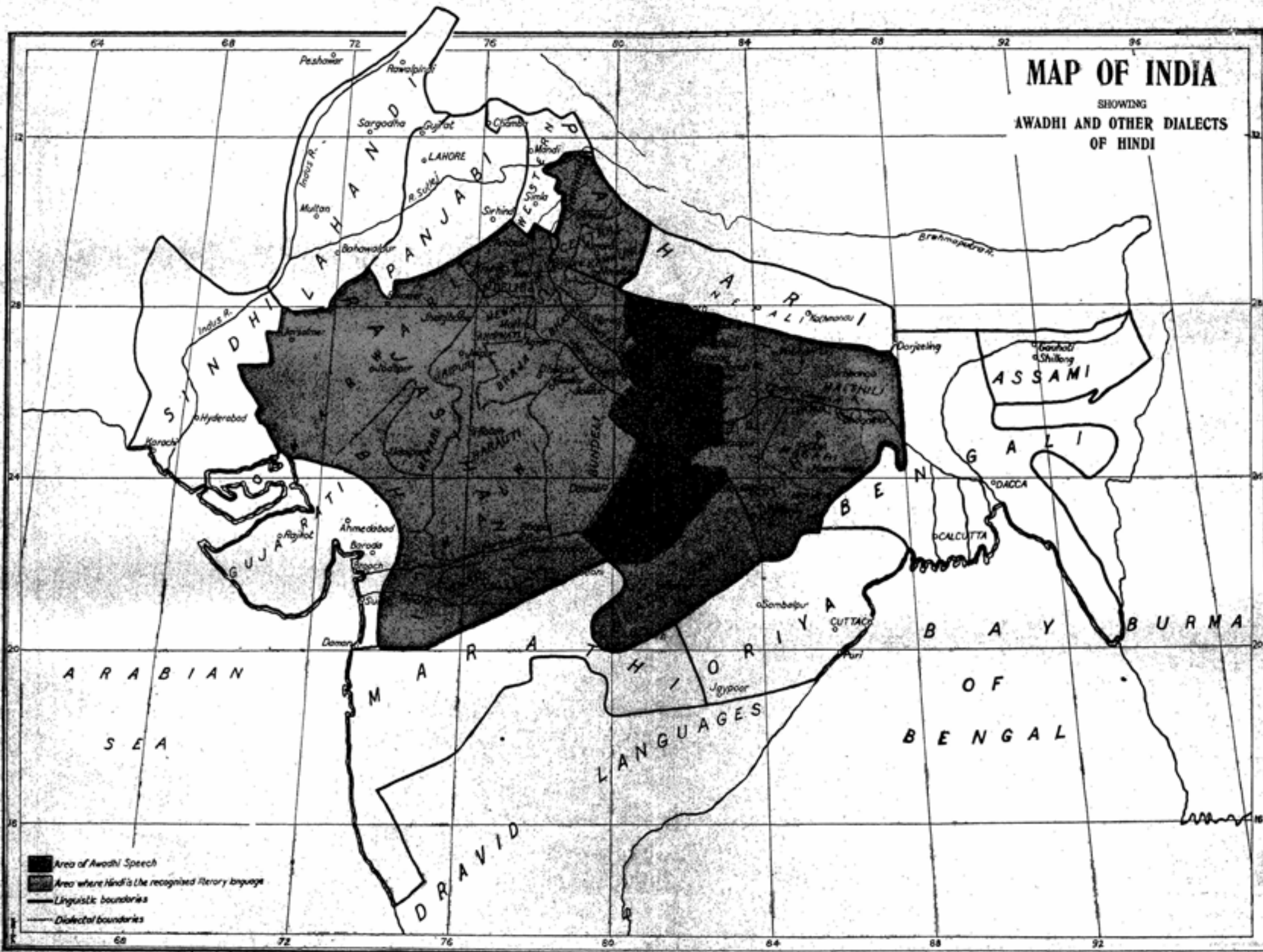
(a) gulgularwariz kathar	...	...	432
(b) chandō	...	...	438
(c) cwarān ki kathar	...	...	442
(d) ṭhakuran ki baṣariduriz	...	...	446
(e) ādṣare ki beimarnir	...	...	450
(f) lārikini ki pati-serwar	...	...	452
(g) gurur kīṣer kō phal	...	...	456
(h) baṣmān au bokarar ker kathar	...	...	458
(i) sijar au sijarin	...	...	462
(j) barbar ki karāmat	...	...	464
(k) kaṣeṣeriz mar bajarn	...	...	468
(l) mukadimar kai harl	...	...	470
(m) bamṣānir kai bajarn	...	...	472
(n) bṣikhariz baṣmān kaj kathar	...	...	474

INDEX

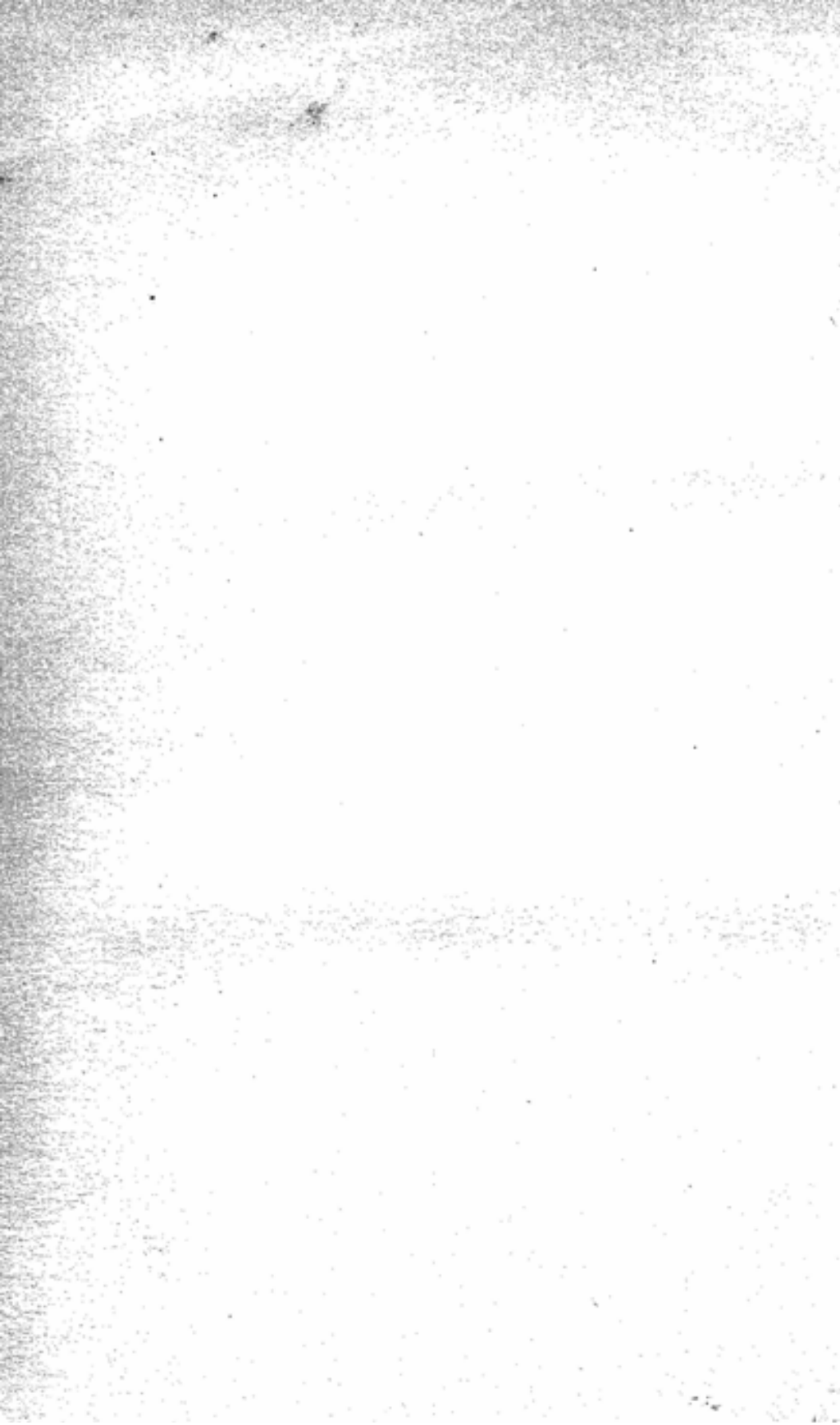
Part (1) of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian and Early Awadhi words	...	...	479
Part (2) of Modern Awadhi and Hindustani words...	...	...	527

MAP OF INDIA

SHOWING
AWADHI AND OTHER DIALECTS
OF HINDI



INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

Name of the Language.

§ 1. Awadhī is the main dialect of the Eastern Hindi branch of the Indo-Aryan group of languages spoken in Northern India. The term Awadhī appears to denote the language of Awadh (Oudh), but, as a matter of fact, the language is not confined to the province of Oudh. It is not spoken in parts of the province (Hardoi district and parts of Kheri and Fyzabad), while it extends to the districts of Fatehpur, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur of the Agra province. But as it is chiefly spoken in Oudh, the name may be accepted, at least in preference to the other two names, *Pūrbī* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 43 and Vol. VI, p. 10) and *Kōsalī* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 9) which have sometimes been employed for it. *Pūrbī* literally means *eastern*, and is sometimes used for Awadhī and at others for Bhōjpurī. It may very well be a suitable name for Eastern Hindi to distinguish it from Western Hindi. *Kōsalī* may be the name of the language of the Kōsala Kingdom which no longer exists and the boundaries of which cannot be fixed with certainty. Another name employed sometimes to denote this language is *Baiswārī* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 9), but it is generally and more appropriately used for a restricted area of Awadhī, that of *Baiswārā*—comprising portions of the Unao, Lucknow, Rae Bareli and Fatehpur districts. *Baiswārā* is notorious for its harshness and so is the language of the area. Inquiries made by me from cultured residents of the area bear out this statement. The main difference from other dialects of Awadhī is phonetic—in the pronunciation of *e* as *ja*, *o* as *wa*, and *ə* as *jaɪ* and *oɪ* as *waɪ*.

The name of Awadh (Oudh) is connected with *Ayōdhyā*, the ancient town, which remained a town of considerable importance during the Mohammedan period as well. Tulsīdās uses the word *Avadha* for *Ayōdhyā* and so does Lāldās Gupta who spells it as *Audha* also.

Linguistic Boundaries of Awadhī.

§ 2. On the West of Awadhī there are two dialects of Western Hindi, *viz.*, Kanaujī and Bundelī, while on its East there is the Bihārī dialect Bhōjpurī. Compared with Awadhī, the distinguishing features of Kanaujī and Bundelī (see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 83, 85, 92) are : (1) the agentive postposition **neṛ** (Awadhī does not have this), and (2) the noun, adjective and past participle (masc. sing.) in **-or, au**, Awadhī **ar**. The distinguishing features of Bhōjpurī (see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 43 and 53) are : (1) the present tense with the enclitic **lar** (*e.g.*, **pariz lar**), (2) the past tense in **-l**, and (3) the dative postposition **lar**. With these distinctive features of its neighbours, we should fix the exact linguistic boundaries of Awadhī chiefly and of Eastern Hindi generally.

On the West, the **-or** forms appear from Gōlā Gōkaran Nāth (Kheri district). If we draw a straight line from Gōlā to Nērī (Sitāpur district), it will correctly divide Kanaujī from Awadhī. From Nērī, the river Gomati forms the south-western boundary of Awadhī right up to the point where it divides the Hardōī district from Lucknow. From there a line may be drawn to the south-west roughly along the boundary line of the districts of Hardōī and Lucknow, and Unao up to the point where the district of Unao ends. From here, the district of Cawnpore belongs to Western Hindi and the districts of Unao, Fatehpur and Allahabad belong to Awadhī.

Of the Tirhārī specimens given in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. VI, pp. 132—156), some, we can say,

go under Bundelī while others under Awadhī. For instance, the Banda specimen on page 133 combines **ner** (agentive post-position of Bundelī) with an Awadhī verb **difis** (**maṛai ner bāṛṭi difis**). The Fatehpur specimen of Tirhārī (p. 138) is, however, pure Awadhī. The Hamīrpur specimen (p. 140) has better reason to be with Bundelī than the Banda specimen, because it has both the characteristics of Western Hindi. A few instances of Awadhī verbs are found in this specimen also. The Gahōrā specimen (p. 150) appears as pure Awadhī, while the Juṛār and Banāpharī specimens are the mixtures of Bundelī and Awadhī (Bāghelī).

Awadhī and Bāghelī.—Linguistically, Bāghelī does not differ from Awadhī. In the *Linguistic Survey* 'Its separate existence has only been recognised in deference to popular prejudice' (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 1). The two characteristic points of difference mentioned in the *Survey* (VI, p. 20), viz., 'the enclitic **tex** or **tai**' and the **fi** form of the 1st person future' are found in other dialects of Awadhī as well. The enclitic **tex** or **tai** is nothing but the contracted form of the auxiliary **hatax**, **hatai**, **hatix** found after the participles. Similar contraction is found not only in other dialects of Awadhī and in Chattisgarhī but in Western Hindi as well. The **-fi** form of the 1st person future is similarly found in other dialects of Awadhī, e.g., in Lakhīmpur, Sitāpur, Lucknow and Bārābankī. Other minor characteristics (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 122) similarly are found in other dialects of Awadhī, e.g., the 'tendency to change a **w** to **b** as in **abaxj** 'a noise' **jabaxb** 'an answer'. There are two points, however, (1) adjectives in a strong form in **fiar**, as in **nikəfiar** 'good' and (2) the honorific imperative in **-ix**, e.g., **dexix**, 'be good enough to give,' which are not generally found in other dialects of Awadhī. The strong adjective in **-fiar** has correspondences sometimes still, e.g., Lmp. **puranifiar** 'old, experienced' and the honorific,

imperative form is a borrowing from the neighbouring dialect of Biharī—Bhōjpurī.

From these facts, it appears best to take Bāghelī only as a dialect of Awadhī and not as a form of Eastern Hindi standing on a par with Awadhī. Gōḍwānī or Maṇḍlāhī (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 158) has more connection with Awadhī than with Bāghelī, as we do not find the main characteristic of Bāghelī (**taī** enclitic) in it. To the East of Gōḍwānī lies Chhattisgarhī, and to the West Bundēlī. Therefore, as expected, we find in it a fusion of both these dialects.

On the south, Awadhī is bounded by Chattisgarhī, another form of Eastern Hindi. This has several characteristics which differentiate it from Awadhī. The definitive enclitic **-har** is used after nouns and pronouns, the plural is made by adding **-man**, the accusative-dative postposition is **lar** (side by side with **kar**) and the instrumental postposition is **lex** (which is commoner than **ser**), the genitive postposition **kez** does not change for number or gender, the enclitic for restrictive emphatic form is **-ca** (Awadhī **-i**). The pronouns also are different and have something in common with Bhōjpurī. In other points Chattisgarhī agrees closely with Awadhī (for details see '*A Grammar of the Chhattisgarhī Dialect of Hindi*' by Hiralal and Grierson published by the C. P. Government—and *Vikāsa*, the official monthly organ of the District Council, Bilāspur, C.P., which occasionally contains articles in the dialect).

On the north, the Awadhī area is bounded by the territory of the Nepal Government. Most of this consists of uninhabited tracts, forests and barren land. Here and there one finds a small village occupied by some aboriginal tribe, e.g., the Thārūs. There are certain market places (*maṇḍīs*) which are occupied by the people from Pilibhit, Kheri, Bahraich and Gonda during the winter season and they carry on a profitable trade with the Nēpālī hillmen who come

down to sell their hill-products, woollen blankets, turmeric, etc., and to purchase the products of the plains, tobacco, ornaments, etc. These markets close down by May and from then up to the beginning of December they are deserted. Thus the Awadhī language does not come in close contact with Nepālī.

On the east, Awadhī is bounded by Bhōjpurī. The boundary of the district of Gonda corresponds with the Eastern boundary of the language itself. Then we move towards the East along the river Ghāghrā right up to Tāpḍā. A straight line from Tāpḍā to Jaunpur and thence to Mirzapur will correctly represent the south-eastern boundary of Awadhī. Pure Awadhī is spoken right up to a few miles to the west of Mirzapur town. From there the boundary of the Allahabad district on the south-east and the boundary-line of the Rewa territory to the east, form the eastern limits of Awadhī. Only in the south-eastern triangle of Mirzapur district (the Sōn-pār tract, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, pp. 130-31), is Awadhī spoken more or less mixed up with Bhōjpurī. Further south to Sōnpārī one finds Awadhī bounded by the Surgujīā dialect of Chhattīsgarhī.

Characteristics of Awadhī.

§ 3. Thus Awadhī stands between Western Hindi and Bihārī. Of the three varieties of the forms of the noun-stem—short, long and longer, Western Hindi has generally the short form, Awadhī both the short and the long while Bihārī has the longer and the long generally. Of the observance of the gender of nouns and adjectives, we find Western Hindi rigorous, Awadhī a little loose while Bihārī mostly does not observe the distinction of gender. The direct case (singular) of consonantal bases in Awadhī ends in -**ṛ**, in Western Hindi this -**ṛ** is absent, particularly in Hindustānī. The direct plural of consonantal bases in some dialects of Awadhī has the termination -**āī**. As regards postpositions, Awadhī is

clearly distinguished from Western Hindi by the absence of the agentive postposition in the former. In this respect it agrees with Bihārī. The accusative-dative postposition in Awadhī is **ka:**, **kə** while in Western Hindi it is **kor**, **kau** and in Bihārī **kez**. The locative postposition in Awadhī is **mar** in Western Hindi and Bihārī generally **mez**. The pronouns show considerable distinction. Awadhī personal genitive adjectives are **torr**, **mo:r**, Western Hindi **terr**, **me:r**; Awadhī oblique of **hamar** is **hamare:** and Western Hindi **hamarrez**. The nominative singular of the relative and interrogative pronouns has the forms **jor**, **kor** in Awadhī, and **jer**, **kez** in Bihārī. Of the verb, the auxiliary in Western Hindi is **h-** (**hai**, etc.) while in Awadhī it is generally **h-** (**hai**), **af-** (**afhai**), **bar-** (**barhai**) in the present and **bar-** (**barhez**) or **arch** (**archez**) in Bihārī. The imperfect participle in Awadhī has lost traces of the ancient case termination (except **-i** in Western Awadhī) while in Hindustānī **-ar** (**jartar**) or **-u** (**jartu**) is generally found. This **-u** may be whispered in actual existence like **-i** in Awadhī. The past tense, based on the imperfect participle, adds affixes in Awadhī while it does not do so in Western Hindi. The best Awadhī characteristic is the affix **-is** or **-is**. The future in Awadhī has vestiges of the ancient simple future as well as of the participle in **-tava**, while in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi we find only the former and in Bihārī only the latter.¹

Origin of Awadhī.

§ 4. To what Prakrit is Awadhī (or Eastern Hindi) connected in origin? To the west of Awadhī are dialects connected with Śaurasēnī and to the east there are Bihārī dialects whose origin is taken back to Māgadhī. It was natural for Grierson, therefore, to connect Eastern Hindi, with

¹ Only Western Bhōjpuri retains some forms derived from the ancient simple future.

Ardhamāgadhī—a language said to lie between Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī. But when we come to take up individual characteristics we find difficulties. Śaurasēnī was distinguished by treating the Sanskrit *-t-* *-th-* as *-d-* *-dh-* in opposition to the Mahārāṣṭrī (*-y-*) zero- and *-h-* and by the Nominative singular of bases as *-ō* while Māgadhī had *-ē*. The retention of explosion in *d* and *dh* might point to the more archaic character of Śaurasēnī as compared with Mahārāṣṭrī. Śaurasēnī had the dental sibilant (*s*) while Māgadhī had the palatal (*ś*). In Śaurasēnī *r* was retained while in Māgadhī it was substituted by *l*. Ardhamāgadhī does not possess the two main characteristics of Māgadhī, viz., *ś* and *l* for Śaurasēnī *s* and *r*. In this it agrees with Śaurasēnī. But it has both *-ē* and *-ō* forms of the Nominative singular. And the texts of Ardhamāgadhī (chiefly Jain canon) amply bear out the double treatment of the base in the Nominative singular *dēvō* or *dēvē*, *sō* or *sē*, *kē*, *jē*)—see *Ardhamāgadhī Reader* by Dr. Banarsi Das Jain.

When we judge Awadhī by the main characteristic of Ardhamāgadhī, we find that the *-ē* treatment of the Nominative singular is traceable only in the imperfect participle in *-ī* in some dialects and also possibly in *-ex* perfect participle when used in the singular. Neither the nouns nor the postpositions except *kez* (direct singular genitive found in the eastern dialects of Awadhī) have any trace of *-ē*. On the other hand, the *-ū* of the direct singular clearly points to the Śaurasēnī *-ō*. The *-ī* and *-ex* in the imperfect and the perfect participles respectively, however, are found in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi as well.

Eastern Hindi has more affinity with Pāli than with Jain Ardhamāgadhī. But Pāli represents a much earlier stage of language than Jain Ardhamāgadhī. The texts in the latter language were recast and edited in the fifth century A.D. We can assume that earlier Ardhamāgadhī was different from the later language in character and that this earlier Ardhamāgadhī was the basis of Awadhī.

When did the characteristics of the various modern dialects become fixed? The earliest specimens of Braj, Awadhī or Maithilī already bear the characteristics. The Maithila Apabhraṃśa (*avahatṭha*), traces of which are found in the language of the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati, has the characteristics of Maithilī already in several respects. No Apabhraṃśa works corresponding to Eastern Hindi are available[see the article on Apabhraṃśa Literature by Hiralal Jain—*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 157—185; *Apabhraṃśa kāvyatrayī*—G.O.S. 1927, *Kīrtilatā*—Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Benares, and *Jasaharacariu*, *Nāyakumāracariu*, *Sāvayadhamma-dōhā* (Karanja, Berar) published since Jain's article which mentions the Apabhraṃśa literature available till then—1925].

In the early Muslim period, portions of the Awadhī area were in the kingdom of Jaunpur. In Akbar's period, the territory was under the Sarkārs of Jaunpur, Allahabad and Oudh. It appears that the Hardoi district was more or less always with Kanauj. The armies regularly used to march from Kanauj to Khairabad in the Sitapur district, which indirectly explains the Kanaujī influences in the southern portions of the Sitapur district.

The characteristics probably belong to the pre-Muslim period, a suggestion put forward by Mr. Dharendra Varma ('Identity of the Present Dialect-areas of Hindustan with the Ancient Janapadas'—*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 189—201).

The area where the Bāghelī dialect of Awadhī and Chattīsgarhī are spoken is merely an extension of Kōsala towards South—the Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. It was particularly known as Goṇḍwānā in the Muslim period and was inhabited by wild tribes. The colonisation from Oudh extends over a long period, some of the families having migrated from the Rae Bareli and Unao districts only in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Importance of Awadhi.

§ 5. According to the *Linguistic Survey* (VI, p. 2) Eastern Hindi is spoken by 24,368,099 people of which 3,755,343 are put down under Chhattisgarhī and the rest 20,612,756, under Awadhī (including Bāghelī).

Awadhī serves an area which has been historically important from ancient times. Here stands Ayōdhyā (also known as Sākēta), the capital of the Kōsala kingdom which was very important up to the Buddhist period. The activities of Buddha were mainly in the Kōsala kingdom and he spent a considerable period of his time in Sāvattthī and the portions round about it. Allahabad is an ancient sacred place and has been politically important during the Gupta, Moghal and British periods. Fyzabad and Lucknow played a very important part during the reign of the later Moghals. The Nawabs of Oudh have been famous for their culture, gaiety and splendour. The Rulers of Rewa have not only been great patrons of learning and art but have themselves been poets and literary men. Tan Sen, the Prince of Indian musicians, was in the court of Mahārāja Ram Chand Singh from where he was taken away by Akbar.

In the literary field Awadhī stands immortalised in the *Rāmacarita-mānasa* of Tulsīdās.

Awadhī today is merely the common language of the people, and is not a literary vehicle. The Hindustānī dialect (whether Hindi or Urdu) is the literary language of the Awadhī area. The uneducated people speak Awadhī amongst themselves and so do the educated people if they are talking amongst Awadhī people. I have found that in the district towns, educated people coming from outside the Awadhī area generally adapt themselves to Awadhī forms and very soon become good Awadhī speakers. In the larger towns, however, such as Lucknow, Allahabad, Fyzabad, where there is a

large admixture of educated people from the non-Awadhī area the vehicle of thought amongst educated people is Hindustānī. In the district towns also, as the official work is all in Hindustānī, the educated classes are familiar with both the Hindustānī and Awadhī forms and speak both according to need. At the homes of Awadhī speakers, however, the practice differs with people. In the district towns, girls married to Awadhī people from outside the Awadhī area, adopt Awadhī and discard their dialects within a year or two. But in the larger towns, with the gradual assertion of woman's individuality in the family, a girl normally speaking Hindustānī retains her speech so that her children, when brought up, speak Hindustānī and not Awadhī which is spoken by only a few members of the family. These are the beginnings of the ousting of the unliterary dialect. Individual Awadhī speakers when outside the Awadhī area have adopted the dialect of the place; for instance, girls of Oudh married to the people of the Kanaujī area have discarded Awadhī and adopted Kanaujī. When families shift, however, they retain their dialect longer in their homes, *e.g.*, an Awadhī family settled in the Mēwārī area retains Awadhī at home. But the children owing to the close contact of Mēwārī speakers very soon adopt Mēwārī habits of speech and it is expected that Awadhī will be ousted from the family after a generation or two.

It should be borne in mind that the various dialects of Hindi, Western or Eastern, are mutually intelligible not only with regard to neighbouring dialects but to others also. A speaker of Braj can make himself intelligible in Oudh even to the uneducated people. If he resides in Oudh he will adopt Awadhī but may retain certain characteristics of his original dialect. And this weakness is condoned, though sometimes it does raise a little joke at the expense of the Braj speaker. The strict purity of the dialect is not ordinarily insisted upon.

Materials for the Study of Awadhī.

§ 6. Awadhī was used as a literary vehicle, side by side with Braj, before they were ousted by Hindustānī in the last century. Braj has still some votaries, but Awadhī has none. It is only occasionally that we find traces of Awadhī in the Hindustānī written by the writers of Oudh. Awadhī forms creep in, particularly in the commentaries written in Hindi (for instance, *Kuṇḍaliyā Rāmāyaṇa Saḥita* by Baijnāth Kurmī of Mānpur, district Bārābankī and published by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1892, or his *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa Saḥita*).

Quite an important literature, though not as extensive as that of Braj, however, exists in Early Awadhī. The *Rāmacarita-mānasa* (popularly known as the *Rāmāyaṇa*) of Tulsīdās, the most important work in any modern Indo-Aryan language, is in Awadhī. It was written in Samvat 1631 (1575 A.D.) and though the plot is mostly a borrowed one, either from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* or from the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* both of which are in Sanskrit, the poetic genius exhibited in the work stands unrivalled in Indian literature. Another important work in Awadhī is the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jāyasī written in Hijrī 947 (1540 A.D.). It is a romantic poem of considerable interest and a philosophical allegory runs throughout. The work is linguistically important as Jāyasī was a Mohammedan, and to all appearances ignorant of Sanskrit, and he has used a language which is devoid of Sanskrit or Arabo-Persian diction. His Awadhī is purer than that of Tulsīdās, though strict purity of dialect is absent and should not be expected. The speakers (or the scribes, at any rate) of the various dialects, Braj, Kanaujī, Awadhī, etc., were mutually intelligible in those days as to-day and there was no rigidly fixed literary form par excellence. The writers, therefore, imperceptibly borrowed from the neighbouring dialects.

Tulsīdās has written in Braj quite as successfully as in Awadhī. Several editions of *Padmāvat* and *Rāmacarita-mānasa* exist. From the linguistic point of view the *Padmāvat* edited by Grierson and Sudhākar Dwivedī is excellent and has been referred to in the following pages. The only other known work of the author *Akharāvaṭa* is also in Awadhī. Of the editions of the *Rāmacarita-mānasa*, the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Benares edition, is the least objectionable and has been utilised for references here. The text of the *Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa* based on the Rājāpur manuscript, said to have been written by the poet himself, edited by Lala Sita Ram, has also been consulted. Of Tulsīdās's numerous other works, *Pārvatī Maṅgala* and *Jānakī Maṅgala* are in good Awadhī.

The other published work is *Indrāvātī* written obviously on the model of *Padmāvat*, by Nūr Muhammad in Hijrī 1157 (1757 A.D.), about two hundred years later than *Padmāvat*. The Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā published about half of the text in 1906. The manuscript was in the Persian character, but only a copy of it in the Kaithī character was available to the Sabhā. The text is, therefore, not very reliable linguistically. The dialect represented is Awadhī of the most eastern area, near about Mirzapur.

Besides the above-mentioned three authors who have been the basis of studies in Early Awadhī and have been extensively drawn upon in the following pages, two important manuscripts described below have been consulted.

(1) *Avadhā-bilāsa*—(described under No. 32 in the Report on the search of Hindi manuscripts for the year 1901) in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (a manuscript of a portion of the book is in Ayōdhyā, see No. 107 of the *Hindi Search Report* for 1914—17). It was begun in Awadhā (Ayōdhyā) by Lāl-dās Gupta in the bright half of the month of Baisākha, in the Samvat year 1700 (A.D. 1643), i.e., about a hundred years

after Jāyasi's work. The author gave up the work on the fifth day of the bright half of Phālgun, the same year. The work, even as it is, is extensive, extending over 301 leaves (602 pages) with 20 to 23 lines on each page. It deals with the life of Rāma and is like the *Rāmacarita-mānasa* in the *ḍōhā* and *caupāī* metres.

It is divided into 18 cantos (*bisrāms*). The first, which ends on leaf 18b, contains a recommendation and an appeal to the readers to study the book, the poet's respect to the deities, his humble attitude and the importance of devotion and good company. The second canto gives a detailed account of Ayōdhyā, the origin of the river Sarayū, an account of the music played in the town and ends (on leaf 55b) with the occupation of Ayōdhyā by Svayambhū Manu with Vasiṣṭha as his priest. The third canto which ends on leaf 77b contains the reasons why Viṣṇu came down to the Earth as Rāma and why the two Gaṇas of Śiva were born as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa. The 4th canto (ending on leaf 127b) describes the terrorism of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, Earth's appeal to Viṣṇu and the latter's promise to come down, the story of Rāhu and the quarrel between Śiva and Pārvatī. The 5th describes in detail the charity of Raghu at Sonakhara Tīratha and ends on leaf 139a. The 6th canto named the Entrance of the King (Daśaratha) in Prayāga and his meeting with Lōmapāda ends on leaf 154b. The 7th describes the meeting of the king with R̥ṣyaśṛṅga (ending on leaf 167b) and the 8th brings the youthful sage down to Ayōdhyā (ending on leaf 199a). The 9th is named *Garbhaprakāśa* (ending on leaf 209b) and describes the sacrifice for the sons and the subsequent conception. In the 10th (ending on leaf 226 a) the princes are born and in the 11th (ending on leaf 240a) the festivities and rejoicings in connection with the birth are elaborately described. The 12th canto in the first half describes the childhood of Rāma and in the second

it describes the birth of Sītā. It ends on leaf 254b. The 13th ends on leaf 263a and describes the boyhood of Rāma who is represented as having read the various grammars (Śākā-tāyana's, etc.) and Kāvya's (Raghu, Kumāra, Mēghadūta, Naiṣadha, Māgha, Kirāta). This is only one of the many instances of absurd anachronisms. The 14th canto (ending on leaf 265b) describes the all-pervading might of God who has innumerable assistants in the shape of officers, writers and *faujdārs*. Here occurs a mistake in numbering the cantos. The next canto (15th) numbered as 16th ends on leaf 278b and gives a description of Rāma's pilgrimage to holy places and his instructive discussions with the saints. The writer has tried to give a summary of discourses on philosophical topics in this canto. The 16th (numbered 17th) canto ends on leaf 288b and describes the longing of Sītā for Rāma, Viśvāmitra's arrival in Ayōdhyā and his request to the king for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and the story up to the breaking of Śiva's bow in Mithilā. The 17th (numbered 18th) canto (ending on leaf 296b) contains a description of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā and a detailed account of the dowry given by Janaka. The last canto the 18th (wrongly numbered the 19th) describes the happy residence of Daśaratha in Ayōdhyā with his sons and daughters-in-law, a few stories of ideal charity, the giving of boons to Kaikēyī and the departure of Rāma for the forest. After the colophon to the canto in a couplet the writer possibly describes his own departure from Ayōdhyā on the fifth day of the bright half of Phāgun.

From the literary point of view the work is of little value. But it has importance linguistically and as a work which gives details of the every-day life of the poet's time. The character is Dēvanāgarī mixed with Kaithī. The appearance of the manuscript is old, and, as there is no mention of the copyist, the probability is that it is the author's own copy. The orthography is striking. ॠ represents

j and ञ b, and only a dot below them is added to represent y and v, respectively. ञ regularly represents kh, च ch, स s, ञ ḍh, ऐ e or y. The nasalisation has been mostly left unnoted. The mātrā for the long vowel very often represents a short vowel, *grabhaḥi* represents *garbhahī*, *achara* represents *acchāra*. There are many instances of wrong Sanskritisation, e. g., *jakta* for *jagata*. The grammar generally agrees with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsidās.

(2) *Yūsuf-Zulēkhā*.—The manuscript is in the Persian *nas-tāliq* script, pp. 346 with 13 to 15 lines per page, size 7.5" × 4.5". The last leaf and the first three leaves are slightly mutilated, otherwise the manuscript is in good condition. It was in the possession of Hafiz Samiullah Khan Tarin, B.A., LL.B., of Gangyo, district Sultanpur, and has been purchased by the Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad, which is proposing to publish it.¹ The work was written by Shēkh Nisār of Shēkhūpūr, in Hijrī 1200, V.S. 1847, Śaka 1712 or 1790 of the Christian era, as mentioned in the introductory verses. The work gives the well-known story of Yūsuf and Zulēkhā on the model of *Padmāvat* both in subject-matter and in language. It is a fine specimen of the Awadhī language of the last part of the 18th century.

Besides the above, the following manuscripts mentioned in the Reports on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts appear to be in Awadhī:

(a) Report for the year 1900.

No. 4. *Mṛgāvatī*—a romantic poem, a precursor of *Padmāvat*, written in Hijrī 909 (1512 A.D.) by Qutban in the reign of Sher Shah's father Husein Shah. This is possibly the earliest available work in Awadhī.

(b) Report for the year 1901.

No. 13. *Baitāla Pacisī* written by one Bhawānī Shankar who lived at Bhadaini in Benares. The date of composition is V. S. 1871 (1814 A.D.).

¹ Since the above was written, a notice of the manuscript has appeared in the "Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā," Vol. XI, pp. 445—467.

No. 12. *Shrī Rāmāyaṇa* by Jhāma Dāsa written at Vindhācala, Mirzapur, in V. S. 1818 (1761 A.D.).

(c) Report for the year 1902.

No. 110. *Bhakta Saktā kā jhagaṛā*, composed in Hijrī 1053 during the reign of Jehangir—Awadhī mixed with Kanaujī.

No. 111. *Hamṣa Jawāhira*, composed in Hijrī 1149, V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.) by Qāsim Shāh of Dariyabad (Oudh)—pure Awadhī.

No. 112. *Gyāna Dīpa*—by Shēikh Nabī of Jaunpur, composed in 1024 A.H. (1619 A.D.)—pure Awadhī.

(d) Report for the year 1904.

No. 7. *Rājā Citramukha kī Kathā*—no information about the author or the date of composition is available from the manuscript—Awadhī mixed with Western Hindi (post-positions *nē* and *kara*).

No. 19. *Kathā cāra Darvēśa* by Bhūpa Narayana composed in V. S. 1841 (1797 A.D.)—pure Awadhī. The other two books of the author, No. 29 (a) and (b) (Report, 1909-11) are not in Awadhī.

No. 32. *Citrāvalī* by Usmān, composed in 1613 A.D. on the model of *Padmāvat*—pure Awadhī.

(e) Report for the years 1909-11.

No. 26. *Baitāla Pacīsī* by Bhawānī Sahāya, date of composition not mentioned, date of manuscript 1839 V. S., mixed Awadhī.

No. 49. *Kṛṣṇacaritāmṛta* by Kṣemakaṛaṇa Miśra of Barabanki district (born in 1771 and died in 1861 V. S.—date of composition not known)—pure Awadhī.

No. 78. *Śabdāvalī* by Dūlanadāsa, about 1760 A.D.

No. 85. *Sumanaghana* (a translation of Gulistān by Gaṅgā Dāsa, written in V.S. 1879).

No. 221. *Upākhyāna Vivēka* by Pahalawāna Dāsa, composed in V.S. 1865. Another manuscript is No. 131 of the Report for 1917-19.

No. 273. *Rasa Ratnāgara* by Saīd Pahāra, date not known.

No. 296. *Bhakti Jayamāla* by Śiva Rāma, written in V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.).

No. 318. *Śabdāvalī* by Tōwara Dāsa, written in V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.).

(f) Report for the years 1912-14.

No. 17. *Hari Canda Kathā* by Bēnī Baksa of district Sitapur, written in V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.)—pure Awadhī.

No. 88. *Bacanāvalī* by Yugalānanda Sharaṇa of Ayōdhyā "born about V.S. (1863—1807 A.D.)"—a prose work in Awadhī mixed with Hindustānī (*rākhatē haṭ, mānanā, hōyagā*, etc.).

No. 160. *Bhāgavata*, by Sabala Simha (born about 1645 A.D.).

Nos. 162 and 163. *Prahalāda carita* and *Raghubansa Dipaka*, by Sahaja Rāma who "flourished about 1732 A.D."

No. 191. *Saguna Vilāsa*, by Udaya Nātha, written in V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.).

(g) Report for the years 1917-19.

No. 13. *Daṅgawa Parva* by Balabīra, composed in V.S. 1608 (1552 A.D.).

No. 36. *Hitōpadēśa* by Canda, composed in V.S. 1563 (1506 A.D.). Another manuscript is No. 28 of the Report for 1920—22.

No. 48. *Mahābhārata Sabhā Parva*, etc., by Dharma Dāsa, written in V.S. 1711 (1656 A.D.). Another manuscript is No. 41 of the Report for 1920—22.

No. 84 (b). *Sīya-Rāma-rasa mañjarī*, by Jānakī Carāṇa written in V.S. 1881 (1824 A.D.).

No. 187 (b). *Ekādasī Māhātmya*, by Sūraja Dāsa, written in V.S. 1923 (1866 A.D.).

(h) Report for the years 1920—22.

No. 118. *Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha Bhāṣhā* by Navala Dāsa, written in V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.).

No. 185. *Kaṇṇa Parva*, by Śrīpati of Maūnagara, written in V.S. 1719 (1662 A.D.).

In the catalogue of Hindi manuscripts in the British Museum a book (No. 25 *Līlāvātī*) is mentioned as being in the Baiswērī dialect. I had an opportunity of examining the manuscript while I stayed in London and found it to be in Rājasthānī. Of the manuscripts of Hindi in the India Office Library I did not find any in Awadhī (except *Rāma-carita-mānasa* and *Padmāvat*).

It may be pointed out here that the study of Early Awadhī is beset with difficulties. The text of the works has not yet been critically established. It is difficult to find out how far the *tatsama* words found in the texts were correctly pronounced. Or possibly they might represent merely a difference in writing but not in speech. For instance was ए pronounced or was it another symbol for ए? That ए was normally pronounced ए is clear from the fact that it replaces ए in the manuscripts at many places. The accuracy of the forms also is not authenticated. We sometimes find that the forms of other dialects creep into works in Awadhī, e.g., the -ga (Hindustānī) future in the Rāmāyaṇa. These might be due to the carelessness of the scribes or might belong to the authors themselves. As remarked above, the various dialects of Hindi were not mutually unintelligible.

For Awadhī as spoken to-day, the only available material is that contained in the volume on Eastern Hindi of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. On investigation it was found to be fairly correct. This has been amply supplemented by me with folk-tales and songs collected from the Awadhī area. Sometimes in the Hindi dramas of modern days, Awadhī is uttered by the minor illiterate characters, for instance, in the farces written by G. P. Srivastava (Gonda) and in the *Nētrōnmīlan Nātak* by the Misra Brothers (Sitapur and Lucknow). The late Pt. Shridhar Pathak also employed Awadhī occasionally in his poems.

Dialects of Awadhi.

§ 7. Of the main Awadhī area, the dialects can be divided into three divisions—Western, Central and Eastern. The dialects of Kheri (Lakhimpur), Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao and Fatehpur are Western, those of Bahraich, Barabanki and Rae Bareilly are Central while those of Gonda, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur are Eastern. This division is based on the commonness of certain linguistic traits detailed in the grammar given hereafter.

Formation of Awadhi.

§ 8. In the following pages sounds and grammar of Awadhī, Early and Modern, have been studied in detail. As regards sounds of Modern Awadhī, I have examined my own dialect,¹ Lakhimpurī, very minutely and have verified the results by experimental phonetics wherever this was practicable. Information about other dialects is based on personal observation of the actual speech of the people. I got tales and songs from the villagers by going to the villages myself and tried to keep them away from the influence of Hindustānī as far as possible. The grammars of the dialects are based on the material thus gathered and have been supplemented by certain data taken from the literate and habitual speakers of Awadhī of the various tracts.

Vocabulary of Awadhi.

§ 9. The vocabulary does not require any special remarks. It is predominantly Aryan, but here and there there

¹ I was born in the Lakhimpurī area and habitually spoke Lakhimpurī until I had to leave Lakhimpur (at the age of 17 years) for University education. I, however, spent my vacations at my native place. I have been regularly speaking Hindustānī now, except at my home where even now Awadhī is spoken. The inscriptions and palatograms appended here all specimens of my speech—taken in London. For want of proper facilities in India, it was not possible to verify the results arrived at by me through experiment, by testing the speech of other speakers of Awadhī.

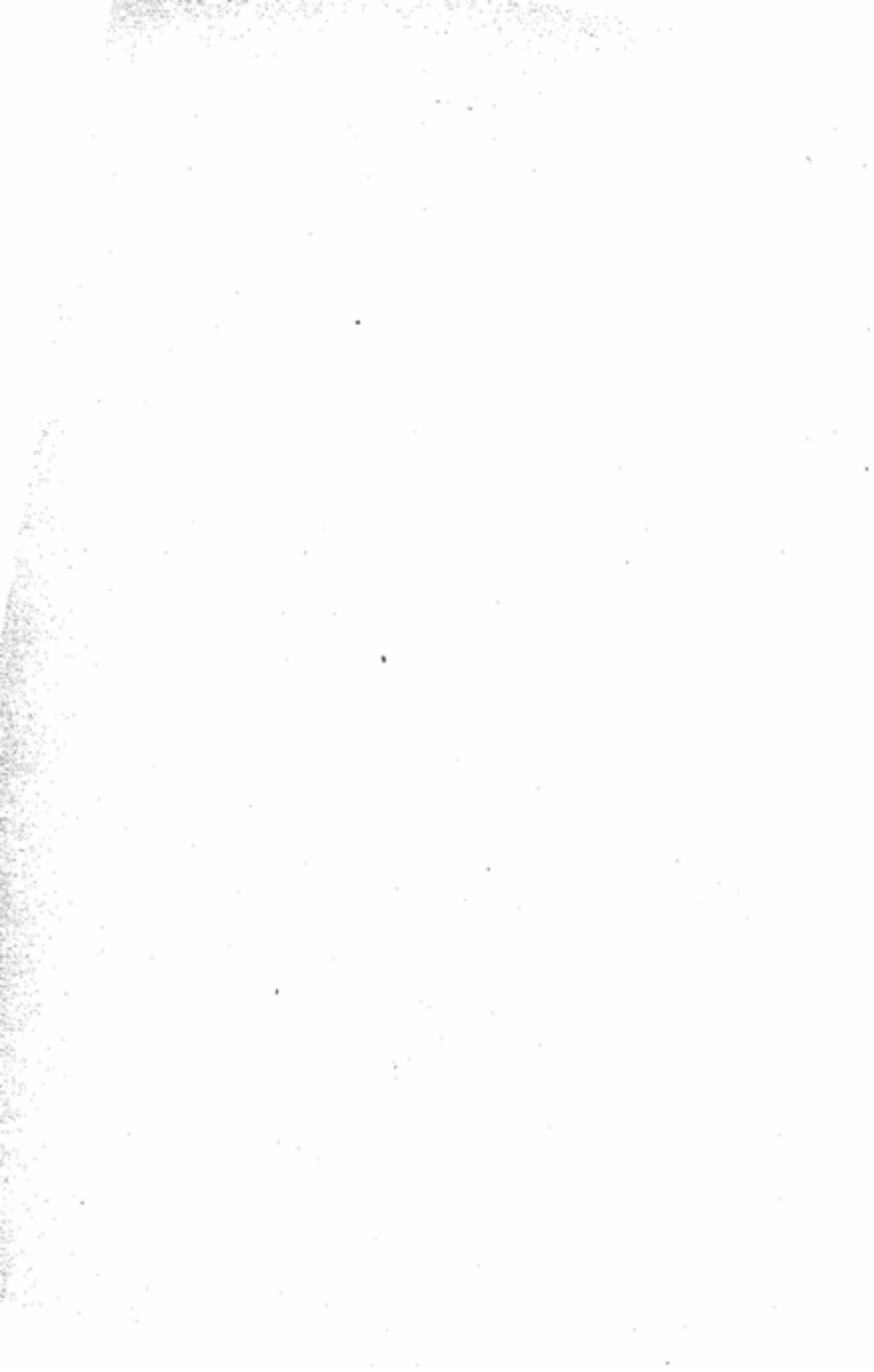
is a sprinkling of words of the non-Aryan substratum and of foreign origin. It is only in vocabulary that the speech of one class differs from that of another. The Brahmins are fond of Sanskrit words while the Kayasthas, due to their closer association with the Muslim administration, have a larger percentage of words of Persian origin in their speech than other classes of Hindus. The Banias pick up the words of their special trade from the towns and the agricultural classes employ their own words for expressing the concepts of their occupation. The percentage of special words, however, is so small that it is almost negligible and all understand one another without the slightest difficulty.

The speech of women does not differ from that of men in essentials. Women, however, are more emotional in expression. They avoid words expressing reprehensible ideas. Indian women (particularly Hindu women) never utter the names of their husbands and also generally avoid uttering the names of their eldest sons. In quarrels where men would generally come to blows, women satisfy themselves by showering abuse and curses. Their vocabulary of abuse is thus more copious.

Orthography of Awadhi.

§ 10. Awadhī is reduced to-day to writing only for short messages from one village to another. The script is Kaithī in such cases. The Banias write their accounts in *Hunḍīwālī* (also known as *Muṛiyā*). These are merely convenient forms of the *Dēvanāgarī* script. The educated classes generally use either the Persian or the *Dēvanāgarī* script.

PART I
AWADHI PHONETICS



CHAPTER I

INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

Sound-system

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 11. The texts reveal the following sounds:

(a) Consonants

(i) mutes

<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>

(ii) nasals

<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ṅh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>mḥ</i>
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(iii) semi-vowels*

<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ṛh</i>
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(iv) sibilants

[<i>ś</i>]	[<i>ṣ</i>]	<i>s</i>
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(v) aspirate

<i>h</i>	[<i>ḥ</i>]
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(b) Vowels

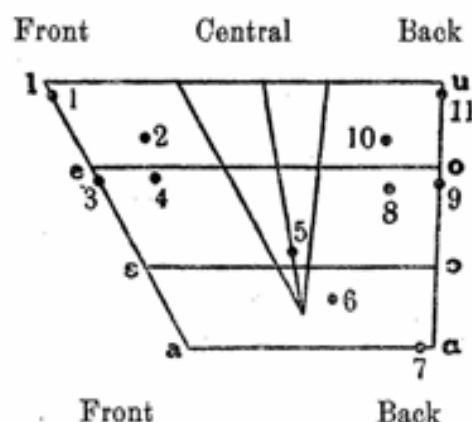
<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>*o</i>	<i>ō</i>	[<i>ṛ</i>]
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NOTE—The letters given in brackets are found in the texts though rarely. As shown below they are merely orthographic symbols to represent other sounds (*s*, *kh*, *h* and *ṛi*). The sounds with asterisks are represented in writing by symbols next to them.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 12.	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	(PALATAL) RETROFLEX	VELAR	GLOTTAL
1. Plosives ...	p b	t d			t̪ d̪	k g	
„ Aspirates	ph bʱ	th dʱ			t̪ʰ d̪ʱ	kh gʱ	
2. Affricates ...				c ɟ			
„ Aspirates				ch ɟʱ			
3. Nasals ...	m		n	(p)	(ŋ)	(ŋ)	
„ Aspirates	mʱ	nʱ					
4. Lateral ...				l			
„ Aspirate				lʱ			
5. Rolled ...			r				
„ Aspirate			rʱ				
6. Flapped ...					ɾ		
„ Aspirate					ɾʱ		
7. Fricative ...			s				h ɦ
8. Semi-vowels ...	w		j				

9. Vowels



The position of Awadhi vowels is shown by dots in the above chart.

1. *ix, ɪr*
2. *i, ɪ, j*
3. *ex, ẽr*
4. *e, ẽ, e*
5. *o*
6. *Λ, ̃*
7. *ar*
8. *o, ̃*
9. *or, ̃r*
10. *u, ũ, ɸ*
11. *ur, ũr*

NOTE.—(1) In the following pages a complete description of sounds of modern Awadhi has been given. This has been verified and attested by experiments wherever it was possible. In the case of Early Awadhi it has not been possible to describe the sounds in detail on account of the absence of evidence. The presumption, however, is that the pronunciation in the early stage also was much the same as in modern Awadhi.

(2) As observed by Dr. Bloch (*Langue Marathe* § 28) 'it is by the grammatical forms chiefly that the Indo-Aryan languages, situated to the east of the Indus, are distinguished from one another. The phonetic system in them is, on the other hand,

perceptibly identical . . . ' Detailed phonology of Indo-Aryan has already been discussed by Grierson (BSOS., Vol. I, Part III, 1920), Bloch (*Langue Marathe*—Phonétique), Turner (*Gujarātī Phonology*, JRAS., 1921-22) and Chatterji (*Origin and Development of Bengali*, Vol. I). I have, therefore, confined myself particularly to Awadhi.

Plosives and Affricates

A. EARLY AWADHI

MUTES

§ 13. The Mutes occur initially and medially. For instance

k *kēli* 'play' (J. 49), *ākusa* 'goad' (J. 39), *kai* 'of' (T. 164), *ākā* 'coronation' (T. 159), *kāara* 'prince' (N. 9), *kanaka* 'gold' (N. 14), *keu* 'some one' (Lāl), *dhanuka* 'bow' (Lāl), *kamāva* 'earned' (Nisār), *akāratha* 'useless' (Nisār).

kh *khāi* 'having eaten' (J. 121), *likhī* 'written' (J. 121), *khēlata* 'playing' (T. 377), *nirakhata* 'seeing' (T. 374), *khīcahai* 'will drag' (N. 21), *bakhānū* 'description' (N. 21) *khaṇḍa* 'part' (Lāl), *ukhārī* 'uprooted' (Lāl), *khārī* 'standing' (Nisār), *dēkhi* 'having seen' (Nisār).

NOTE.—In Lāldās the symbol for § all through represents *kh*; similarly in Tulsīdās also.

g *gāṭhi* 'knot' (J. 120) *mārāga* 'path' (J. 120), *garajai* 'thunders' (T. 375), *māga* 'path' (T. 375), *gosāī* 'master' (N. 21), *jōgī* 'yogin' (N. 21), *gunavārē* 'meritorious' (Lāl), *jagya* 'sacrifice' (Lāl), *garaba* 'pride' (Nisār), *agyā* 'order' (Nisār).

NOTE.—In Nisār the symbol for *k* represents both *k* and *g*.

gh *ghāli* 'having put' (J. 124), *siṅghala* 'Ceylon' (J. 120), *ghamaṇḍa* 'pride' (T. 375) *nāghehu* 'crossed' (T. 386), *gharī* 'hour' (N. 15), *sugharāhi* 'look pretty' (N. 12), *aghōrahi* 'Aghōra'

(Lāl.), *saṁghārē* 'slaughtered' (Lāl.), *ghāli* 'having put' (Nisār), *paraghaṭ* 'plainly' (Nisār).

c *caleū* 'started' (J. 121), *bica* 'middle' (J. 122).

ch *chapāia* 'should not be concealed' (J. 123), *āchai* 'is' (J. 123).

j *jō* 'who' (J. 123), *banija* 'merchant' (J. 127).

jh *jhākā* 'peeped' (J. 61), *samujhi* 'having realised' (T. 383).

t *tūṭa* 'broke' (T. 116), *chōṭi* 'small' (J. 140).

ṭh *ṭhakurasohāṭi* 'pleasing to the master' (T. 163), *jhūṭhi* 'false' (T. 163).

ḍ *ḍagai* 'moves' (T. 108), *bhāḍārī* 'storekeeper' (J. 109).

ḍh *ḍhōla* 'drum' (T. 366), *paḍhī* 'well-read' (J. 83).

NOTE.—Intervocally *ḍ* and *ḍh* are found only after a nasal (*ṇ*) or after nasalisation, otherwise they become *r* and *rḥ* respectively. The manuscripts generally have *ḍ* and *ḍh* (for *r* and *rḥ* also) but the printed books differ. Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, for instance, keeps *ḍ* and *ḍh* throughout in the edition of the Bengal Asiatic Society while the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulsidās gives *ḍ*, *ḍh* and *r*, *rḥ* distinctly in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā edition. *Indrāvati* of Nūr Muhammad has promiscuously both the symbols¹.

r, *rḥ* *bara* 'big' (T. 107), *barhai* 'increases' (T. 103), *chāraṭ* 'I leave' (N. 20), *kārhai* 'pulls' (N. 17), but *kāḍhai* in the next line.

t *tumhārē* 'yours' (T. 102), *naḥhata* 'stars' (T. 103).

th *thira* 'steady' (J. 70), *māthai* 'on the head' (J. 72).

d *dēkha* 'having seen' (J. 72), *ḍḍara* 'stomach' (J. 78).

dh *dhani* 'blessed' (J. 80), *gandha* 'smell' (J. 79).

p *pūri* 'complete' (J. 79), *dipā* 'shone' (J. 81).

ph *phōrai* 'to be broken' (T. 163), *hariphāreuri* 'a variety of fruit' (J. 420).

¹ *r* and *rḥ* have been dealt with here, therefore, and not under semi-vowels.

- b* *bairi* 'enemy' (J. 249), *jābā* 'shall go' (J. 249).
bh *bhūlaū* 'forget' (J. 249), *ūbhi* 'having got bored' (J. 160).

B. MODERN AWADHI

p

§ 14. The sound **p** is a breathed bi-labial unaspirated plosive. In a word it can occur initially as in **pain** 'sharp', **paxar** 'leaf', medially as in **pizpar** 'a kind of tree', **upar** 'above' or finally as in **saxap** 'curse', **narp** 'measure'.

b

§ 15. The sound **b** is a voiced bilabial unaspirated plosive. It is fully voiced, inasmuch as the voice begins earlier than the explosion, and thus slightly differs in shade from English **b**. In a word it can occur initially as in **barp** 'father', **biṭijar** 'daughter', medially as in **kabisar** 'yellow clay,' and finally as in **jarib** 'shall go'.

NOTE.—Final **b** is generally unexploded and devoiced (See Ins. I)

t

§ 16. The sound **t** is a breathed dental unaspirated plosive. The passage of breath is closed by making the tip of the tongue touch the points of both the upper and lower teeth (see Pal. 2). In a word it can occur initially as in **tinṇi** 'three', **turāt** 'at once', medially as in **paturijar** 'harlot', **kutawar** 'dog', or finally as in **sart** 'seven', **parart** 'a big dish'.

d

§ 17. The sound **d** is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. The closure is made just as to pronounce **t** but the vocal cords vibrate all the time until the explosion. In a word it can occur initially as in **diṣiṣi** 'he gave', **dulāṣar**

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the examples given in the following pages have been taken from the Lakhimpurī dialect.

'bride-groom', medially as in **kuzdab** 'to jump', **bardarq** 'cloud' or finally as in **tōrd** 'protruding belly,' **gērd** 'ball'.

t

§ 18. The sound **t** is a breathed unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made by the touch of the back of the tip of the tongue at the smooth surface of the hard palate right above the rough back of the teeth-ridge (see Pal. 3). In a word, it can occur initially as in **tēru** 'habit,' **tātuar** 'pony,' medially as in **khātijar** 'bedstead,' **lotijar** 'water-jug' or finally as in **bfiart** 'bard,' **bfiērt** 'present'.

d

§ 19. The sound **d** is a voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made just as in **t** but the voice is heard all along until the explosion. It can occur initially in a word as in **deurfier** 'one and a half time,' **debijar**, 'casket,' or medially and finally when preceded by its nasal as in **kaṇḍar** 'cow-dung cakes,' **maṇḍir** 'grain-market,' **laṇḍ** 'penis', **thaṇḍ** 'cold'.

k

§ 20. The sound **k** is a breathed unaspirated velar plosive. The back of the tongue rises up towards the soft palate almost at the point where it meets the hard palate and makes the closure there ordinarily. When a front vowel follows it, however, the closure is made further forward on the hard palate particularly on the sides (see Pal. 4 and 5). In a word, it can occur initially as in **kapəzar** 'cloth,' **kinarir** 'border,' medially as in **pələkar** 'bed,' **khirkijar** 'window,' or finally as in **tark** 'opportunity,' **nirk** 'good'.

g

§ 21. The sound **g** is the voiced unaspirated velar plosive. The closure in the mouth is formed just as for **k**, but here the voice is heard all through until the sound explodes. In a word, it can occur initially as in **gorfiū** 'wheat,'

gār̥thi 'knot,' medially as in **leñēgar** 'petticoat,' **baɣijar** 'garden' or finally as in **bñārg** 'an intoxicating plant,' **tārg** 'leg'.

ph

§ 22. The sound **ph** is the aspirated form of **p**. It resembles the Southern English *p* of stressed syllables with this difference that in the Awadhi sound the aspiration is stronger as with all the aspirated sounds treated below. In a word, it can occur initially, *e.g.*, in **pharikar** 'a gate made of straw,' **phorab** 'to break,' medially, *e.g.*, in **talphati** 'writhing,' **saphar** 'clear,' or finally as in **barph** 'vapour,' **marph** 'pardon'.

bñ

§ 23. The sound **bñ** is the aspirated form of **b**. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in **bñarir** 'brother,' **bñirjab** 'to be wet,' medially, *e.g.*, in **khambñar** 'a pillar,' **gorbñir** 'cauliflower' or finally, *e.g.*, in **torbñ** 'spaces of sewing,' **jirbñ** 'tongue'.

th

§ 24. The sound **th** is the aspirated form of **t**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **thābñorar** 'post,' **thurkṇ** 'saliva,' medially as in **parthar** 'stone,' **methaurir** 'small tablets made of *urd* and used as meat,' or finally as in **sarth** 'with,' **marth** 'forehead'.

dñ

§ 25. The sound **dñ** is the aspirated form of **d**. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in **dñowarir** 'washing,' **dñarn** 'paddy,' medially in **bārdñab** 'to tie,' **sērdñi** 'an opening in wall made by burglars,' or finally as in **kārdñ** 'shoulder,' **bārdñ** 'string'.

th

§ 26. The sound **th** is the aspirated form of **t**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **tharṣijarwab** 'to put in standing posture', **thaur** 'room, space', medially as in **larthir** 'stick', **maṇthar** 'whey' or finally as in **karth** 'wood', **qṣirṭh** 'obstinate'.

qh

§ 27. The sound **qh** is the aspirated form of **q**; the voice is heard throughout the aspiration. It can occur initially in a word as in **qṣorwar** 'presents', **qṣorlak** 'drum' or medially when preceded by its nasal as in **thanqṣarir** 'cooling beverage'.

kh

§ 28. The sound **kh** is the aspirated form of **k**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **khert** 'field', **khorlab** 'to open', medially as in **mukhijar** 'headman', **ārkhir** 'eyes', or finally as in **bṣurkh** 'hunger', **sandurkh** 'box'.

gh

§ 29. The sound **gh** is the aspirated form of **g**; the voice is present throughout the aspiration. In a word it can occur initially as in **ghēgharījar** 'a girl's petticoat', **gherāudar** 'a baby's toy-house of sand', medially as in **nārgṣab** 'to cross', **sūrgṣēu** 'I smelt' or finally as in **ghargṣ** 'a person who cleverly hides his motive'.

c

§ 30. The sound **c** is the breathed affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. The closure of the breath is made by the front of the tongue at the rough back of the teeth-ridge and is followed by friction (See Pal. 6). The touch continues a little longer than in the case of other plosives **k**, **t**, etc., and a slight affrication is perceptible. This affrication is, however, much less than in the corresponding English sound **ts**.

c can occur initially as in **cAnar** 'gram', **coṭxar** 'thief', medially as in **khā:cix** 'a basket', **pāñicarni** 'cognizance', or finally in a word as in **pā:c** 'five', **nar:c** 'dance'.

J

§ 31. The sound **J** is the voiced variety of **c** and may be called a voiced affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. In a word it can occur initially as in **jā:rgñ** 'thigh', **jAun** 'which', medially as in **bñāJAb** 'to string', **mñ:jeū** 'I crumbled (trans.)', or finally as in **ra:rJ** 'mason', **mūrJ** 'a kind of grass'.

ch

§ 32. The sound **ch** is the aspirated variety of **c**. In a word it can occur initially as in **chAgorix** 'goat', **chā:ṭAb** 'to wash', medially as in **pa:cher** 'behind', **tirchar** 'crooked', or finally as in **chūrch** 'empty', **kō:ich** 'lap apron'.

Jñ

§ 33. The sound **Jñ** is the aspirated form of **J**. In a word it can occur initially as in **JñAlorax** 'mashed vegetable leaves', **Jñā:rgax** 'shrimp', medially as in **māJñoxlar** 'of middling size', **su:rJñAb** 'to be visible', or finally as in **sā:rJñ** 'evening', **Jñā:rJñ** 'an ornament for ankles'.

General Notes on the Plosives.

§ 34. The voiced plosives are generally shorter than the breathed ones. For instance, **t** of **partix** 'leaf' is longer than **d** of **pardix** 'broke wind' (See Inscs. 2 and 3). The voiced plosives have strong voice when they are intervocalic. In the initial and final positions the voice is comparatively less strong (Cf. Inscs. 3 and 4).

In an intervocalic breathed plosive, faint voice appears generally in the initial stage of closure (plosion) as well as in the explosion (See **k** of Insc. I).

The aspirated forms of the plosives are merely plosives with **h** or **ñ** (see aspirated sounds in Inscs. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15,

19 and 22). The aspiration, however, is united closely with the explosion. It is convenient to treat the aspirates as separate sounds, as they have been so treated all through by Indian grammarians.

A long consonant is about sixty per cent longer than the corresponding short one (See Inscs. 5 and 6, **partax** and **patrax** 'leaf').

Final plosives preceded by a short vowel are longer than those preceded by a long vowel (See Inscs. 7 and 8 **piṭh** and **pīṭh** 'back').

The general remarks made about plosives are applicable to the affricates also. An affricate is generally a little longer than a plosive, breathed or voiced, (See Inscs. 11 and 12 **caṭibax** 'shall lick' and **sṭicibax** 'shall irrigate').

C. ORIGIN OF SOUNDS

k

§ 35. Initial Awadhi **k** is derived from MIA *k*- which came from OIA

- (i) *k-* *kārya* > **karj** 'business'
- (ii) *kr-* *krośa* > **kors** 'a distance of two miles'
- (iii) *sk-* (exceptionally) *skandha* > **kārdh** 'shoulder'.

Medial and final **-k** is derived from MIA

- (i) *-k-* after *ṇ* *vaṅka* (< Skt. *vakra*) > **bārkax** 'crooked'
- (ii) *-kk-* *cikkāṇa* > **cirkān** 'smooth', OIA *pakva* (MIA *pikka*) > **park** 'ripe'.

In words of foreign origin **k** represents foreign *k* and *q*, and sometimes *g*, e.g., **kalam** < *qalam* 'pen', **dukarn** < *dukān* 'shop', **bakucax** < *bugcā* 'a load'. **k** is also found in certain words which appear to be *Deśī*, e.g., **boikax** 'a bamboo box'.

Besides **k** is found in many modern suffixes, e.g., **baṭax** : **baṭkax** 'big'.

kh

§ 36. Initial **kh**- comes from MIA *kh*- which was derived from OIA

- (i) *kh- khādyā-* > **kharijar** 'a variety of sweetmeat'
- (ii) *kṣ- kṣetra* > **khert** 'field'
- (iii) *sk- skambha-* > **khambhar** 'pillar'.

Medially and finally **kh** comes from MIA

- (i) *-kkh- paṅkhi-* > **pāṅkhiṛ** 'small winged insects',
surkh 'dry', **ukharab** 'to dig up'
- (ii) *-ikkh- *kaṅkha-* > **kāṅkhi** 'armpit'.

In some words *kh* represents OIA *ṣ* by its pronunciation as *kh*, e.g., **doṛkhṇ** < *doṣaṇ* 'defect'.

In foreign loan-words **kh** represents foreign *kh* generally, e.g., **akharot** < *akhrōṭ* 'nuts', and in **bakhat** < *vaqt* 'time' it represents *q*.

g

§ 37. Initially **g**- comes from MIA *g*- which is derived from OIA

- (i) *g- gata-* > **gar** 'went'
- (ii) *gr- grāmaḥ* > **gāru** 'village'.

g represents *jñ* in *ardhatatsama* words, e.g., **jñāna** : **gjain** 'knowledge' and *-k-* in **geirar** < *ekādāśa* and *gh* in **aragū** < *arghyaḥ* 'offering'.

Medially and finally **-g-** comes from MIA

- (i) *-gg- aggī* > **argi** 'fire'
- (ii) *-g-* after *ñ*, *aṅga-* > **ārgar** 'a sort of coat'.

In foreign loan-words **g** represents foreign

g and *q*, e.g., **garib** < *garīb* 'poor', **gumarn** < *gumān* 'pride'.

gh (gh)

§ 38. Initial **gh**- is derived from MIA *gh*- which itself comes from OIA

- gh- ghṛta-* > **ghiu** 'clarified butter'.

In **gharn** 'one sweep of material put in pan for baking' **gh** is possibly connected with *g-* (*grahana*).

Intervocal and final **-gh** comes from MIA

(i) *-ggh-* *vaggha* > **bargh** 'tiger'

(ii) *-gh-* after *-ñ-* *lañghai* > **nāzghai** 'crosses'.

In **arəghiz** 'a wooden vessel', the possibility of derivation is from 'learned' *arghya-* 'offering' owing to water and flowers, etc., having been offered in such a vessel.

gh is also found in many *deśi* words, e.g., **ghīz** or **ghīzuar** 'neck'.

c

§ 39. Initial **c-** comes from MIA *c-* derived from OIA

(i) *c-* *cakra-* > **cakia** 'stone-mill'

(ii) *cy-* *cyavati* > **cuai** 'leaks'.

Medially and finally **-c** is derived from MIA

(i) *-cc-* *saccam* > **sāzcap** 'true'

(ii) *-c-* after *-ñ-* *āñcala* > **āzcar** 'breast'.

In foreign loan-words *c* represents foreign *c* (tʃ) e.g., **ackan**: *ackan* 'tunic'.

ch

§ 40. Initial **ch-** is derived from MIA *ch-* which comes from OIA

(i) *ch-* *chedana-* > **cherni** 'chisel'

(ii) [*ṣ-* in **cha** < *ṣaṭ* 'six']

Medial and final **ch** comes from MIA

(i) *-cch-* *acchā-* Early Aw. *āchai* 'is', *maccha-* > **machoriz** 'fish', *macchiā* > **marchiz** 'fly', cf. **mamarkhiz** 'bee'

(ii) *-ch-* after *ñ*, *pañchai* > **pōrchai** 'wipes'.

j (j)

§ 41. Initial **j-** is derived from MIA *j-* which comes from OIA

(i) *j-* *jihvā* > **jizbi** 'tongue'

- (ii) *jy- jyeṣṭha* > **jɛʈh** 'elder'
- (iii) *jv- jvalati* > **ɟarai** 'burns'
- (iv) *dy- dyūta-* > **ɟuāz** 'gambling'
- (v) *y- yauvana* > **ɟorban** 'youthfulness'.

Medial and final **-ɟ** is derived from MIA

- (i) *-ɟɟ- aɟja* > **arɟ** 'to-day', **uɟar** 'white', **banɟ** 'merchandise'

- (ii) *-ɟ-* coming after *n* **pāɟar** < *pañjara* 'skeleton'.

In *tatsama* words intervocal **-ɟ-** represents Sanskrit *-j-* e.g., **raɟar** 'king'.

In foreign loan-words **ɟ** represents foreign *j* (**ɟamar** < *jamaq* 'collection') and *z* (**maɟar** < *mazaḥ* 'fun'), **ḍ** (**guɟar** < *guḍar* 'sustenance'), **ḍ** (**haɟur** < *huḍūr* 'Your Honour'), **z** (**ɟulum** < *zulm* 'oppression'), all of which were pronounced as *z* in Persian.

ɟɪ (jh)

§ 42. Initial **ɟɪ** represents MIA *jh-* which is mostly found in onomatopoetic words, and *Deśi* words:

- jh- jhatṭa-* > **ɟɪʈt** 'soon'.

Medial and final **ɟɪ** comes from MIA

- (i) *-ɟɟh- buɟɟhai* > **buɟɟai** 'understands'. *aṇajɟhāḍ* > **arɟar** 'holiday'
- (ii) *-ɟh-* coming after *n-* *sañjhā* > **sāɟɪ** 'evening'.

t (t)

§ 43. Initial **t-** comes from MIA *t-* (OIA *tr-*) and from *deśi* words.

- tuttai* > **turɪai** 'breaks', **tārg** 'leg'.

Medial and final **-t** is derived from MIA

- (i) *-tt- vaṭṭai* > **barɪt** 'is'
- (ii) *-t-* after *n-* *kaṇṭaa* > **kāɪtar** 'thorn'
- (iii) *-tt-* of *deśi* words, e.g., **perɪ** < **peṭṭa* 'stomach'.

In **ḍāɪtɪb** which possibly comes from *danḍa-*

-t- appears to represent devoiced *-ḍ-*.

In loan-words from English **t** represents English *t*, e.g.,
term : English *time*.

th (*th*)

§ 44. Initial **th**- is derived from MIA *th*- and is also found in *deśi* words, e.g., **tharkur** 'lord', **thag** 'robber'.

Medial and final **th** comes from MIA

(i) *-tth-* *aṅguttha-* > **āguthax** 'thumb'

(ii) *-th-* coming after *ṇ-* *gaṇṭhī* > **gāṇṭhi** 'knot'.

NOTE.—In **hūṛthax** 'three and a half' < *ardha-caturtha*, OIA *-rth-* which is represented as *-th-* in Awadhī (**cauth** < *caturtha*) appears as **th**. The cerebralisation is attested at the Prakrit stage, however (Chatterji: p. 493). Pkt. *-tth-* in *kavittḥa*: Skt. *kapittha* is, however, found as *th* in Aw. **kaithax**, cf. Mālvī *kabūṭh*.

Medial and final **th** is found in many *deśi* words also, e.g., **therth** 'entirely'.

N.B.—For *-tth-* of Pkt. represented as *-ṛṣ-* in certain cases see below.

ḍ (*ḍ*)

§ 45. Initial **ḍ**- represents MIA *ḍ*- derived from OIA *d* *danḍa-* > **ḍāṛar** 'stalk', *daṁṣaka* > **ḍārs** 'a biting insect', *dvi-ardha* > **ḍeṛṣ** 'one and a half'.

Where Aw. **ḍ**- corresponds with Sanskrit *ḍ*- (e.g., **ḍorax** : *ḍora-* 'thread', the latter represents either a late MIA cerebralisation or a loan-word from *deśi*).

ḍ- occurs in many words of *deśi* origin, e.g., **ḍaxr**, 'branch', **ḍōṛgir** 'boat'.

Medially and finally **ḍ** is found only after *ṇ* and in what appear as modern loan-words from other dialects: **paṇḍax** 'the keeper of a sacred place', **gaṇḍax** 'a thread with some mystical influence of some saint, worn on the neck or on the wrist; a group of four', **kaṇḍax** 'cow-dung cake.'

NOTE.—In Early Awadhī medial **ḍ**- possibly represents *ṛ* mostly.

ɖɦ (ɖh)

§ 46. Initial **ɖɦ**- is derived from MIA *ɖh*- which comes from OIA

- (i) *dh* with *ɾ*, etc., *dhṛṣṭa* > **ɖɦṛṣṭɦ** 'naughty'
- (ii) *ɖh* which is either late cerebralisation or is found in a *deśi* loan-word, e.g., **ɖɦorwa** < *ɖhaukatē* 'brings, gathers'.

Medial and final **-ɖɦ** is found only after *ŋ* and in few words: **ɖɦaŋɖɦ** 'cold'.

There are a large number of words where **ɖɦ** occurs initially; these are probably of *deśi* origin, e.g., **ɖɦorl** 'drum', **ɖɦeɾ** 'many', **ɖɦakuli** 'a paddle', **ɖɦũɾɦɦ** 'searches'.

t

§ 47. Initial **t**- comes from MIA *t*- derived from OIA

- (i) *t-* *tapta* > **tart** 'hot'
- (ii) *tr-* *trīṇi* > **tirn** 'three'.

Medial and final **-t** represents MIA

- (i) *-tt-* *putto* > **puttɖ** 'son', *satta* > **sart** 'seven'
- (ii) *-t-* after *n-* *danto* > **dārt** 'tooth'.

In *tatsama* and *ardha-tatsama* words, **-t** might represent Sanskrit *-t*-, e.g.,

ɟatan < *yatna* 'means'.

In foreign loan-words *t* represents *t*, e.g., **maut** 'death'.

th

§ 48. Initial **th**- comes from MIA *th*- derived from OIA

- (i) *st-* *stana* > **than** 'udder'
- (ii) *sth-* *sthāñ* > **tharijɾ** 'dish'

Medially and finally **-th** is derived from MIA

-tth- derived from OIA

- (i) *tth-* *kapittha* > **kaithɾ** 'a fruit'
- (ii) *-kth-* *siktha* > **sixth** 'a grain'

(iii) -*rth*- *sārtha*- > **sarthir** 'companion'

(iv) -*st*- *prastara* > **parthar** 'pebble'.

th in all positions occurs in *deśī* words also, e.g., **thapaṛar** 'slap', **thurthun** 'horse's nostrils'. In *tatsama* and *ardha-tatsama* words Aw. -**th**- might represent Sanskrit -*th*-, e.g., **kathar** 'story'.

d

§ 49. Initial **d**- comes from MIA *d*- derived from OIA

(i) *d*- *dadhi*- > **daḥiu** 'curds'

(ii) *dr*- *drona*- > **doṇar** 'a cup made of leaves'.

Medial and final -**d** goes back to MIA

(i) -*dd*- *haliddā*- > **hardir** 'turmeric', *bhādrapada*- > **bḥardāū** 'the Bhādrapada month'

(ii) -*d*- after -*n*- *manda*- > **māḍar** 'ill'.

NOTE.— **d** derived from MIA. -*d* after *n* is not found in the Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus -*d* in such cases is represented by *n*, e.g., Lmp. **cāḍir**, J. **carnir** 'silver'.

In Lmp. **daurab** (Eastern **ḍḥaurab**), deaspiration of Skt. *dhāv-* 'to run' is possible.¹ *dh*- in this verb is attested by Early Awadhī (Tulsi : *dhāi* 'having run').

ḍḥ (dh)

§ 50. Initial **ḍḥ**- goes back to MIA *dh*- derived from OIA

(i) *dh*- *dhānya* > **ḍḥarn** 'corn, paddy'

(ii) In Aw. **ḍḥir**, **ḍḥijar** 'daughter', **ḍḥ**- goes back to MIA *dh*- (Pāli *dhītā*) representative of *d*- in OIA (*duhitā*).

Medial and final -**ḍḥ** is derived from MIA

(i) -*ddh*- *duddha* > **durḍḥ** 'milk', *giddha* > **girḍḥ** 'vulture'.

¹ (i) *dhāvati* > *dhāi*

(ii) *dravati* > *davai* > *dava-ḍa-i* > *daure*

- (ii) *-dh* after *n*, *bandhai* > **bāṛdhai** 'ties', *randhai* > **rāṛdhai** 'cooks'.

NOTE— **-dhai** derived from MIA *-dh-* after *-n-* is not found in Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus **-dhai** in such cases is represented by **-ndhai**, e.g., **baṛndhai** 'ties', **anḥaṛṇḥ** 'darkness'. In Lakhimpurī and other Western dialects **-dhai** intrudes in other cases also where Eastern dialects have **-ndhai** derived from MIA, e.g., Lmp. **jōḍḥaijāṛ** (Eastern **jonḥaijāṛ**) < *jōḥḥa-* 'moonlight'. Lmp. **kāḍḥaijāṛ** (Eastern **kanḥaijāṛ**) < *kaḥḥa-* 'Kṛṣṇa'.

dhai- occurs in certain words which are of obscure origin, e.g., **dhaṃaṛṇḥ** 'wild sport', **dhaṛṇḥ** 'show, pomp'.

p

§ 51. Initial **p-** comes from MIA *p-* derived from OIA

- (i) *p-* *patrī-* : **pattir** 'leaf', *prcch-* : **purch-** 'to ask'
 (ii) *pr-* *priya-* : **pijāṛ** 'beloved', *prasar-* : **pasar-** 'to lie down'.

Medial and final *-p* comes from MIA.

- (i) *-pp-* *uppajjai* : **upējai** 'is born', *sappa* : **sārp** 'snake', *appanāṃ* : **apan** 'one's own'
 (ii) *-p-* after *-m-* *kampai* : **kāṛpai** 'trembles'.

p is found in many words of *deśī* origin, e.g., **perṭ** 'belley', **torpiz** 'cap'.

p in foreign loan-words represents foreign *p*. In **superd** 'white' it stands for Persian *f* (*sufaid*).

ph

§ 52. Initial **ph-** comes from MIA *ph-* derived from OIA

- (i) *ph-* *phala* : **phal** 'fruit', *phālguna* : **phaṛgun** 'the month Phālgun'
 (ii) *sp-* *spand-* : **phāṛd-** 'to jump'
 (iii) *sph-* *sphuṭ-* : **phurṭ-** 'to break'.

Medial and final *ph* represents MIA

(i) *-pph-* *vappha-* : **baɪph** 'vapour', *upphaṇāi* : **uphonazi** 'bursts up as foam'

(ii) *-ph-* after *m* *gumpḥa-* : **goɪphaz** 'twining'.

ph occurs in *deśi* words, e.g., **phēɪtaɪ** 'a wrapper', **hāɪphab** 'to breathe deeply when exhausted'.

In foreign loan-words, *ph* represents *f*, e.g., **saphaz** 'clear' : Pers. *sāf*.

b

§ 53. Initial **b-** represents MIA (a) *b-* which represents OIA

(i) *b-* *budhya-* **buɪɟɪ** 'to understand'

(ii) *br-* *brāhmaṇa-* : **baɪmɪan** 'Brahmin'

(iii) *dv-* *dvādaśa-* : **baɪraɪ** 'twelve' (and so forth in the numerals).

(b) *v-* which represents

OIA

(i) *v-* *vātāvali-* : **baɪaɪɪɪ** 'wind', *vismar-* : **bisaɪ** 'to forget', *uvaviṭṭha-* : **baɪɪth-** 'sitting'

(ii) *vy-* *vyāghra-* : **baɪɟɪɪ** 'tiger'.

(c) *m-* which represents

OIA

m- *mukula-* : **baɪaɪ** 'blossom of the mango tree.'

Medial and final **-b** represents MIA

(i) *-b-* after *m*, *amba-* (< *āmra*) : **āɪbijaɪ** 'green mangoes', *tambūla-* : **tāɪboɪɪɪ** 'seller of betel-leaves'.

(ii) *-bb-* *dubbala-* : **duɪbaɪ** 'thin', *kabūra-* : **kaɪbaɪ** 'spotted'.

N.B.—Western Awadhī does not have **-mb-** as **-m** as Hindustānī and Eastern Awadhī have, for instance W. Aw. **kāɪbaɪɪ** (variant **kamaɪɪ**) 'blanket' < *kambala-*, **jaɪmuɪɪ**

<*jambū*- is a loan-word, the pure Western Awadhī word being **pharēidar** < *phalendra*-

In the numerals **-bb-** has been retained, **chabbis** 'twenty-six'.

In **baṣini** 'sister' there is evidence of a transference of aspiration from the first to the second syllable.

In *tatsama* or *ardha-tatsama* words **-b** may represent Sanskrit *-v-*, e.g., **parbix** < *parvan* 'festival'.

In foreign loan-words and in *deśi* words Aw. **b** represents foreign *b*.

bf (bh)

§ 54. Initial **bf-** represents MIA *bh-* derived from OIA

- (i) *bh- bhikṣā* > **bfirkh** 'alms', *bhūmi* : **bfuṭ** 'ground'
- (ii) *bhr- bhrātṛ-* > **bfarix** 'brother', *bhrāṣṭra-* > **bfarṭhar** 'kilt'
- (iii) *-bhy- abhyantara* > **bfirtar** 'within'.

In **bfāṭsar** (Skt. *mahiṣa-*) 'buffalo' and **bfēṛiz** (Skt. *mēḍhṛa-*) 'sheep', **bf-** is possibly derived from *m* through the transposition of *-h-* (Chatterji, p. 515). Another suggestion is that these words might be *deśi* in origin.

Medial and final **bf-** represents MIA

- (i) *-bbh- gabbhini* > **garbhini** 'pregnant', *jibbhā* > **jirbf** 'tongue'
- (ii) *-bh- after m kumbhāra-* > **kūbbfar** 'potter'
- (iii) *-mh. lāmhaṇa* > **bārbfan** 'Brahmin' (beside **barmfan**).

bf occurs in several *deśi* words, e.g., **bfirr** 'crowd', **bfabbfar** 'agitation'.

Nasals

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 55. Out of the five nasals, *ṇ* and *ṇ* are found always in the middle of a word before a mute of their own class.

n occurs medially, both intervocally and before a mute of its class, *n* and *m* occur in all positions. For instance :

n *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornaments' (T. 141).

n *nindahṭ* '(they) blame' (T. 191), *āna* 'another' (T. 190), *kīṇha* 'did' (T. 191), *dēotanha* 'gods' (J. 495), *nhāi* 'having taken a bath' (T. 223).

m *māhura* 'poison' (T. 222), *amia* 'nectar' (T. 231), *tumha* 'you' (T. 227).

m always represents one of the five nasals before the mutes of its class, e.g.,

mamgala 'auspiciousness' (T. 198), *pumja* 'heap' (T. 198), *damḍavata* 'obeisance' (T. 199), *sumdari* 'the Beauty' (J. 488), *sammata* 'agreed' (T. 223).

B. MODERN AWADHI

m

§ 56. The sound *m* is the voiced bi-labial nasal. It can occur initially as in *maḥṇaṣ* 'month', *meḥṇaṣ* 'woman', medially as in *lambar* 'long, tall', *seṛmi* 'French beans', or finally as in *cilam* 'a sort of smoking-pipe made of clay', *moim* 'wax'.

n

§ 57. The sound *n* is the voiced alveolar nasal. It may be noted, however, that the tip of the tongue while touching the gums touches the teeth also (See Pal. 7).

It can occur initially as in *neuraz* 'mongoose', *nart* 'relative', medially either singly as in *banarwab* 'to make', *mia:nar* a palanquin', *kaner* 'the corners of a kite' or before a plosive of its class or before *s* as in *bundaz* 'earrings', *panthiz* 'a posture of sitting with feet on the thighs', *bansiz* 'flute'; before a plosive of another class in compound words as in *kanpaṭiz* 'temples of cheeks', *kanṭorṣ* 'a head-gear covering the ears also', *kankaijar* 'a kite', *kanchedonar* 'the ceremony of piercing the ears', and finally as in *lozn* 'salt', *sain* 'beckoning'.

ŋ

§ 58. The sound **ŋ** is the voiced retroflex nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to the plosives **t**, **ɖ** (See Pal. 8). It can occur only medially and there too only before a retroflex plosive, *e.g.*, in **baŋtardfiar** 'utter ruin', **maŋthar** 'whey', **maŋɖir** 'grain market', **t̪haŋɖfi** 'cool'.

ŋ

§ 59. The sound **ŋ** is the voiced velar nasal (See Pal. 9). It can occur medially and only before a velar plosive, *e.g.*, **saŋkar** 'Lord Śiva', **saŋkh** 'conch-shell', **phaŋger** 'persevering entreaty', **saŋgfiatir** 'companion'.

ɲ

§ 60. The sound **ɲ** is the voiced palatal nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to **c**, **ɟ** (See Pal. 10). It can occur only medially and there too immediately before affricate consonants, *e.g.*, in **khopcar** 'a dish of sweets', **tamaɲcar** 'pistol', **paɲchar** 'features', **paɲjar** 'paw', **saɲɟfiar** 'evening'.

mfi

§ 61. The sound **mfi** is the aspirated form of **m** and occurs only medially, *e.g.* **barəmfiaɪ** 'Brahmā'.

nfi

§ 62. The sound **nfi** is the aspirated form of **n** and occurs only medially, *e.g.*, **kanfiɪjaɪ** 'Kṛṣṇa'.

General Notes on Nasals

§ 63. Awadhi possesses only two nasals **m** and **n** which are found in various positions in a word and are separate phonemes. The other three **ŋ** **ɲ** **ɲ** are found only medially and before the consonants of their class. They come under **n** phoneme. The palatograms show that **ŋ** and **ɲ** are spoken a little forward as compared to **t̪** and **c** respectively

and that the positions of **ṇ** and **ṅ** are not very different. The aspirated forms of the nasals (*i.e.*, **nḥ**, **mḥ**) are not closely united — they are disintegrated sounds.

A nasal before a plosive is longer than otherwise. For instance, compare the length of **sunti** and **sunī** (Inscs. 13 and 14).

A nasal nasalises the previous vowel always, *e.g.*, in **saṅkh** (Insc. 15) and also the following vowel, *e.g.*, in **sunī** and **mariz** (Insc. 14 and 46). It nasalises the following voiced consonants, *e.g.*, in **baṇḍar** (Insc. 16), but does not nasalise a breathed consonant (See **baṇṭar**, Insc. 17).

NOTE.—A Nasal has become unvoiced in the middle of a sentence expressing the sense of imperative and wonder (*Vide* Charts 3 and 5).

C. ORIGIN

n and **nḥ**

§ 64. Initial **n**- is derived from OIA

- (i) **n**- > MIA **ṇ** (except in Paisācī and Pāli), *e.g.*, **nakṣatra**- > **nakhat** 'star', **nemi** > **niu** 'foundation'
- (ii) **jñ**- > **ñ** in Pāli, Māgadhī and Paisācī but **ṇ** in other Prakrits, *e.g.*, **jñāti**- > **nai-ñar** 'a married woman's father's house'
- (iii) **sn**- > **ṇh** in MIA and later separated by anaptyxis, *e.g.*, **snā**- > **naṇnar-b** 'to bathe'.

Medially and finally **-n** is derived from OIA

- (i) **-jñ**- > MIA **-ṇṇ**- (Pāli, Pais. and Māg. **-ññ**-) *e.g.*, **viññapti**- > **bintir** 'prayer'
- (ii) **-ṇ**- ✓ **gaṇ**- > **ganab** 'to count,' ✓ **śṇu**- > **sunab** 'to hear'
- (iii) **-ṇy**- > MIA **-ṇṇ**- *e.g.*, **punya** > **punni** 'merit'
- (iv) **-n**- *e.g.*, **navanīta** > **nainuz** 'butter', **jānāti** : **jainai** 'knows'.

- (v) *-nn-* *chinna-* > **china:ri** 'a woman of loose character'
- (vi) *-ny-* e.g., *anya* > **a:n** 'another', *mānya* : **marni** 'honoured relative'
- (vii) *-rṇ-* MIA *-ṇṇ-* e.g., *karna* > **ka:n** 'ear', *varṇa-* > **ba:ni** 'habit'
- (viii) *-ṣṇ-* > MIA *-ṇh-* e.g., *kṛṣṇa-* > Eastern Awadhī **ka:nṣaija:** 'Kṛṣṇa'
- (ix) *-sa-* > MIA *-ṇh-* e.g., *jyotsnā-* > East. Aw. **jo:nṣaija:** 'moonlight'
- (x) *-hn-* > MIA *-ṇh-* e.g., *cihna* > **ci:nfi** 'a token'.

N.B.—In certain modern dialects of Awadhī *-n-* represents ancient *-nd-*, for which see the origin of *-d-* and *-dḥ-* §§ 49-50.

n is also found in words of *deśi* origin and in foreign loan-words.

In a few words *n* represents OIA *l*, e.g., **na:rgḥab** : *laṅgh-* 'to cross', **no:n** : *lavaṇa* 'salt', **nēgula:** : ? *lāṅgūla-* 'the only boy amongst the girls fed on the ninth day of Āśvin in honour of the Devī'; **argani:** : *argalā* - 'a rope hung up for putting clothes on'.

m and mfi

§ 65. Initial **m** comes from MIA *m-* derived from OIA

- (i) *m-* *mātā-* : **ma:ri:** 'mother', *maśaka:* : **ma:sa:** 'mosquito', *madhu-makṣikā-* : **ma-markhi:** 'bee'

- (ii) *mr-* *mrakṣaṇa* : **markhan** 'butter'

- (iii) *śm-* *śmaśru* : **mo:ch** 'whiskers'.

Medially and finally *-m-* comes from MIA *-mm-*, e.g., *sammukha-* : **sama:he:** 'in front', *ghamma* : **gfi:a:m** 'sun'.

In certain loan-words in the Western dialects, and in the Eastern dialects *-m* represents MIA *-m* + labial mute, e.g., **cuzmab** < *cumb-* 'to kiss'.

- mh- comes from *m* + labial plosive or -mh- e.g.,
m + -bh- **kumfiar** < *kumbha -āra* 'potter'
 -mh-, e.g., *bamhāṇa* : **barmfān** 'Brahmin'.
m occurs in *deśī* words and in loan-words also.

ṇ ṇ ṇ

§ 66. These three nasals are found in Awadhī before the mutes of their classes only and then also mostly in loan-words either from Sanskrit or foreign languages or in *deśī* words. For examples see §§ 58—60.

Old semi-vowels, Modern semi-vowels and Rolled, Flapped and Lateral consonants.

A. EARLY AWADHĪ

§ 67. *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* occur initially as well as medially. For instance :

y *yaha* 'this' (J. 113), *pāyā* 'got' (J. 135).

In the manuscripts the symbol for *y* represents *j* also.

r *rākhā* 'kept' (J. 225), *nīarē* 'near' (J. 225).

l *lēhu* 'take' (J. 273), *hilagi* 'having got entangled' (J. 273).

v *vaḥa* 'she' (J. 210), *kāvṇī* 'loving woman' (J.)

In the manuscripts the symbols for *v* and *b* are often confused.

NOTE.—For Early Awadhī *ṛ*, *ṛh* see § 13.

B. MODERN AWADHĪ

j

§ 68. The sound *j* is pronounced like *i*, only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character (See Pal. 15). The tongue is very much in the position of *i* (short), the air-passage being a little narrower (Compare Pal. 17). It occurs in a few words initially as in **jaḥu** 'this'. Medially it occurs optionally

between two vowels and serves as glide from the less open to the more open vowel, *e.g.*, **piars** or **pijars** 'thirst', **qiaṭi** or **qijaṭi** 'a lamp-stand'.

w

§ 69. The sound **w** is pronounced like **u**, only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character. In pronouncing it the lower lip touches the upper lip slightly as also the lower teeth but there is no friction except possibly when it is in the initial position. The lip-rounding required for pronouncing this sound is much less than that for the corresponding English sound **w**.

It occurs initially in a few words, *e.g.*, in **wair** 'side', **waḥu** 'that', medially it occurs between two vowels and serves occasionally as glide from the less open to the more open back vowel, *e.g.*, **puwar** or **puar** 'a kind of cake', **soɹwar** 'slept', **sawati** 'co-wife', **gāwair** 'villager'.

NOTE 1.—**w** comes in place of **u** in certain cases of assimilation (See § 152).

NOTE 2.—In Bāghēli, **-w** is generally pronounced as **-b**.

r

§ 70. The sound **r** is the rolled voiced alveolar consonant (See Pal. 11). In pronouncing it the tip of the tongue taps twice or thrice against the alveolar region above the teeth-ridge. It can occur initially as in **rōrwār** 'hair on the body', **rīrdṣab** 'to cook', medially as in **beraim** 'ill', **muraxur** 'green grocer', or finally as in **sambair** 'Monday', **camair** 'cobbler'.

r has an epenthetic vowel before it when it comes initially, *e.g.*, in **raim se** (Insc. 18) a tiny vowel appears before **r**.

NOTE.—For the elision of intervocalic **-r-** in the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects see below Part II Chapter VI (Verbs).

ɽ

§ 71. The sound ɽ is the voiced flapped retroflex consonant (see Pal. 12). The back of the tip of the tongue goes up and taps on the rough back above the gums. It can occur singly, and only medially, as in **āɽix** 'bulb', **bñēɽix** 'sheep', or finally, as in **goɽ** 'feet', **hāɽ** 'bones'.

The tapping is only once. As the palatogram shows, the contact is perceptibly higher than in the case of **r** but not so high as in the case of **ɽ̣**.

ɽñ

§ 72. The sound ɽñ is the aspirated form of ɽ. It can occur only medially as in **Arɽñix** 'a kind of pulse', or finally as in **ɽixɽñ** 'spinal cord'.

ɽñ

§ 73. The sound ɽñ is the aspirated form of ɽ. It can occur either medially as in **baɽñi** 'more', **sixɽñ** 'steps', or finally as in **buɽñ** 'old', **koɽñ** 'leprosy'.

l

§ 74. The sound l is the voiced alveolar lateral consonant (see Pal. 13). The tip of the tongue just touches the upper teeth and their root to block the passage and a slight hollow (less than in English l) is made, the air passes at the sides. It can occur initially as in **luɽab** 'to rob', **lōɽar** 'a lump', medially as in **kaɽli** 'tomorrow', **phulaɽix** 'a variety of scone', or finally as in **caɽl** 'trick', **amoxl** 'invaluable'.

NOTE—l has a subsidiary phoneme before retroflex sounds.

lñ

§ 75. The sound lñ is the aspirated form of l. It occurs only medially as in **paɽñarwab** 'to coax a cow to give milk'.

C. ORIGIN

j (y) and w (v)

§ 76. These sounds are found very seldom in Awadhī. In the initial position they are found in the pronouns **jañu**, **wañu** which also have alternative forms. In the medial position they serve only as glides between two vowels. They do not occur finally except in some dialects where they stand for **i** and **u** respectively.

Sanskrit *y-* is represented in the initial position by **j** even in the MIA period, and in the medial position it was elided. Sanskrit initial *v-* is represented by **b-** in Awadhī and the medial one by **u** or **b**.

Initial *y-* of foreign words is represented by **i-** or zero in Awadhī (e.g., *yār* Pers.—‘friend’, Awadhī **iair**, *yād* Pers.—‘memory’, Aw. **arīj**, **akir** ‘belief’) and *v-*, *va-* generally by **u-** (e.g., Pers. *vakīl* : Aw. **ukīl**).

In a few words **-w-** medially represents OIA **-p-** (e.g., *sapatnī* : **sawatī** ‘co-wife’), or with nasalisation it corresponds to OIA **-m-** (e.g., **gāwar** : *grāma-* ‘villager’).

r

§ 77. Initially **r** represents MIA

r- coming from OIA **r-**, e.g., *rātri* : **rartī** ‘night’.

Medially and finally **r** represents MIA

- (i) **-r-** coming from OIA **-r-**, e.g., *apara* : **aur** ‘another’, *kēdārikā* : **kejarri** ‘a bed in a garden’, *carma-kāra* : **camar** ‘cobbler’.

-r- coming from OIA **-t-**, **-d-** in the numerals, e.g., *saptati* : **satarī** ‘seventy’, *dvādaśa* : **barrar** ‘twelve’, *saptadaśa* : **satararar** ‘seventeen’.

- (ii) **-l-** coming from OIA **-l-**, e.g., *ālasya-* : **ararar** ‘lethargy’, *prapā -sālā* : **pausarar** ‘a place for supplying water’, *phalati* : **pharex** ‘bears fruit’.

phalaka- : **pharraz** 'plank of wood', *musala-* : **mursarq** 'pestle', *viḍāla-* : **bilaxriz** 'cat'.

NOTE.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī retains **-l-**.

(iii) **-ḍ-** coming from OIA **-t-**, e. g., *kaṭu-* : **karuz** 'bitter', *kiṭa-* : **kirawaz** 'insect', *viṭapa-* : **birawaz** 'tree', *puṭa-* : **purijaz** 'anything wrapped with paper or leaves'.

NOTE.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī represents OIA. **-t-** by **-ṭ-**.

In *ardhatatsama* words, Sanskrit **-r** + consonant is represented in Awadhī by the process of epenthesis, e.g., *dharma* : **dharam** 'religion', *samartha* : **samarath** 'powerful'.

Evidence of such an epenthesis in earlier stages is found from Skt. *ādarśa-* : Aw. **axrasiz** 'an ornament, containing a mirror, worn on the wrist'.

Intervocal **-r-** is dropped out in certain forms of the verb (see Part II, Chap. VI).

r appears in *deśī* words in all positions, and medially and finally it sometimes corresponds with Hindustānī **-ṭ**, e. g., *razri* 'quarrel', *thaparaz* (Hin. **thapṛaṭ**) 'slap', *kuzraz* (Hin. **kuzṛaz**) 'rubbish'.

r appears in foreign loan-words also.

rh

§ 78. This sound occurs only in what appear to be *dēśī* words (see § 88).

ṛ (r)

§ 79. Awadhī **ṛ** which occurs only medially or finally represents MIA

-ḍḍ- *uḍḍēi* > **uṛai**, 'flies',

-ḍ after **ṇ-**, in cases where the nasal survives only as nasalisation, e.g., *aṇḍa-* > **āṛiz** 'the bulb of a fruit', *ḍaṇḍa-* > **ḍāṛ** 'oar'.

ɽ occurs in many *deśī* words also, e.g., **goɽ** 'foot'.

ɽfi (ḍh)

§ 80. Awadhī **ɽfi** occurs only medially or finally and represents MIA

-ḍḍh- *vaḍḍhai* > **baɽfi** 'increases', *saḍḍha* + - > **saɽfi** 'and half', *vuḍḍha* - > **buɽfi** 'aged'.

Where -**ɽfi** represents -ḍh of the Prakrits, the words are certainly loan-words from other dialects, e.g., **paɽfi** < *paḍhai* 'reads', **gaɽfi** < *gāḍha* 'thick'.

l

§ 81. Initial **l-** represents MIA

l- coming from OIA, e.g., *lakṣa* : **laɽkh** 'a lac', *lajjā* : **laɽj** 'shame, modesty'. In **laɽthir** 'stick' it represents OIA *y-* (*yaṣṭi-*).

Medial and final **-l** represents MIA

(a) **-ll-** coming from OIA

(i) **-dr-** *bhadra-* : **bhalar** 'good'.

(ii) **-r-** *prerayati* : **perlai** (Pkt. *pellai*) 'enters by force'.

(iii) **-ry-** *paryāṅka-* : **palkar** 'bedstead'.

(iv) **-ly-** *kalya-* : **kalɽi** 'yesterday or tomorrow'.

(v) **-ll-** *vallī-* : **barlir** 'the ear of the maize plant'.

(vi) **-lv-** *bilva* : **berl** 'a particular tree'.

(b) Medial **-l-** in numerals corresponds to MIA, OIA **-r-** in figures 'forty' and in those based on it, e.g., *cātvarīmśat* : **carlis** 'forty'.

In **laɽ-** 'to lose', **l-** would represent *n-* if the word be derived from *naṣṭa-* (Chatterji, p. 545) the loss of aspiration being a difficulty.

Medial **-l-** also corresponds to MIA *ḍ, ḷ* derived from OIA *-ḍ-*, e.g., *viḍāla-*: **bilazrix** 'cat'.

l occurs in *dēśi* and foreign loan-words also.

ll

§ 82. This sound occurs only in what appear to be *dēśi* words and from OIA *hl-*, e.g., *prahlādayati* > **palhazwai** 'coaxes to give milk' (see § 88).

Sibilants and Aspirate

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 83. Of the three sibilants, *s* is the normal one. But *ś* also is found particularly in Tulsīdās and in Lāldās. In the latter it sometimes replaces *s* which possibly shows either that *ś* and *s* both represented the sound *s* or there is ultra-Sanskritisation of *s* into *ś*. The symbol for *ś* occurs to represent *kh* both in Tulsīdās and Lāldās. It is hardly possible that *ś* existed as a sound.

ś śrutikīrti 'name of Shatrughna's wife' (T. 139), *śrāpa* 'curse' (T. 93), *dēśa* 'country' (Lāl.), *śō* 'that' (Lāl.).

ś vasiṣṭha 'Vasiṣṭha' (T. 139), *bhūṣana* 'ornament' (T. 138), *varaṣaḥ* 'rain' (T. 139), *laṣana* 'Lakṣmaṇa' (T. 192), *bisēṣi* 'particularly' (T. 219); *śabari* 'news' (Lāl.), *dēṣi* 'having seen' (Lāl.).

s suā 'parrot' (J. 113), *jaisa* 'as' (J. 113), *saguna* 'omen' (T. 295), *bisāla* 'big' (T. 294), *sō* 'that' (T. 295).

Aspirate

h hai 'is' (J. 160), *mohṭ* 'me' (J. 160), *līnhi* 'taken' (J. 160).¹

ḥ occurs in Tulsīdās and Lāldās in *tatsama* words only, e.g., *jūṭhaḥ* 'the herd' (T. 295), *niḥkāmi* 'devoid of desires' (Lāl.), cf. *niha kalamka* 'spotless' (J. 24).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 84. The sound **s** is the breathed alveolar fricative consonant (see Pal. 14). The tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth also. It differs from English **s** in having less friction. It can occur initially as in **soṛṛaḥ** 'sixteen', **sērti** 'free', medially as in **kaṣab** 'to tighten', **paṣijar** 'watchman', or finally as in **paṇars** 'fifty', **ṭhors** 'solid'.

The sound has no tendency to become voiced in intervocalic position. Final **s** is less pronounced than a plosive.

h

§ 85. The sound **h** is what has been defined as 'Breathed Glottal Fricative'. It 'is the sound of pure breath having a free passage through the mouth.' In a word it can occur initially as in **ham** 'we' (see Insc. 47), **huāṛ** 'there'.

It should be noted that the aspirated forms of breathed plosives and affricate contain this sound as their second element (See Inscs. 7, 8, 15).

ṛ

§ 86. The sound **ṛ** is the voiced variety of **h**, and occurs intervocally as in **kaṛṛāṛ** 'where', **liṛeū** 'I took', or finally as in **saṛṛ** 'banker', **dēṛṛ** 'body'. In the final position, however, the sound finishes with absence of voice, *e. g.*, in **saṛṛ**, **ṛ** is **ṛ-h** (see Insc. 20).

It should be noted that the voiced aspirated plosives, affricate, nasals, rolled, flapped and lateral consonants contain this sound as their second element. This second element tends to be voiceless before whispered vowels, *e. g.*, **durḍṛṇ** tends to become **durḍhṇ** (see Insc. 19).

C. ORIGIN

s

§ 87. The dental sibilant is the only one in Awadhi as in Braj and Bhōjpurī and represents OIA *s*, *ś* and *ṣ*

singly as well as in some combinations, through MIA s or -ss-.

s represents MIA. s, -ss- derived from OIA.

- (i) s- *sapatnī* : **sAwAti** 'rival, co-wife', *saktu-* : **setuar** 'barley-flour', *śvāsa* : **sāis** 'breath', *vas-* : **baSab** 'to reside'.
- (ii) ś- *śṛṅga* : **śiig** 'horn', *śuṇḍā-* : **śūṛi** 'trunk', *āśā* : **ais** 'hope', *maśaka-* : **maisar** 'mosquito'.
- (iii) ṣ- *ṣoḍaśa* : **soxrax** 'sixteen', *nahiṣi* : **bḥiṭsi** 'the buffalo'.
- (iv) -sm- -vismṛ- : **bisArAb** 'forget'.
- (v) -sy- *ālasya* : **airAs** 'indolence'.
- (vi) -sr- *srotas-* : **soxt** 'stream'.
- (vii) -sv- *svāmī-* : **saiṭi** 'a saint', *svara* : **sur** 'tune'.
- (viii) śm- *raśmi-* : **raSarix** 'string'.
- (ix) śyāmāka : **sāiwar** 'a wild rice', *śyāla* : **sair** 'wife's brother'.
- (x) śr- *śrāvaṇa*, : **saiwan** 'the month of śrāvaṇa', *ākru-* : **āisuz** 'tear'.
- (xi) śv- *śvāsa* : **sāis** 'breath', *śvasura* : **sAsur** 'father-in-law'.
- (xii) rś- *parśu-* ; **pasurix** 'rib'.
- (xiii) rṣ- *karṣati* : **kaSAi** 'pulls'.
- (xiv) sy- *pusya* : **puzs** 'the month *pauṣa*', *ruṣyati* : **ruisai** 'gets angry'.

NOTE.—In the group *r* and sibilant, epenthesis is witnessed very often, *darśana* : **darōsan** 'holy sight', *varṣ-* : **barsAb** 'to rain'.

^v
ś and s of foreign words are always represented by s in Awadhi.

h, ṣ

§ 88. Initial **h-** is derived from MIA *h-* which comes from OIA

- (i) *h-* *hasta* : **hāṛth** 'hand', *hāridrā-* : **hardiz** 'turmeric'.
 (ii) *bh-* in the case of root *bhū-* which is already in the Prakrits found as *ho-*, Aw. **hoṛi** 'be' etc.; also in **hāṛṣiṛ** 'a vessel' < *bhāṇḍa-*, Aw. has **bṣāṛṣar** 'treasure', also.

In the pronoun **ham** 'we' and its derivations, we find a development of *-sm-* into **h**, through *-mh-* in the Prakrits and in **hai**, **aṛṣi**, **ḷṣai** we find **h** coming from *-st-* through *-tth-* *th*, possibly.¹

Medial or final **-ṣ** comes from MIA *-ṣ* which is derived from OIA

- (i) *-h-* *lauhakāra* : **lohazṛ** 'blacksmith', *phalāhāra* : **pharoṣar** 'fruit-diet'.
 (ii) *-kh-* *mukha* : **muh** 'mouth', *nakha* : **naṣi** 'nail', *ākheṣa* : **ḷṣezṛ** 'prey', *śikhā-* : **siṣarḅ** 'to feel puffed up'.
 (iii) *-gh-* *māgha* : **maṛṣi** 'the month of Māgha', *megha-* : **meṣarḅ** 'to get wet', *araghaṭṭa-* : **rāṣṭaṭar** 'spindle', *laghu-* : **laṣṭuraz** 'younger', *stāgha* : **thaṛṣi** 'bottom', *saghana* : **saṣan** 'thick'.
 (iv) *-th-* *kath-* : **kaṣab** 'to say'.
 (v) *-dh-* *avidhavā-tva* : **auṣart**, 'non-widowhood', *dadhi-* : **daṣṭiu** 'curds', *putra-vadhū* : **paṭorṣi** 'daughter-in-law', *madhūka-* **maḥuar** 'a particular tree'.
 (vi) *-bh-* *gabhīra* : **gaṣir** 'deep', *nibhālayati* : **nihaṛrai** 'sees closely', *pratyabhijānāti* : **paṣicarnai** 'recognises', *śobh-* : **soṣarḅ** 'to appear agreeable'.

¹ See § 292.

In the numerals *h* represents *ś* (**geirAñ** — 'eleven') and *s* (**ekoñAtrari** — 'seventy-one'). This is attested by the Prakrits (see Bloch : *Langue Marathe* § 160). Similarly *ñ* of the pronoun **eñu** 'this' goes back to OIA *ś*.

In the forms of the Future verb **-ñ-** represents OIA **-sy-** > MIA **-ss-** and later **-h-**.

OIA sibilant + nasal which is represented in MIA as *nasal* + *h* is separated by an epenthetic vowel, e.g., *snā-* : *ñha-* : **ñhañ-** or even **hAññ-** by metathesis.

mñ and **nñ** occur in a few *ardhatatsama* words.

Similarly **lñ-** comes from OIA **-hl-** in **palñarwab** < *prahlād-* 'to please, to coax'.

Aw. **rñ** represents Hindustānī **ṛñ** mostly in obscure words, e.g., **rizñ** : Hin. **riṛṇ** 'backbone', the origin of, **Arññir** 'kind of pulse' is obscure.

-ñ- appears to mark hiatus in **-Añi** besides **-ai**, an affix of Present Tense 3rd pers. sing. < *ati* (compare Bloch : *Langue Marathe* § 161). In **dirññ** < MIA *diñṇa*, the advent of *ñ* is obscure.

The treatment of **-st** of loan-words as **ñAtr-** has been noticed below (§132.)

h, -ñ is found in *Dēśī* words and in loan-words from foreign languages.

Simple Vowels

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 89. The vowels are found in all the positions—initial, medial and final—in a word. For instance :

- a* **ambrita-bēli** 'nectar-creeper' (J. 52), **kadama** 'kadamba' (J. 53).
- ā* **āchahr** 'are' (J. 53), **pāsā** 'sides' (J. 53).
- i* **ihai** 'this' (J. 286), **dījia** 'please give' (J. 286), **tehi** 'him' (J. 286).
- ī* **īsa** 'lord' (T. 86), **tīya** 'woman' (T. 106), **bajāi** 'beat (the drum)' (T. 107)

- u *uḥhai* 'gets up' (T. 107), *suhāi* 'beautiful' (T. 107),
haru 'remove' (T. 107).
- ū *ūpara* 'above' (J. 61), *ḥuḥa* 'broke', (T. 116), *kāu*
 'ever' (T. 188).
- ṛ occurs only in *tatsama* words and is mostly re-
 presented by *ri* :
krpā 'favour' (T. 293), *vritti* 'livelihood' (Lāl),
riṣi 'sage' (T. 39), *riṣi* 'sage' (Lāl.)
- e The symbol for short *e* is the same in the manuscripts
 as well as in the printed books as for the long *ē*,
 only Grierson's edition of the *Padmāvat* has a
 different symbol. But the existence of *e* is
 attested by metrical compositions in all the
 texts—a long *ē* would disturb the metre :
eḥi 'this' (T. 160) *jeḥi* 'whomever' (T. 115),
bḥae 'having become' (J. 58).
- ē *ēkahi* 'one only' (T. 170), *dēkhu* 'see' (T. 170),
sānē 'mixed' (T. 207).
- o Like *e*, the existence of *o* (as different from *ō*)
 is inferred from metres; it is found with the
 symbol in the *Padmāvat* only :
ohī 'the same', (J. 171), *sohāḥī* 'appeal' (T. 171).
- ō *ōhi* 'to him' (T. 332), *ḍhōla* 'drum' (T. 366).

B. MODERN AWADHI

ix

§ 90. The sound **ix** is the Close Front Vowel, a little
 more open than Cardinal No. I (see Pal. 16). The
 lip-spreading also is less tense than in the Cardinal
 Vowel.

It can occur initially as in **ixṛṣix** 'stubborn', medially
 as in **piṛseū** 'I ground', **bixs** 'twenty' or finally in a
 word as in **pathorix** 'stone', **cailix** 'fuel-sticks'.

i

§ 91. The sound **i** is just like English short *i* (*it, pit* etc.) and is pronounced with much less muscular tension than **ir**. The air passage is freer as the tongue does not rise so high. It has been defined as 'Close Front lax unrounded vowel' (see Pal. 17).

It occurs initially, *e.g.*, in **itərarb** 'to be priggish', **ilɪrati** 'botheration' medially as in **piləwar** 'pup', **mircar** 'chillies' or finally in a word, *e.g.*, in **pozɪ** 'a variety of vegetable', **ɟari** 'may go'.

e

§ 92. The sound **e** is like the English sound *e* in *get, bet, pen*, etc. It differs from **i** in being more open and lax. It is very short in quantity as compared to **er** and is more open also and thus does not give a palatogram.

It occurs initially as in **etɹar** 'so much', **euɟir** 'officiating', medially as in **dekhɪbar** 'shall see', **liŋeũ** 'I took', or finally as in **se, ke**.

er

§ 93. The sound **er** is Half-close Front Vowel pronounced like Cardinal Vowel No. 2 (see Pal. 18). It occurs initially as in **erkar** 'unity', **erɹaɹpɛɹɹɪɹ** 'mutual exchange', medially as in **kɛrɪɪɪb** 'to play', **dɛɪɪɪɪɹ** 'half a pice' or finally as in **pɹɛɪɪɪɹ** 'behind', **mɹɛɪɪɪɹ** 'on the forehead'.

aɪ

§ 94. The sound **aɪ** is the Back Open vowel. The lips are wide apart and the tongue rests low with a slight rise in the back. It approximates, in quality, to Cardinal Vowel No. 5 and resembles the *a* of *father* in American pronunciation.

It occurs initially as in **arɪkɪat** 'grains of rice given to menials on ceremonial occasions', **arɪɪɪɪɹ** 'ginger',

medially as in **chedarm** 'one-fourth of a pice', **baxis** 'twenty-two', or finally in a word as in **ghorɔɾɔɾ** 'horse', **rafiar** 'remained'.

Λ

§ 95. The sound **Λ** is the Half-open Central Vowel. In pronouncing it the tongue rises up, in almost the central position. It can occur initially as in **arsix** 'linseed', **akarl** 'famine' or medially as in **jab** 'when', **das** 'ten'.

This sound is a little longer in open syllables than in closed ones and there tends somewhat towards the back and becomes slightly more open. The **Λ** of **akarl** is such, for instance. In a closed syllable before **r**, it has a slight shade of **ɜ**¹ as in **arsix**.

ə

§ 96. The sound **ə** is similar in quality to **Λ** but the tongue in this case is a little more raised and slightly more lax.

It occurs medially or finally and in unstressed syllables. It is at the end of a syllable and never begins a syllable. It is very short in quantity, e.g., in **ram ko** 'to Ram', **sorehĩr** 'a game with sixteen Cowries'.

This vowel has a tendency to disappear, what remains is merely the explosion of the previous consonant, e.g., **mafiotarrix** is sometimes heard as **mahtarrix** (mother) or **aponar** is heard as **apnar**.

ox

§ 97. The sound **ox** is the Half-close Back Vowel, the same as Cardinal Vowel No. 7. It occurs initially in a few words as in **ors** 'dew', **orp** 'secret' or medially as in **barorh** 'the middle hall', **catoxr** 'greedy' or rarely finally as in **hor** '0'.

¹ The vowel which is found before **r** in such words as 'bird' (**bɜd**)

o

§ 98. The sound **o** is similar to **or** in quality but is slightly more open and removed a little towards the centre. The back of the tongue rises a little less than in the case of **or**.

It occurs initially as in **osorix** 'turn', **oinar** 'yarn-hump' or medially as in **bflorohēr** 'in the morning', **dosorari ko** 'a second time'.

ur

§ 99. The sound **ur** is the Close Back Vowel just as the Cardinal Vowel No. 8. In pronouncing it, however, the rounding and the protrusion of lips as well as the tension is less than in the ordinary Cardinal.

It occurs initially as in **urbab** 'to be bored', **ursar** 'untilled land', medially as in **durdñ** 'milk', **bandurkh** 'gun', or finally in a word as in **narur** 'barber', **karur** 'bitter'.

u

§ 100. The sound **u** is similar in quality to **ur** but here the tongue position is a little lower and there is a slight rise towards the centre. It is also less tense than **ur**.

It occurs initially as in **ukilarb** 'to vomit', **ubofñani** 'a rope for drawing water from the well', or medially as in **kutijar** 'bitch', **sukhajeū** 'I dried' or finally as in **aru** 'come', **kheru** 'paddle the oars'.

General notes on the vowels

§ 101. The length of a vowel is not fixed but generally speaking, on an average a short vowel has half the length of the corresponding long vowel in the same position (circumstances) in a sentence normally spoken. For instance **-a-** in **barer** has a duration of 0.094 sec. as compared to **-ar-** of **rarjar** which has 0.187 sec. (Insc. 31).

The length of the same vowel varies very much. The average length of **ix** may be 40 mm. and of **i** 14; **ox** may be 43 mm. and **o** only 14; **ax** may vary in individual words from 50 mm. to 25 mm. while **Λ** may from 14 to 22 mm. Thus **Λ** of 22 mm. is short and **ax** of 25 mm. is long only by a convention which has its support from the feeling of the average speaker. For comparative lengths of the vowels, see Inscs. of **sĩrcab** and **sĩcibax** (32 and 12), **derkhab** and **dekhibax** (4 and 33), **carṭaṭi** and **caṭibax** (34 and 11), **sōrcati** and **sōcibax** (35 and 36) and **phūrkab** and **phūkibax** (1 and 37).

The nasalised vowel is a little longer than the corresponding unnasalised vowel. For instance, compare **ĩ** of **sĩcibax** with **i** of **caṭibax** (Inscs. 12 and 11).

The long vowel which begins a word is generally longer than the final long, *e.g.*, compare the length of **ex** in **erk** with that of **ex** in **baṛex** (Insc. 31).

Two short vowels coming together are generally of the same length as a long vowel, *e.g.*, compare the lengths of the vowels in **derkhaṭu**, **ārt** and **iu** (Inscs. 38, 39 and 40).

The length of the same vowel in the same position is greater in monsyllabic words than in dissyllabic words.

The length of vowels is maintained except when a vowel occurs in a syllable which is more than two syllables away from the end. In Awadhī length is material for determining metre of verse but is free and immaterial in songs. For instance in

soṛwau ki jaṛgau morix arḍhi bḥawainix jagat kerix rarnix (Insc. 48) the shorts and longs are not distinguishable.

§ 102. The dialects differ in the pronunciation of **e**, **ex** **o**, **ox**. In a specimen 12 miles south of Gonda town **ex** is pronounced as **jaṛ** and **ox** as **waṛ** but not so pronouncedly as in Baiswārā. In Sitapur **ex** is **ex** and **ox** is **ox** but when one moves southwards, only six miles south

of the town **ex** is found as **jaɪ** and **oɪ** as **waɪ**. Unao district has everywhere this pronunciation. In Fatehpur district on the borders of Cawnpore district **ex** is pronounced as **jaɪ** and **oɪ** as **waɪ**. It appears that in the area where this different pronunciation for **e**, **ex**, **o** and **oɪ** (as **jaɪ**, **jaɪ**, **waɪ**, **waɪ** respectively) exists, the start was from **e** and **o** but in the latter part of the sound there came about more opening of the mouth which resulted in diphthongs **eaɪ**, **eaɪ**, **oaɪ**, **oaɪ** which later gave **jaɪ**, **jaɪ**, **waɪ**, **waɪ**. Why these vowels came to be turned into diphthongs is hard to explain. But the area in which this peculiarity of pronunciation exists is considerable.

In Western Awadhī **bolaɪwab** and Eastern Awadhī **balazwab** 'to call' an alternation of **o:ɪ** is found, in this respect Chhattisgarhī agrees with Eastern Awadhī. Similar dialectal difference is found in Western **banazwab** and Eastern **banɪub**.

C. ORIGIN

ɪ (a)

§ 103. Awadhī **ɪ** represents

- (i) OIA **a**, MIA **a**, e.g., *anika* > **aniz** 'crisis', *avelā* > **abeɪɪ** 'delay', *aṅguṣṭha-* > **āguṭhaɪ** 'thumb', *antara-* > **ātaraz** 'gap'; *ālasya-* > **azrasu** 'sloth', *araghaṭṭa* > **rāḥaṭṭaz** 'spinning-wheel', *bhaginī* > **baḥini** 'sister', *nakṣatra* > **nakhat** 'star'.
- (ii) OIA **ā**, MIA **ā**, e.g., *ā-loḍ-* **aroɪɪab** 'to stir up the grain in the winnowing basket', *ā-cām-* > **ācawab** 'to rinse the mouth', *āṣāḍha* > **asazɪfi** 'the month *Āṣāḍha*'; *vātāvali* > **baɪazɪ** 'air', *vātākula-* > **bauraz** 'dumb'.

NOTE.—In such instances the old **ā** was either in an unaccented syllable, or if it was otherwise, later it was shortened in Awadhī if it was more than two syllables away from the end (see § 75).

(iii) In a few cases -**Λ**- is due to anaptyxis, e.g., **rAkAt** 'blood', **bñΛgAt** 'devotee'.

(iv) In the following instances -**Λ**- represents MIA -a- but OIA -u- or -ɛ- *mukula* > *maula* > **baur** 'blossoms of the mango-tree', *mukula* > *maula* > **maur** 'crown (of the bride-groom)', *guru* > *guru* > **garur** 'heavy', *kṛṣṇa* > **kṛḍḥaija:** 'Krishna' *kṛ* > **kar** 'to do'.

(v) In **narīAr** < *nārikela* 'cocoa-nut' **Λ** represents -e- (possibly through -ya-) and in **bāñe:rar** < *bibhātaka* (Chatterji, p. 403) it represents -i-.

In foreign loan-words **Λ** generally represents *a* and *ā* in the manner of (i), (ii) and (iii), e.g., **ArAgṇ** '—water (e.g., rose-water)' **Ararṁ** 'rest', **Apjard** 'estimate'. In a few cases it represents other vowels as well, e.g., **Asturaz** 'razor', **Ahisarṇ** 'gratefulness for some kind act', **Atibazṛṇ** 'faith'.

Λ does not occur finally in Awadhi in modern dialects. It is found in early Awadhi in the documents but the probability is that it was never actually pronounced even then (cf. Bloch : *Langue Marathe* § 38).

ar (ā)

§104. Awadhī non-final **ar** represents

(i) OIA *ā* > MIA *ā* (before a single consonant) and *a* (before a conjunction of consonants either the same or different), e.g., *āma* > **āru** 'mucus', *ālaya* > **arṇ** 'a niche in the wall to put sundry articles', *ārya* > **arjaj** 'grandfather', *ārdrikā* > **ardir** 'ginger'; *śṛgāla* > **sijar** 'jackal', *nibhāl* > **nifajarab** 'to see closely', *santāp* > **satarwab** 'to oppress', *sārtha* > **sarthṇ** 'company', *brāhmaṇa* > **barmñan** 'Brahmin'.

(ii) OIA *a*, MIA *a* followed by a conjunction of consonants which was simplified in Awadhī and

resulted in a compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. The long vowel survives only if it is in the final or penultimate syllable of a word, otherwise it becomes **-A-**, e.g., *aṅka* > **ārk** 'number', *anya* > **arn** 'another', *aṇḍa* > **āṇḍir** 'the bulb of a root', *vyāghra* > **ba:ḡḡir** 'tiger' but **baḡḡawar**, *nāpita* > **naruz** 'barber' but **naḡuwar**.

- (iii) MIA *āā* or *āa* or *āā*, with or without the glides *y* and *w*, derived from OIA by the loss of intervocalic consonants, e.g., *kumbhakāra* > **kumfiar**, *varayātrā* > **barazt** 'bridegroom's party', *rājaputra* > **razut** 'a particular caste', *dīpāvalī* > **dewariz** 'the Diwālī festival'; *koṣṭhāgāra* > **koṭhar** 'a zamindar's village-residence'.

Awadhī final **-ar** is the result of contraction of vowels :

- (i) MIA *-au* derived from earlier MIA *-āo* coming from OIA by the elision of the intervocalic consonant or from *-am* or *-as* by levelling out the neuter forms, e.g., *caṇakāḥ* > **canar** 'gram', *āmalakāḥ* > **āūrar** 'myrobalan', *gataḥ* > **gar** 'went'; Pāli *poṭṭhakam* > **pothar** 'a book'.
- (ii) MIA *-āo* by the elision of intervocalic *-y-* of OIA or of other consonants, e.g., *anadhyāyāḥ* > **apfiar** 'a holiday, interruption', *upādhyāyāḥ* > **orfiar** 'exorcist, snake-charmer', *cakravākaḥ* > **cakawar** 'a particular bird'.
- (iii) MIA *-aha* < *-asa* < *-āsa* in numerals, e.g., *dvādaśa* > **barar** 'twelve'.

ar is found in foreign loan-words also and generally represents *ā* or *aḥ* of the foreign languages, e.g., **Arām** 'rest', **istām** 'stamp', **naṣar** 'the effect of intoxicants'.

§ 105. Awadhī non-final **i**- represents

(i) MIA **i** derived from OIA **i** or **ɹ**, e.g., *indra -as-?* > **īdarsar** 'a variety of cake', *itvara-* > **itararab** 'to be haughty', *bhaginī* > **baḥini** 'sister', *ghṛtaṃ* > **ghiu** 'clarified butter', *hṛdayam* > **hijar** 'heart', *dadhi-* > **daḥiu** 'curds', *kapiltha-* > **kaithar** 'wood-apple', *kūḍṛṣa* > **kais** 'of what sort?'

(ii) MIA **i** derived from OIA **i**, e.g., *bija-* > **bjar** 'seed', *dīpa-paṭṭikā* > **ḍiḍṭi** 'lamp-stand', *pīḍ-* > **pirarab** 'to pain (passive)', *tira-* > **tirarab** 'to come near', *siv-* > **sīab** 'to sew'.

NOTE.—In all these and in similar cases, the old **i** is either away from the last two syllables or has become short in Awadhī in roots on the model of other passive verbs (**karṭab**—'to cut'—active, —**kaṭab** 'to cut'—passive). In **gaḥir** < *gabhīra* 'deep' and **ḥir** < *āhīra* 'Ahīr', however, the shortening of the vowel remains unexplained.

(iii) In a few instances **-i-** is due to anaptyxis, e.g., *grahana* > **giraḥan** 'eclipse'.

(iv) In the following instances **i** represents old *e*- *eṣo-* > **ehṣ* > **iu** 'this', *kedārikā* > **kijariz** 'a bed of plants', *biṭijar* 'daughter' < *bēṭā*-son, *nemiḥ* > **niu**, 'foundation'.

(v) In **chin** < *kṣaṇa* 'moment', **pījara** < *pañjara* 'cage', **kinokiz** < *kaṇikā* 'small grain', and **mircar** < *marica-* 'pepper', Awadhī **i** represents old *a*. Are these loan-words from other dialects? Similarly in the numerals **chizarlis** '46', **chifatariz** '76', **chizaris** '86' old *a-* is represented by Awadhī **i**.

- (vi) In *ardha-tatsama* words Awadhi **i** represents Sanskrit *-ya-*, e.g., **bithar** < *vyathā* 'pain', **uddim** < *udiyama* 'exertion' and in the beginning, it comes by prothesis, e.g., **istirir** < *strī* 'wife'.

Awadhi final **-i** (**i**) represents

- (i) MIA *-ī* derived from OIA *-ī, -in*, e.g., **bhaginī** > **bañinī** 'sister', **śreṣṭhī** > **serṭhi** 'banker', **aggī** > **argi** 'fire', * **gāvē** > **gari** 'cow'
- (ii) *-ni* of old neut. pl. *-āni* > *āim* > *-āi* > **-Ai**

- (iii) **-er** in pl. masc. perfect participles, e.g., **largi** besides **larger**, **ṭharṭhi** besides **ṭharṭher**, and in **karṭhi** 'tomorrow or yesterday' < *kalye*.

In a few instances final **-i** (**i**) is of modern origin and has been put in as a mark of feminine gender, e.g., **pāṛsi** 'manure' < *pāṛṣu*, Early Aw. *jari* 'root' < *jaṭā*, **bari** 'gout' < *vāṭa*.

In foreign loan-words

- (i) **i** generally represents *i*, e.g., **ijṛati** 'honour', **inarm** 'reward'
- (ii) in a few words **i** represents *ī* or *e*, e.g., **isariz** 'Christian', **difārt** 'country-side'
- (iii) **i** comes by prothesis in words such as **istarm** 'stamp'.

NOTE.—**i** is found initially in very few words of indigenous origin, it is mostly in words of foreign origin.

ix (i)

§ 106. Awadhi non-final **ix** represents

- (i) OIA *i*, MIA *ī*, e.g., *mañjira-* > **māñjirar** 'a variety of cymbals', *vinā* > **birn** 'lute'
- (ii) MIA *i-*, OIA *i-* or *ṛ-* followed by a conjunction of consonants which results in a single consonant in Awadhi and gives a compensatory lengthening

to the preceding vowel, e.g., *indhanam* > **ĩrdʱan̩** 'fuel', *siktha* > **sir̩th** 'grain', *piṣṭa-* > **piṛ̩thar̩** 'powdered pulse', *vṛścika-* > **bir̩chir̩** 'scorpion'.

NOTE.—The long vowel survives only in the penultimate syllable, if it is in any anterior syllable, it again becomes short.

- (iii) MIA $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i}$, e.g., *stṛiti-* > **t̪h̩ir̩ṣar̩** 'reliance', *tṛṣṇā* > **tiṛ̩** '3rd day'
- (iv) In **birtar** < *vitasti-* 'span', **sir̩l** < *śitala* 'cold', **b̩ir̩tar** < *abhyantara* 'inside', **ir̩** represents *i + a*, but all these are most probably borrowed words. In **birtar** *th* was expected for *t* and in **sir̩l** *r* for *l* (cf. Aw. *serarb* 'to get cold'). **b̩ir̩tar** might be from **bhintara* (*-ya-* > *i*) and not from *abhiantara*.

Final **ir̩** is the result of contraction of vowels:

- (i) $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i}$, e.g., future 3rd pers. sg. termination **-ir̩** (**karir̩** 'will do') < *ihi, aśīti* > **asir̩** 'eighty'; *akṣṇi* > **āk̩khir̩** 'eyes' (the *n* of the termination becoming weakened to *m*, ~ and then being lost) and other plur. dir. and obl. sg. forms of nouns ending in *-i*
- (ii) *i + ā* in the case of fem. nouns in **ir̩**, e.g., *āryā-* > *ajjīā* > **ar̩jir̩** 'grandmother', *bhrātṛjāyā-* > **b̩ir̩auj̩ar̩ir̩** 'sister-in-law'
- (iii) *i + ō* in the case of masc. nouns in **ir̩** derived from *-in* bases of OIA e.g., *prativēśikah* > *padivēśiṣ* > **par̩ox̩sir̩** 'neighbour', *mar̩ir̩* > **mar̩ir̩** 'gardener'.

NOTE.—As shown below in the case of **g̩ir̩iu** 'clarified butter' etc., *i + ō* has survived as **iu**. The double treatment of this group can be explained by the hypothesis that in groups *i + ō* which resulted in **ir̩**, *i* was pronounced longer than in the other case.

ir̩ occurs in foreign loan-words and there generally represents *i*, e.g., **s̩ar̩f̩on̩ar̩ir̩** 'a kind of musical instrument'.

u

§ 107. Awadhi non-final **u**- represents

- (i) MIA *u* derived from OIA *u* or *ṛ*, e.g., *udeti* > **uḌi** 'rises', *ud-ghaṭ-* > **ugḥḍarab** 'to become uncovered', *ujjwala* > **uḍar** 'white', *kumāra* > **kūar** 'unmarried', *śuka-* > **suar** 'parrot', *nakula* > **neurar** 'mongoose', *mukha* > **muḥ** 'mouth', *śṛṇoti* > **sunḍi** 'hears', *mātṛ-śvosā-* > **mausir** 'mother's sister'
- (ii) MIA *ū* derived from OIA *ū*, e.g., *bhūmi* > **bḥuī** 'ground', *śūkara* > **suar** 'pig', *dyūta-* > **jūar** 'gambling', *yūkā-* > **jūar** 'louse', *madhūka-* > **maḥuā** 'a variety of tree', *prāghūrṇa-* > **paḥḥunar** 'guest'.

N. B.—The shortening of the quantity is due either to accent or to elongation of the final or penultimate vowel in Awadhi.

- (iii) MIA *va-*, *vā-* derived from OIA *va*, *pa*, *ma*, e.g., *svara* > **sur** 'tone', *apara* > **aur** 'more', *kaparda-* > **kaurir** 'cowrie', *kacchapa-* > **kaḥhuar** 'tortoise', *samarpay-* > **saḥpab** 'to entrust', *āmalaka-* > **āuar** 'myrobalan'; particularly in modern loan-words *devatā* > **deutar** 'deity', *devakī-* > **deukar** 'a name', *tvarita-* > **turtō** (*ardhu-tatsama*) 'at once', *dvandva-* > **dundir** 'naughty'.

Awadhi final **-u** (**ṁ**) represents

Late MIA *u* < early MIA *o* generally derived from OIA *-aḥ*; but possibly many forms in MIA (particularly in neuter stems) are by analogy, e.g., *grāmaḥ* > **gāru** 'village', *tāpaḥ* > **tāru** 'heating', *sāḥpṛ* 'serpent', *nāma-* > **nāru** 'name', *dāma-* > **dāru** 'chance', *suvarṇa-* > **soṛṇṁ** 'gold', *ghṛta-* > **gḥiu** 'clarified butter'.

The **-u** of the Imperative second person plural and **-u** of the direct sg. case are thus derived.

u occurs in foreign loan-words and generally represents *u*, e.g. **guJARAb** 'to pass away', **umiri** 'age'.

NOTE — **u** sometimes dialectically replaces **o**, e.g., *sphoṭa-* > **phurijaz** 'boil', *kharu* : **kharo** 'cat'.

uz (ū)

§ 108. Awadhi non-final **uz-** is derived from

- (i) MIA *ū* coming from OIA *ū*, e.g., *sūcikā* > **suziz** 'needle', *karpūra* > **kApuzr** 'camphor'
- (ii) MIA *u* (derived from OIA *ū* or *ṛ*) followed by a conjunction of consonants, e.g., *cūrṇa-* > **curnaz** 'powdered lime', *truṭy-* > **turṭ-** 'to break', *prcch-* > **puzch-** 'to ask', *vṛddha* > **buzṛfi** 'old'
- (iii) **ūzkh** < *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane' and **būzd** < *bindu* 'drop' are explained by assimilation of *i* to *u* at an earlier stage
- (iv) **durn** < *dviguṇa* indicates **uz** < *iu* (possibly first transformed to *uu*)
- (v) In **chuzraz** < *kṣura-* 'razor' the lengthening of **uz** is unaccounted.

Awadhi final **-uz** is the result of contraction of groups of vowels of MIA

- uz** < *-iaṭ* e.g., *nāpitakaḥ* : **nazuz** 'barber'
- < *-īaṭ* e.g., *navanītakaḥ* : **nAinuz** 'buttier'
- < *-ūṭ*, e.g., *godhūmaḥ* : **gozfiūz** 'wheat'
- < *-uā* e.g., *vāluka* : **bazruz** 'sand'.

uz is found in foreign loan-words also.

e

§ 109. Awadhi **e** represents

- (i) MIA *e*, *ē* (derived from OIA *e* or *ai*), *e.g.*, *kedāra* < **kejarri** 'a bed of plants', *nemi* > **nejari** 'an earthen support for jars', *kē* (Māg. form of Pkt. *kō*) > **keñi** 'to whom', *śaivāla* > **sewar** 'a kind of green moss-like plant growing in water'.
- (ii) MIA *ī* (derived from OIA *ī*, *ya*), *e.g.*, *vipādikā* > **bēwar** 'a disease of the feet', *tithi-vāra* > **teufar** 'festival', *dīpāvalī* **dewarri** 'the Diwālī festival', *nīpāvalī* > **newarri** 'a kind of white flower' (Chatterji derives it from *navamal-likā*, see Chatterji, p. 409), *vyavahāra* > **beufar** (possibly through Pkt. *vivahāra*) 'mutual etiquette between families'.
- (iii) MIA *a* (OIA *a*), *e.g.*, *kapāṭa* > **kēwarar** 'shutters', *kaṃalā* > **keūlar** '*Lakshmi*', *nakula* > **neurar** 'mongoose'.

NOTE.—Both in (ii) and (iii) it will be noticed that **e** is derived from *i*, *ī* or *a* followed by a labial sound.

- (iv) MIA *īa* (OIA *ī* + consonant + *a*) *e.g.*, *śītalāya* > **serar** 'to get cold'. Is the root **señolar** 'to become moist' connected with this very root?
- (v) At the end of words **i** corresponds with **e** dialectically, *e.g.*, **khari** : **khare** '(he) may eat'.

er (ē)

§ 110. Awadhi non-final **er** comes from

- (i) MIA *e*, *ē* (derived from OIA *e*, *ai* or *ṛ* or *aṃ*), *e.g.*, *kṣetra* > **khert** 'field', *ākhṣa* > **āfēr** 'shikār', *taila* > **terl** 'oil', *gairika* > **gerur** 'red pigment', *vṛnta* > **bērt** 'handle', *śayyā* > **serj** 'bed'.

- (ii) MIA- *ia-* e.g. *ḍi-adḍha* > **ḍerḥ** 'one and a half', *niara-* (< *nikaṭa-*) > **nerrex** 'near', *viana-* (< *vyajana-*) > **bernax** 'fan'
- (iii) MIA *-aya-* e.g. *kadalī-* > *kayālī-* > **keṛrax** 'plantain tree', *citrakara-* > *cittayara-* > *citērā* 'painter', *kārya* > * *kayara* > **keṛr** 'of'
- (iv) In **berl** < *bilva* 'wood-apple' and **chēṛd** < *chidra* 'hole', **pareṛwar** < *pratipadā* '1st day of the Hindu month' **er** represents OIA *i* possibly through MIA *i* > *e* and in **sēṛdḥ** < *sandhi* 'an aperture made in walls by thieves' **er** corresponds to *a*, possibly through *saṛdhi*. The words **janeru** and **janer** < *yajñopavīta* 'the sacred thread' are hard to explain
- (v) **er** occurs in the numerals **geṛrax** '11', **teṛrax** '13', **teṛis** '23', **tēṛtis** '33' and **tēṛtarlis** '43' where it represents MIA vowel combinations *ēā*, *aya* etc.

er occurs in many foreign loan-words and represents *ē* or *ai* or *āi*, **ai**, e.g., **terj** 'speedy', **term** 'time'.

Final- **er** in Awadhi represents MIA *-aē*, e.g.

* *cittayara-ē* > *citērē* 'painters', OIA *gata-* > MIA *gaaē* > **gaeṛ-** plur. of the past participle **gai** 'went'.

o

§ 111. Awadhi **o** represents

- (i) OIA *o*, e.g., *jyotsnā* : **jōḍḥaijar** 'the moon'; Is **soḥṛarwab** 'to rub gently' connected with *śodha-kāra*? cf. Turner Nep. Dic. p. 624
- (ii) OIA *upa-*, e.g., *upāsālā* > **osaṛ** 'the ante-room'; Turner derives from *apasāra*
- (iii) OIA *au*, e.g., *saubhāgya* > **soḥiarg** 'woman's good-luck that her husband is alive';

- (iv) OIA *ava*, e.g., *ava-ūḍha-* > **oṛṣṇaṛ** 'wrapper',
avasara- > **osaṛiṛ** 'turn', *ava-tīrṇa-* > **oinaṛ**
 'a spindle on which yarn is put up after spinning'.

NOTE.—In all non-final positions **o** represents *ō* as is clear from the instances, given above. Finally **o** corresponds with **-u** dialectically and stands for late MIA **-u**.

In **okḥaṛiṛ** (Skt. *ulūkhala-*) 'a mortar for pounding in' the possibility of Dravidian origin has been suggested (*vide* Turner *Nep. Dic. okḥli* p. 61).

or (ō)

§ 112. Awadhi **or** represents

- (i) OIA *o*, MIA *o*, *ō*, e.g., *yoktra* > **jorṭ** 'yoke',
potikā > **pori** 'a vegetable', *oṣṭha* > **ōṛṭh** 'lip'
- (ii) OIA *-au-*, MIA *ō*, e.g., *gaura* > **gorṛ** 'fair-coloured', *lauha* > **lorṣi** 'iron'
- (iii) OIA *-ava-*, MIA *ō*, e.g., *avaśyā* > **ors** 'dew',
putra-vadhū > **paṭorṣi** 'daughter-in-law',
rasavaṭi > **raṣorṛ** 'kitchen'
- (iv) OIA *-apa-* MIA *-ava-* > *o*, e.g., *√kṣapa-* >
khor- 'to lose', *liṅga-paṭṭa* > **lāgorṭ** 'a strip of cloth to cover private parts'
- (v) OIA *-ama* > **āva* in *māma* > **mō** 'mine'
- (vi) MIA *ua* (derived from OIA *ū* + consonant + *ā*)
 e.g., *śūkara-* > **soṛriṛ** 'a female pig', *sugandha* >
sōṛḍiṛ 'fragrant', *upādhyāya-* > **orṣṣaṛ** 'a snake-charmer', *cāṣṭukara* > **caṭorṛ** 'one fond of delicious things', *suvarṇa* > **sorṇ** 'gold'
- (vii) In *prativeśin-* or *prativāsin* > **paṛorṛsiṛ**
 'neighbour', Aw. **or** represents OIA *-iva-* or *-ivā-*
- (viii) In words where Aw. **or** corresponds with OIA *ū*, the possibility is that *ū* became *u* in MIA before

conjunct consonants and later became *o*. This was lengthened in NIA in order to compensate for the shortening of the consonant, e.g., *mūlya* > *mulla* > *molla* > **morl** 'price', *puṣṭaka-* > *puṭṭhaa* > *poṭṭhaa* > **poṭṭhaṣ** 'a big book'. Similarly we may connect **gophaṣ** (*gumpha-*) 'twining', **koṛkhi** (*kukṣi*) 'womb'.¹

- (ix) **cōrc** (skt. *cancuḥ*) 'beak' and **mōrch** (skt. *śmaśru*) 'hair on the face' appear to be loan-words from the substratum languages. The *a* > *o* has been sometimes explained, however, to be due to the contamination of *u* in the final syllable, if derived from OIA.

o occurs in loan-words from foreign languages, e.g., **zōr** 'force', **poṛt** 'rent' (Pers.), as also from substratum languages, e.g., **qāḥōrg** 'show'.

Whispered Vowels

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 113. There being no special symbols for the whispered vowels, it is not possible to say definitely if Early Awadhi possessed these vowels. The final short vowel makes syllables which fact *a priori* establishes that the final short vowel was pronounced. The fact, however, that the final short could be pronounced long also, however, vitiates the *a priori* conclusion. The possibility is that the final short was pronounced as a vowel but with a very weak quantity.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 114. Awadhi possesses three whispered vowels **i**, **e**, **u**. These are markedly present in the Western dialects but are absent in the Eastern ones.

A vowel is a sound in which the vocal cords are closely put together and have a certain stretch which results in

¹ The usual explanation of such words is from their *vrddhi* forms (see Pischel § 125 and Bloch § 80).

musical vibration: In the resonance chamber the tongue does not generally come in contact with the palate, so that a more or less free passage is left for the air. The quality of the vowel is distinguished on account of the position of the tongue. In mere aspiration, the vocal cords are wide apart and the tongue-position leaves a free passage of air. In whisper the vocal cords are closely put together but a small triangular space is left at their base for the passage of air. There is no stretch of the cords and hence there is no vibration and musical note. The resonance chamber assumes the various shapes for pronouncing the full sounds but as there is no vibration of vocal cords (in the case of vowel-sounds and voiced consonants) the full sounds are not heard. Still as the resonance chamber is making the same effort and as the air does come out, though with less force, sounds are heard and distinguished in whisper.

A whispered vowel, thus, is a sound for producing which the tongue in the resonance chamber assumes the position for the regular vowel but there is no vibration of the vocal cords.¹

The apparatus does not distinguish between a whispered vowel and the explosion of the previous consonant; the acoustic effect is, however, decisive. A complete sentence spoken in whisper gives only breath inscription on the apparatus (See Insc. 25 **tum khari areu**).

§ 115. In Awadhi a whispered vowel occurs only at the end of a word and does not make a syllable.² Historically it was a full short vowel -i, -e or -u. It comes after consonants in modern Awadhi—it has a stronger whisper after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one. The whispered vowel gives place to the ordinary vowel (1)

¹ See drawings of the Larynx of Mr. S. Jones (Plate 20).

² Unlike Japanese where it occurs medially and makes a syllable, *vide* Edwardes: *Phonétique Japonaise* § 25.

when it is followed by a voiced consonant of a place of articulation different from that of the consonant which precedes it, *e.g.*, **maɾi gaɾ** > **maɾi gaɾ**, **ũɾɿu jaɾti** > **ũɾɿu jaɾti**; (2) when the elision of a medial vowel makes the consonant preceding the whispered vowel a conjunct one, *e.g.*, **maɾɾaɾti** > **maɾti**.

The whispered vowel of the particles is very weak as compared to that of the participial forms. The **o** of the particles has the same fate as a whispered vowel, but as its elision cannot be distinguished from the explosion of the consonant which precedes it, it is not possible to say that the whispered **o** exists as a separate phoneme.

i

§ 116. The sound **i** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing **i** but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (See Inscs. 26 and 27).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, *e.g.*, in **jaɾti** 'going', **giɾli** 'wet', **sãɾɿɿi** 'evening', **khazni** 'mine'.

u

§ 117. The sound **u** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing **u** but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (see Inscs. 28 and 29).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, *e.g.*, in **sãɾɿpɿ** 'snake', **harthɿ** 'hand', **bfiɾɿɿ** 'morning', **sãɾɿɿ** 'bull'.

e

§ 118. The sound **e** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of **-e** but owing to the absence of the vibration of vocal cords, the full vowel

is not heard. It occurs at the end of a word and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., **kar̥fiese** 'from what?' (see Insc. 30 se).

C. ORIGIN

§ 119. The whispered vowels go back to MIA corresponding short vowels.

Nasalised Vowels

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 120. All the vowels shown above have their nasalised forms also. For instance:

ā, a *bhavāra* 'bee' (J. 35), *kākara* 'gravel' (T. 181)

ɛ *saṭtālisa* 'forty-seven' (J. 35)

ī *parichāhī* 'shadow' (J. 37)

ū *ūjārā* 'light' (J. 37)

ṛ *avārāṛ* 'garden' (J. 41)

ṛ *carṛilī* 'jasmine' (J. 53)

ē *piyārē* 'beloved' (T. 176)

ō *khōcā* 'quiver' (J. 112).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 121. The dialects possess the nasalised forms of all the vowels (except the neutral and the whispered) described in the foregoing sections and they occur in all such positions as the ordinary vowel can take up. When a nasalised vowel is pronounced, the uvula is slack and thus while the air in its major quantity passes through the mouth a small quantity escapes through the nose also.

The following instances illustrate these vowels:—

(1) ȁ *āḍḍāra:* 'blind', *phāsarwāb* 'to ensnare'

(2) ā: *ārkhi* 'eye', *gā:ṭhi* 'knot', *kaḥā:* 'where'

(3) ȣ *īḍārsā* 'a sweet cake of rice', *jḥīḡowā:* 'shrimp'

- (4) **ĩ:** **ĩ:ɖʃʌn** 'fuel', **hĩ:g** 'Assafætida', **gʌĩ:**
'(females) went'
(5) **ũ** **ũɾɛɾlʌb** 'to pour', **jũa:** 'gambling', **ɖʃʌũ**
'whether'
(6) **ũ:** **ũ:ɾ** 'camel', **mũ:g** 'a kind of pulse', **go:ʃũ:**
'wheat'
(7) **ẽ** **ẽɾua:** 'a seat made of hemp or grass',
gʃẽt̪ua: 'neck'
(8) **ẽ:** **ẽ:ɾi:** 'ankle', **gẽ:d** 'ball', **bʃlorẽʃẽ:** 'in the
morning'
(9) **õ** **gõt̪hiba:** 'shall plait'
(10) **õ:** **õ:ɾt̪** 'lip', **sõ:ɾt̪i** 'dry ginger'.

The palatogram of **ĩ:** (19) is slightly different from that of the corresponding un-nasalised vowel. In other cases the nasalisation does not show any difference in palatograms.

§ 122. The nasalised vowels are separate phonemes in as much as the absence of nasalisation may entirely change the meaning of a word, e.g., **pãrti:** 'rows', but **parti:** 'leaf', **cãɾta:** 'slap', but **carɾa:** 'licked', **laɾt̪** 'fondling', but **lã:ɾ** 'penis', **sa:ɾi:** 'an advance to settle an agreement', **sã:ɾi:** 'a tribe of saints', **kʌʃa:** 'said', but **kʌʃã:** 'where'.

A nasalised vowel nasalises the following voiced consonant (but not the breathed one (See Insc. 21) so much so that it would be more accurate to say that a *reduced* nasal comes between the two, e.g., **ĩ:ɖʃʌn**, **ĩ:ŋgʊr** and **ĩɖʌrsʌ:** (Inscs. 22, 23 and 24) should be written as **ĩɪndʃʌn**, **ĩɪŋgʊr** and **ĩɪndʌrsʌ:**. See also Inscs. 42 and 43 (**bã:ɾi** and **hĩ:go**).

When a word ends in a long vowel and there is a nasalised vowel or nasal somewhere in the word, the breath passes through the nose also at the end, see **ĩɖʌrsʌ:** (Inscs. 24). Carefulness in speaking may keep off the influence of nasalisation (cf. **jũa:** and **juã:** Inscs. 44 and 45).

§ 123. The pronunciation of intervocalic nasalised **-d-** and **-b-**, aspirated or unaspirated, differs with dialects. In the

Western dialects it is **-ḍ**, **-ḅ**, **-ḍḥ**, **ḅḥ** although as shown here the nasal consonant appears before the mute. In the Eastern dialects the mute has entirely disappeared so that Western **-ḍ** and **-ḅ** appear as **-n** and **-m**, e.g., Lmp. **bḥḍḥar** Sl. **banḥar**; Lmp. **bḥrd** Sl. **burn**; Lmp. **gḥrd** Sl. **genawar**; Lmp. **candan** Sl. **canan**; Lmp. **sḥders** Sl. **saneis**; U. **sḥrbir** A. **sermir** or **chermir**; Lmp. **kḥbarir** Fy. **kamarir**; Lmp. **kḥḍḥar** Fy. **kanḥar**; Lmp. **bḥḅḥan** Fy. **barḥan**; Lmp. **thḥḅḥar** Fy. **thamḥar**; Lmp. **paḥḍḥab** Fy. **painḥab**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 124. Nasalization in Indo-Aryan has been classed as 'dependent' and 'spontaneous'. The former comes up on account of the influence of a neighbouring nasal or *anusvāra* in OIA or MIA. This variety of nasalization occurs quite frequently in Modern Indo-Aryan including Awadhi; particularly in words where a nasal follows a vowel it has generally left its impress on the preceding vowel, e.g., **ḍḥrt** < *danta*. But sometimes a nasal preceding a vowel appears to have nasalized its successor as is clear from the manuscripts where we find *māi* for modern **marir** 'mother'.

It is also clear that a nasal coming before a voiced consonant leaves nasality longer than one coming before a breathed consonant, e.g., *santāpayati* > **satarwai** 'oppresses', *kaṅkata* > **kakawar** 'comb', *kaṅkaṇa* > **kakanar** 'bracelet' while *andha* > **ḥḍḥar** 'blind', *kampa* > **kḥrp** 'to tremble'; cf. Aw. **paḥerir**, Hin. **panḥerir** 'weight of five seers'.

This shows that just as to-day (see 122), nasalization in earlier stages also was less marked before a breathed consonant than before a voiced consonant.

The dependent nasalization is noticed in a few foreign words also, e.g., Pers. *bandar* > Aw. **bḥḍar** 'monkey'.

§ 125. The spontaneous nasalization is very unstable historically and it is not possible to reduce it to general rules.¹ The same word may be found with nasalization at one place and without it at another, *e.g.*, **thurku** and **thūṛku**, **gfars** and **gfārs**. But it may be noted that nasalization has been generally noticed where *r*, sibilant or *h* was present somewhere in the word, *e.g.*, *sarpa* > **sārp**, *akṣi* > **ākṣi** 'eye'.

¹ For studies on the subject, see

Grierson: Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages—J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 381.

Siddheshwar Varma: Nasalisation in Hindi Literary Works—Journal of the Deptt. of Letters, Cal. Univ., Vol. XVIII,

CHAPTER II

VOWEL-COMBINATIONS

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 126. All the vowel-combinations given below in the case of Modern Awadhi are generally found in Early Awadhi also. For instance :

- iā*, e.g., *diā* 'lamp' (J. 24).
- iū*, e.g., *nīū* 'lemon' (J. 52).
- iē*, e.g., *diē* 'gave' (T. 160).
- ia*, e.g., *piahr* 'drink' (J. 20).
- iā*, e.g., *duniāl* 'in the world' (J. 20). *tiāgi* 'selfless' (J. 23).
- iō*, e.g., *biōgi* 'lorn' (J. 45).
- iū*, e.g., *cāriu* 'all the four' (J. 31).
- ēi*, e.g., *fēi* 'having sharpened' (T. 166).
- ēi*, e.g., *dēi* 'gives' (J. 22).
- ēo*, e.g., *mahādēo* 'Śiva' (J. 425).
- ēu*, e.g., *sēu* 'apple' (J. 52).
- ei*, e.g., *jei* 'whoever' (J. 23).
- eo*, e.g., *deotankhi* 'gods' (J. 55).
- eu*, e.g., *naeu* 'bent' (J. 19).
- eū*, e.g., *bhaeū* 'became' (J. 23).
- aī*, e.g., *daī* 'God' (J. 21).
- ai*, e.g., *caḍhai* 'attacks' (J. 19), *saiada* 'Syed' (J. 24).
- ae*, e.g., *mērae* 'unites' (J. 26).
- aē*, e.g., *gaē* 'went' (210).
- au*, e.g., *kādaū* 'mud' (J. 19.).
- aū*, e.g., *dūaū* 'both' (J. 273).
- āi*, e.g., *nāi* 'like' (J. 22).

- āi*, e.g., *jāi* 'having gone' (J. 19).
āē, e.g., *lakhāē* 'showed' (J. 26).
āe, e.g., *jāesa* 'Jāyas' (J. 33).
āo, e.g., *ghāo* 'wound' (J. 220).
āu, e.g., *niāu* 'justice' (J. 20), *pāu* 'gets' (J. 25).
āū, e.g., *ṭhāū* 'place' (J. 45), *jarāū* 'wrought' (J. 57).
oi, e.g., *hoi* 'becoming' (J. 19).
ou, e.g., *dou* 'both' (T. 167).
ōi, e.g., *kōi* 'anyone' (J. 20).
ōi, e.g., *hōi* 'he' (J. 24).
ōa, e.g., *rōahṭ* 'weep' (J. 254).
ōā, e.g., *rōā* 'wept' (J. 225).
ōu, e.g., *sōu* 'even he' (J. 20).
ōū, e.g., *kōū* 'anyone' (J. 23).
ui, e.g., *dui* 'two' (J. 25).
uē, e.g., *uē* 'rose' (J. 50).
ua, e.g., *chuai* 'touching' (J. 20), *duau* 'both' (J. 25),
cua 'drips' (J. 41).
uā, e.g., *aguā* 'leader' (J. 26).
uu, e.g., *nauu* 'all the nine' (J. 56).

NOTE—*ai* and *au* have definite diphthong symbols, but are mostly written as simple vowels.

Nasalised vowels also are frequently found in combination.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 127. (a) The language has all varieties of combinations of two vowels. The following are the usual ones :

1. *iix*, e.g., *piix* 'drunk'.
2. *ier*, e.g., *jier* 'became alive'.
3. *iar*, e.g., *jiax* 'elder sister'.
4. *iu*, e.g., *gfliu* 'clarified butter'.
5. *erix*, e.g., *derix* 'will give'.
6. *eri*, e.g., *deri* 'may give'.
7. *erex*, e.g., *kherex* (*caḷau*) '(go on) steering'.
8. *eru*, e.g., *deru* 'give'.

9. **eu**, *e.g.*, **deukar** 'a proper name'.
10. **Λιz**, *e.g.*, **nΛιz** 'new'.
11. **Λi**, *e.g.*, **bβΛi** 'became'.
12. **Λez**, *e.g.*, **gΛez** 'they went'.
13. **Λu**, *e.g.*, **tΛu** 'then'.
14. **Λuz**, *e.g.*, **gΛuz** 'cow'.
15. **aziz**, *e.g.*, **aziz** 'came'.
16. **ari**, *e.g.*, **ɟari** 'may go'.
17. **axer**, *e.g.*, **khaxer** 'eaten'.
18. **axoz**, *e.g.*, **axoz** 'come'.
19. **azu**, *e.g.*, **ɟazu** 'go'.
20. **azuz**, *e.g.*, **naɹuz** 'barber'.
21. **oi**, *e.g.*, **hoi** 'became'.
22. **ou**, *e.g.*, **dβiounaz** 'the wash'.
23. **oxiz**, *e.g.*, **hoxiz** 'will be'.
24. **ori**, *e.g.*, **hori** 'may be'.
25. **oxer**, *e.g.*, **dβioɹer** 'washed'.
26. **oxΛ**, *e.g.*, **dβioɹΛnɹ** 'the wash'.
27. **oxaz**, *e.g.*, **dβioɹaz** 'presents'.
28. **oxoz**, *e.g.*, **dβioɹoz** 'wash'.
29. **oru**, *e.g.*, **horu** 'be'.
30. **uiz**, *e.g.*, **gβuiz** 'the flower of reeds'.
31. **ui**, *e.g.*, **ɟui** 'two'.
32. **uer**, *e.g.*, **uer** 'rose'.
33. **uΛ**, *e.g.*, **kũΛn** 'the wells' (obl.).
34. **uaz**, *e.g.*, **buaz** 'mother'.
35. **uziz**, *e.g.*, **ruɹiz** 'cotton'.

NOTE.—Of these, the combinations of two short vowels, particularly **Λi**, **Λu** have a tendency to become diphthongs.

(b) The following are the most common groups of three vowels :

1. **ieu**, *e.g.*, **pieu** '(you) drank'.
2. **iΛu**, *e.g.*, **ɟiΛu** 'live'.
3. **exeu**, *e.g.*, **khexeu** '(you) paddled the oars'.

4. **ciar**, *e.g.*, **neiar** 'the earthen support of vessels'.
5. **Āiar**, *e.g.*, **bṣĀiar** 'brother'.
6. **Auar**, *e.g.*, **khauar** 'eater (glutton)'.
7. **ariu**, *e.g.*, **ariu** 'you (ladies) came'.
8. **areu**, *e.g.*, **kṣareu** 'you ate'.
9. **oiar**, *e.g.*, **loiar** 'blanket'.
10. **oreu**, *e.g.*, **ḍṣoreu** 'you washed'.
11. **uiar**, *e.g.*, **gṣūiar** 'the root of Arum'.

NOTE.—Several dialects show a variation in the combination of vowels. For instance:

Lakhimpuri **eri**, **eru**, **Āi**, **Au**, **ari**, **aru**, **oi**, **ori** and **oru** are represented in the Eastern dialects by **ere**, **ero**, **Ae**, **Ao**, **are**, **aro**, **oe**, **ore** and **oro** respectively.

Āi is found as **Āj** in some Central and Eastern dialects. A specimen from Bahraich town records **Āi** while only twelve miles north of it another specimen records **Āj**.

ORIGIN

§ 128. The OIA diphthongs had become simple vowels in MIA (*ai* > *o*, *au* > *e*), which permitted vowels coming side by side without coalescence. The same state continues in Mod IA and particularly in Awadhi. Evidence of diphthongisation is infrequent and in this respect Eastern Hindi stands generally in contrast with Western Hindi where diphthongisation of simple vowels is usually found. Awadhi **Āi** has two simple vowels **Ā** and **i**, in Braj generally the two have the acoustic effect of a diphthong while in Hindustani of Delhi area this **Āi** is represented by **æ**. This is found in Rājasthani as **æ**.

The origin of simple vowels (single) has been discussed in detail above. Vowel-combinations have no separate history.

CHAPTER III

THE SYLLABLE

§ 129. A syllable in Awadhī consists of

1. a vowel, *e.g.*, **ix** 'these', **uz** 'that', **i/u** 'this', **bʃʌ-i-az** 'brother' etc.,
2. a vowel plus a consonant, *e.g.*, **ɛ:k** 'one', in 'these' **oɽ** 'check',
3. a vowel plus the closure of a long consonant (commonly known as a double consonant), *e.g.*, **ot/ɾaz** 'that much', **ʌl/ɾaz** 'God (among Mohammedans)';
4. a vowel plus the first of a conjunct consonant, *e.g.*, **ʌr/siz** 'linseed', **ul/ɽaz** 'opposite',
5. a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel or **o**, *e.g.*, **ɟaz/iti** '(we) going'; **ɟi/ʌti** 'living', **ʌpə/naz** 'herself',
6. a consonant plus a vowel, *e.g.*, **ɾaz/ɟaz** 'king', **ki/ɽab** 'book',
7. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, *e.g.*, **din** 'day', **bas** 'control', **har** 'plough',
8. a consonant plus a vowel plus the closure of a long consonant (commonly known as a double consonant), *e.g.*, **bap/ɾaz** 'father', **kut/ɾaz** 'dog', **bʃuɽ/ɾaz** 'an ear of maize',
9. a consonant plus a vowel plus the first of a conjunct, *e.g.*, **khaŋ/ɽaz** 'sour', **kun/daz** 'log', **bʃiŋ/ɽiz** 'lady's finger', **bar/chi** 'spear',
10. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a whispered vowel, *e.g.*, **ɾarmə** 'Rāma', **ɟartɨ** 'going'.

An intervocalic consonant goes with the following vowel to make a syllable and two successive vowels make two different syllables.

§ 130. Most of the syllables in Awadhi are of the variety of a consonant plus a vowel. Out of the eighty-six syllables which make the first three sentences of **gulgular warliḥ kathar** (Texts No. 1), forty-four are of this variety, twenty-two of a single vowel, fifteen of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, two of a vowel plus a consonant, one of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a whispered vowel and two of a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel.

§ 131. The syllabic division in Awadhi, as we see from the analysis of syllables, mostly comes after the vowel, the most sonorous element. When there is a long consonant or conjunct consonant, however, the division comes after the closure of the long consonant and after the first consonant respectively.

The general rule in Awadhi is that a long vowel should be followed by a short consonant. A short vowel may be followed by a long, or short or conjunct consonant. A consonant short or long may have a vowel of any quantity after it. In certain verbal formations where **ʌ** has been elided between **r** or **l** and a consonant, we have a long vowel followed by a conjunct consonant, e.g., **barlati** > **barṭi** 'burns', **carlati** > **carṭi** 'sifts'. We have it in loan-words also, e.g., **barṭiḥ** 'bucket', the dialect-word being **ḍorṭi**.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORD

§ 132. A word in Awadhi may begin either with a consonant or a vowel. Any vowel may begin a word. As regards consonants, most of them can begin a word—only a few, mentioned in their individual treatment, which occur only medially or finally do not do so. Lakhimpuri avoids the semi-vowels (**y** and **w**) initially.

(a) Not more than one consonant (short) may come at the beginning of a word and not more than two vowels together. In the middle of a word we may find one vowel or two or three vowels together. When there are three, the last vowel has a tendency to be separated from the preceding two by a semi-vowel, *e.g.*, **neiaɾ** 'a support for jars' becomes **neijaɾ**, **paɯaɾ** 'a quarter of a seer' becomes **paɯwaɾ**. In the medial position generally there is a short consonant. Sometimes we have it long—mostly in loan-words, *e.g.*, **kutɾaɾ** 'dog', the proper dialect-word being **kuzkur**. Not more than two consonants can come together in the middle of a word and these should be :

1. Nasal and a consonant, *e.g.*, **sʌŋgʃi** 'with', **khopcaɾ** 'a dish of sweets', **piŋdʒiɾ** 'a lump', **bundaɾ** 'earrings', **bambax** 'pipe'.

2. **r** plus a consonant, *e.g.*, **bʃurkaɾ** 'an earthen cup', **bʃurjɾiɾ** 'baker', **barti** 'burning', **barphɾiɾ** 'a variety of toffee', **barsɾiɾ** 'anniversary', **barwaɟ** 'spleen', **Arɾɾiɾ** 'a kind of pulse'.

r cannot be combined with a retroflex consonant or with **j** or **l**.

3. **l** plus consonant, *e.g.*, **palkaz** 'bedstead', **kālcūl** 'spoon, ladle', **barltir** 'bucket', **baldiz** 'exchange', **gālpār** 'interior of cheeks', **kālsiaz** 'a jar', **kāl:fi** 'tomorrow'.

The combination of **l** with **r**, **j**, **w** is not found. Group (2) is commoner than group (3).

4. **s** plus plosive. This group is found only in loan-words or in modern compounds, *e.g.*, **bastir** 'habitation', **rastaz** 'path', **bāspħozr** 'one who makes baskets, mats, etc., from bamboos'.

In the case of loan-words, the group **-st-** is very generally changed into **-fiatz** by all those who are in villages and have little contact with town-life, **bastir** > **bāfiatzir**, **rastaz** > **rāfiatzaz**.

5. a plosive plus a plosive. Both must be either voiced or unvoiced. This combination is very rare and occurs only in compounds, *e.g.*, **khātkirowaz** 'bug'. In such a case both the plosives are fully exploded.

NOTE.—In one word only, *viz.*, **bārmfiar** 'creator', there appears to be a combination of three consonants together in the medial position. But **-mfi-** is merely an aspirated form of **m** like **-rfi-**, **-lfi-** and should be considered a single consonant for all purposes.

(b) A word may end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of the vowels generally long (**iz**, **ez**, **uz**, **az**), or whispered vowels (**i**, **u**, **e** or **ə**) are found finally. If a short vowel (**i**, **u**) is found it is generally preceded by another vowel.

Only a short single consonant (more generally breathed than voiced) is found in the final position. A conjunct consonant or a long consonant is generally followed by some vowel-sound at the end.

§ 133. A word in Awadhi may contain from one to four syllables but the dis-syllabic word is the most common. Out of the 160 words in the first paragraph of

gulgularwarlız katha (Texts No. 1) 105 are dis-syllabic, 26 tri-syllabic, 25 mono-syllabic and only 4 quadru-syllabic.

The four-syllabic word is unusual for the language, it occurs in some noun-formations and verbal forms or in loan-words.

In a word in Awadhi a long syllable may occur only as the final or penultimate one. Any vowel which is long in a base or root is shortened if it is more than two syllables from the end of a word when declined or conjugated. This occurs only when one of the two syllables is long, or both being short, the word ends in a consonant, *e.g.*, **derkh + iṣṭāũ** > **dekhifāũ**, **derkh + āten** > **dekhōten** but **derkh + eu** > **derkheu**.

NOTE.—When once the shortening has taken place according to this rule it remains in spite of the conditions being disturbed on account of a later elision of a vowel, *e.g.*, **maṛn + ōtiu** > **maṇōtiu** > **maṇtiu**. Here in spite of the elision of -ō the first vowel continues to be short.

§ 134. In a four-syllabled word, the medial unstressed syllable with -ō tends to lose its vowel, *e.g.*, **maḥṣṭijaz** 'headman' > **maḥtijaz**, **adōbādazī kō** 'hastily and suddenly' > **adbādazī kō**, **choṭṭakauz** 'youngest' > **choṭkaur**, **tarōwarī** > **tarwarī** 'sword'.

§ 135. A syllable with a long vowel, in the final position, shortens the length before short forms of the post-positions (*vide* Part II Chapter II), *e.g.*, **nadri** 'river' but **nadri se** 'from the river', **kārīer** 'why' but **kārīe mō** 'in what', **ghōrṭaz** 'horse' but **ghōrṭa se** 'from the horse', **goṛṣṭū** 'wheat' but **goṛṣṭū se** 'with wheat'.

§ 136. The short syllables of the enclitics in the final position, generally in swift speech, disappear, *e.g.*, **au** 'and' > **ā**, **taū** 'then' > **tā**.¹ This occurs chiefly when the next

¹ An instance of this latter *tā* is available in Tulsīdās, p. 165.

word begins with the same vowel with which the particle ends, *e.g.*, **Λu** + **unkaɾ** > **Λunkaɾ** 'and to them', **tΛu ui** > **tΛui** 'and they'.

NOTE.—The form and meaning of individual words differ with different districts, *e.g.*, R. **mAnseɪruɾ**, Sl. **mAnseɪdʃuɾ**, U. **mAnsAwɑɾ** 'husband', Lmp. **meʃAruɑɾ**, Sl. **mēdʃaɪruɾ**, S. **meʃorɑɪruɾ** 'woman', Lmp. **bʃorəʃēɪ**, U. **bʃonəʃeɪ**, B. **bʃinaʃəɪ** 'in the morning'; **khisiaɪb** in the Western dialects means 'to be ashamed' while in the Eastern its significance is 'to be angry', **dikɾə** in Western dialects means 'angry' while in Eastern 'ill'.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCENT

§ 137. Awadhi possesses a very weak stress as compared to English or other highly accented languages. That it does possess an accent—and stress accent—becomes quite manifest when Awadhi words are spoken by other Indo-Aryan speakers, say a Gujarati. There the wrong accent can at once be detected. When an Englishman pronounces **kha:**/**eũ** 'I ate', he puts the stress on the second syllable and has to be corrected. Even when he puts it on the first, he puts it so strong that the word does not sound as Awadhi. A Gujarati person would put the stress on the first syllable in a poly-syllabic word, and it at once becomes non-Awadhi.

§ 138. Mono-syllabic words possess stress only when they come in sentences. In dissyllabic, tri-syllabic or tetra-syllabic words, the stress is put on one of the last two syllables, whichever is long either by nature or position. If both are long or short, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable. The following examples illustrate it.

(a) WORDS OF TWO SYLLABLES

pi-**'sarn** 'flour', **pa**¹**'ciz** 'twenty-five', **'baris** 'twenty-two', **'kharini** 'they ate', **bhā**¹**'war** 'became', **'sandrakh** 'box', **ka**¹**'hisi** 'he said', **'nadri:** 'river', **'bhārtar** 'brinjal', **'kutrar** 'dog', **ku**¹**'darri** 'pick-axe', **'sarjhar** 'share', **'dulohin** 'bride', **'gāru** 'village', **'bhāru** 'rate', **'bhārtar** 'smashed vegetable', **'sardhu:** 'saint', **'narar:** 'pipe, tunnel', **ghu**¹**'nar** 'eaten by worms', **ba**¹**'hini** 'sister', **'bhāri:** 'brother'.

(b) WORDS OF THREE SYLLABLES

lari¹ka: 'boy', **ɟʃiã:¹paɪ** 'may cover', **ʌ¹tʃa:ɪ:** 'two and a half', **karu¹a:ɪtɕi** 'tastes bitter', **ka¹ra:ɪni** 'they caused to do', **so¹wa:ɪsɪ** 'put to sleep', **bʃiʌ¹wa:ɪnɪ:** 'goddess', **de:¹kheũ** 'I saw', **paɣa¹ʃa:** 'rope', **sa¹ga:ɪ:** 'betrothal', **ca¹ma:ɪrɪni** 'a Chamar's wife', **bho:¹hẽ:** 'in the morning', **ta:¹wa:ɪrɪ:** 'swords', **ka:¹si¹ba:** 'shall tighten', **bhã:¹ɟi¹ja:** 'earthen pot', **ka¹buzli:** 'admitted', **ʌ:¹da:¹wa:¹ni** 'the string of the cot', **u¹thari** 'having taken up'.

(c) WORDS OF FOUR SYLLABLES

ka:¹ri¹ʃã:¹zu 'loin', **si:¹ra:¹ʃa:¹ne:** 'towards the head of the bed', **ka:¹ce:¹ʃa:¹ri:** 'court', **de:¹ʃa:¹ri¹ja:** 'a big earthen granary'.

NOTE — Words which have two short vowels together treat them as diphthongs—see Note under § 127 (a), e.g., **'deuta:** 'god', **la:¹g¹wa:¹iba:** 'shall cause to stick', **ba:¹ʃu:¹ra:¹ĩ** 'may come back'.

CHAPTER VI

ASSIMILATION

§ 139. The word has no phonetic definition; it is only a morphological identity. If an illiterate person were asked to divide his sentence into words, he would probably make mistakes astounding to the literate person particularly to the grammarian. However, some idea of a word appears to be present in the sub-conscious mind of the speaker, or else a child would not be able to make up forms from analogy.

The main existence of a word, thus, is with reference to its use in speech, *i.e.*, in sentences. Here we find that one word considerably affects the form of another. The enclitic is tacked on to the preceding word and loses its strength in certain cases, modifying to some extent its predecessor (*vide* § 135).

Besides, a considerable number of cases of the assimilation of the final sound of a word with the initial of the following have been found. This is particularly noticeable in swift speech. Assimilation in Awadhi is always regressive. It appears that when a speaker reaches the end of a word, his attention comes to rest on the next one, the initial sound of which modifies the final sound of the first word.

NOTE.—For the purposes of Assimilation, dentals, alvolars, palatals and retroflex palatals fall in one class.

§ 140. A whispered vowel or *ə* which occurs at the end of a word and stands between two consonants having the same place of articulation, is elided (see Insc. No. 41 — *paə + paɾ > praɾ*) *e.g.*—

bfiarzi gawar > **bfiarg gawar** 'ran away', **kazflekə khartir** > **kazflek khartir** 'for what', **khətiyakə kirəwar** > **khətiyakkirəwar** 'the bug of the cot', **sargu khazisi** > **sark khazisi** 'ate the vegetable-leaves';

bfiarzi calar > **bfiarccalar** 'started running away',
cali difar > **caldifar** 'started', **tirni dāzi** > **tirn dāzi** 'thrice', **kazflesə sarnini** > **kazflessarnini** 'with what did they mix?', **bfiartu darri** > **bfiard darri** 'rice and pulse'; **paširi rāfiar** > **paširrāfiar** 'putting on', **tirni janex** > **tirnjanex** 'three men', **kāšini calau** > **kāšin calau** '(they) said: let us go', **kāfiati calar gar** > **kāfiaccalar gar** 'went on saying',
paširi lifisi > **pašir lifisi** 'he put on.'
kāšini calau > **kāšipcalau** '(they) said: let (us) go'.

batazini jazi > **batazin jazi** '(they) went and told'.

cali difar > **caldifar** 'started'.

dšari difisi > **dšardifisi** '(he) put down'.

pašini lifisi > **pašinlifisi** '(he) put on'.

§ 141. A voiced plosive at the end of a word becomes breathed before a breathed plosive of the same class in the next word, e.g., **alag kai deru** > **alakkai deru** 'turn out', **bfiarzi calar** > **bfiarccalar** 'started running', **lardi tau lexi** > **larttau lexi** 'let me first put the burden', **jab parnix pir bšer** > **japparnix pir bšer** 'when he finished drinking water', **rozju tau arwati** > **rozttau arwati** 'comes daily'.

§ 142. A breathed plosive occurring at the end of a word (or immediately before a whispered vowel or ə) is assimilated with the voiced plosive of the same class in the following word (the whispered vowel or ə being elided), e.g.,

saxt dāzi > **saxddāzi** 'seven times',

maxtiki gšarizar > **maxtigšarizar** 'a small pot of clay',

baɪp bʃaɪɪz > **baɪbbʃaɪɪz** 'father and brothers',

saxt ʃanɪz > **saxtʃʃanɪz** 'seven persons'.

bʃaɪɪtʃ qɑɪɪsɪ > **bʃaɪɪtʃqɑɪɪsɪ** 'threw the rice'.

§ 143. A breathed plosive coming at the end of a word becomes voiced when followed by a voiced plosive of another class, *e.g.*, **dɪjakɛ dɑɪwɑɪjɛz** 'on the door of the lamp (-s house)', > **dɪjɑɪgdɑɪwɑɪjɛz**, **pɑɪkʃ bɑɪɪz hɑɪ** > **pɑɪgbɑɪɪz hɑɪ** 'is all right', **kɔɪkɛ ʃʊɪɪtɑɪz** > **kɔɪgʃʊɪɪtɑɪz** 'somebody's shoes'; **kʰɑɪɪtʃɑ pɔ dʃaɪɪz** > **kʰɑɪɪtʃɑbdʃaɪɪz** 'placed on the cot', **baɪp dɪʃɪsɪ** > **baɪbdɪʃɪsɪ** 'the father gave'.

§ 144. A nasalisation with the following consonant becomes nasal before a consonant of the same class (place of articulation), *e.g.*, **pɑʃʃɪɪtʃ ʃɑɪɪ** > **pɑʃʃɪɪpʃɑɪɪ** 'I may reach', **pɑɪɪtʃ ʃɑɪɪ** > **pɑɪɪpʃɑɪɪ** 'five or six'. **pɑɪɪtʃ saxt pɑɪɪnsaxt** 'five or seven'.

If the consonant following the nasalisation is aspirated the aspiration is lost, *e.g.*, **bɑɪɪdʃɪɪ dɛɪɪ** > **bɑɪɪndɛɪɪ** 'tie (it)'.

§ 145. A plosive occurring at the end of a word (with, or without a whispered vowel or *ə* following) is assimilated to the nasal of the same class in the following word, *e.g.*, **dekʰɑɪɪtʃ nɑɪɪz** > **dekʰɑɪɪnnɑɪɪz** 'is not seen',

bɑɪɪdʃ nɑɪɪwɑ kɛ > **bɑɪɪnnɑɪɪwɑkɛ** 'excepting the barber',

baɪp mɑʃʃɪɪtɑɪɪz > **bɑɪmmɑʃʃɪɪtɑɪɪz** 'father and mother',

tɑb mɑʃʃɪɪɪɪɪz > **tɑmmɑʃʃɪɪɪɪɪz** 'then the Maharaja',

rɔɪɪp nɑɪɪtɑɪɪ > **rɔɪɪnnɑɪɪtɑɪɪ** 'may dance everyday'.

But **mɑɪkɛpɔ nɑɪɪwɑɪ** 'even the barber at the opportunity' remains as it is, because *p* is followed by a nasal of another class.

This assimilation is possible only in the case of labials and dentals as the nasals of other classes do not begin a word.

§ 146. The final consonant is in swift speech united to the initial vowel of the following word, *e.g.*, **tab erk din rarjar** > **ta/berk din rarjar** 'then one day the king'.

This affects only the division of syllables, the most common variety of syllable—consonant plus a vowel—being effected.

§ 147. A plosive or nasal coming at the end of a word loses its explosion if followed by a word beginning with the same plosive or nasal, *e.g.*,

khert tizr > **khertzizr** 'near the field',

marri ko khisijari ger > **marrikzhisijari ger** 'became very much ashamed',

kazflemo marzeu > **kazflemzarzeu** 'in what (vessel) did you mix it?'.

§ 148. Final **b** has a tendency to become devoiced before a breathed consonant, *e.g.*,

sab+kaz > **sapkar** 'to all', **jab ser** > **japser** 'since'. (See Note to § 15.)

§ 149. Final **-t** or **-th** has a tendency to be assimilated to the following **c**-, **j**-, **r**-, **l**-, and **s**-; the aspiration of **-th** is then lost. The whispered vowel is, of course, elided. For instance:

bfiargati+calar > **bfiargaccalar** 'went running',

sar+th+calau > **sarccalau** 'come with (me)', **kharti+j**

arti rafi > **khartjjarti rafi** 'was going eating (on the way)',

qfiuzati+rafiar > **qfiuzarrafiar** 'remained searching',

saiti lifisi > **saitlilifisi** 'he brushed',

bafut+sarp > **bafussarp** 'many snakes'.

§ 150. Final **-s** has a tendency to be assimilated to the following **c**-, **j**-, **d**-, **t**- and **q**-, *e.g.*,

uz kafisi calau > **uzkaficc calau** 'he said:—come', **das janer** > **dajjaner** 'ten persons', **kafisi das**

birōwar > **kafiddas birōwar** 'he said: ten trees',

pacars thaithar > **pacartthaithar** 'fifty points of quarrel',

pacirs qerari ger > **pacirqerari ger** 'twenty-five got frightened'.

§ 151. Final **r** is assimilated to the initial **l** or **q** of the following word, *e.g.*,

coxr lai gar > **corllaigar** 'the thief took away',
cairi larakar > **caillaikar** 'four sons', **sair qerazi gar**
 > **sairqerazi gar** 'the fool got frightened', **mairi**
qaribar > **mairqaribar** 'I shall kill'.

§ 152. Final **c**, **ch**, **j** are assimilated to initial **q** of the following word, the whispered vowel or **o** coming between them is elided, *e.g.*,

pārc qseir > **paihqseir** 'five heaps', **kuchq**
qairi deru > **kuq:airi deru** 'do put a little', **bfiarji**
tharfi bfiar > **bfiartharfi bfiar** 'at once ran away'.

§ 153. **h** coming after a plosive or affricate is combined with that plosive or affricate so that an aspirated results. The previous consonant is then pronounced a little longer, *e.g.*,

daroxgakə + hukum > **daroxgak:hukum** 'the order of the police officer', **karsiepə hāseu** > **karsiephāseu** 'what made you laugh?'.

(a) If a whispered vowel or **o** comes between **h** and the consonant, it is elided if **h** is followed by a similar (back or front) vowel, or becomes **j** or **w** if followed by a dissimilar vowel, *e.g.*,

jartj hai > **jartjhjai** 'goes', but **ra:ja:kə hiā:** > **ra:ja:khiā:** 'at the king's', **pārcə + ham** > **pārc:ham** 'five to us', but **sārcə hisarb** > **sārc:hwisarb** 'the true account'.

§ 154. If **-i** or **-u** comes between two vowels similar in quality, it becomes **-j** or **-w** respectively, *e.g.*,

lai + a:ox > **laja:ox** 'bring', **gā:ru + ai** > **gā:rwai** 'to the village'.

§ 155. The forms of the auxiliary 'to be' (present tense only) have a tendency to shorten their syllables when they come after participles. Only their last syllable (with the nasalisation, if one is there) is heard, and there appears

to be a slight pause—a silence—in place of the last syllable. For instance :

kaṣṭati ṣai > **kaṣṭati i** 'he says', **dṣareṣ haĩ** > **dṣareṣ ĩ** or even **dṣareṣ ~** 'they are there', **khartj hau** > **kharti u** 'you eat', **derkhatj narix hau** > **dɛrkhanari u** 'aren't you seeing?'.

§ 156. The following cases of doubling (*lit.* lengthening) a consonant and shortening the previous vowel have been noticed:—

kix tanax > **kittanax** 'in which manner', **jix tanax** > **jittanax** 'in whatever manner'.

Instances of doubling are also noticed in names, *e.g.*, **babbu** (ordinary **barbur**), **kallux** (ordinary **kariar** 'black') and in appellations of relatives, *e.g.*,

daddur 'elder' brother', **kakkux** 'uncle', **bappax** 'father', **kakkax** 'uncle'.

This doubling seems to be due to emphasis.

CHAPTER VII

THE SENTENCE

§ 157. A sentence in Awadhi is generally small, containing from one to four or five words. In narrative speech these sentences are joined up by conjunctions such as **Au** 'and', **tau** 'then', **tab** 'then', **tafikai** 'then' or **ki** 'that' as necessary according to sense. In such conditions, the sentence itself generally forms a breath-group. For instance, the first sentence of **gulgula:warli: katha:** (Texts No. I) will be read as :

erk rai:jar rafiAĩ || au mafi:tarir: rafiAi || au dulhin rafiAi or the last would be read as :

jaiser unker din bafure: || taise: sabker bafuraĩ.

Long sentences are broken up. In such cases wherever the breath stops it must be the end of a word. A post-position always goes with the preceding word, the two are never separated for breath. The correlative adverb and conjunctions have a stop of breath after them. The subject and the verb when they come one after the other go together and so also the adjective and the substantive. When the adjective, substantive, and the verb come together and a pause is to be made, the breath stops after the adjective. The following are some of the instances:—

**erk | rai:jar rafiAĩ || au | mafi:tarir: rafiAi || au
dulhin rafiAi. mafi:tarir: ro:ju | chapian parkarke |
bfior:jan banarwai || au | apenar khari || au apenar
larikak | khawarwai. dulhin khartir | erk bejhariki
| ro:ti: sē:rkai || aidi: ro:ti: | au lo:nũ sabe:rer
-deri || au aidi: | sap:fiak. ui | mairer gusi:ake |
ro:ti: de:fiarim | qar:ĩ derĩ || au lo:nũ |
gagarim | nari arwai. aisai | karti karti |
bairar | barsai | gudar:ĩ ga:ĩ.**

§ 158. As noted in § 137, the word-stress in Awadhi is very weak. But in a narrative sentence we have a strong stress on the word which we want to emphasise according to the idea that we want to convey. This falls on the syllable which ordinarily would have the word-stress. For instance, the sentence :

tab ui hamser 'bolex 'then he said to me' would have word-accent only in **'bolex** which is a dissyllabic word, the others being only mono-syllabic. But in a sentence even the mono-syllabic words can have stress in order to emphasise a particular word. This sentence may have the following stresses :

'tab ui hamser 'bolex 'then he said to me',
tab 'ui hamser 'bolex 'then he said to me',
tab ui 'hamser 'bolex 'then he said to me',
tab ui hamser ''bolex 'then he said to me'.

The stressed syllable then becomes a little longer in quantity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTONATION

§ 159. Intonation does not play a part in Awadhi to show a difference in meaning of particular words. In normal speech the pitch does not rise or fall considerably. For instance, in the two sentences **erko baje: rajar rasati hai** 'A great king is residing', and **tum khari ayeu** 'you have taken your meal', which are mere statements of fact the difference between the frequency of one sound-wave and that of another is not considerable (*vide* Charts 1 and 2). In the former the highest frequency is 160 and the lowest 99, in the latter 133 and 97 respectively.

§ 160. It is in emphatic speech that tone plays a definite part. For the purposes of investigation a sentence was selected which gives four different senses merely by the difference in tone :

1. Statement: **tum khari ayeu** 'you came after having eaten (your meal)'.
2. Imperative: **tum khari ayeu** 'come after having eaten (your meal)'
3. Question: **tum khari ayeu** 'have you come after having eaten (your meal)?'
4. Wonder: **tum khari ayeu** 'really! you have come after having eaten (your meal)?'

Charts 2, 3, 4 and 5 depict the rise and fall of tone of these sentences. Chart 2 (statement) shows that the pitch is more or less level. Chart 3 (Imperative) depicts that the sentence begins with a very high pitch (the highest in the sentence), there is an immediate fall, then the tone is more or less level for a considerable length of the sentence. It is

only at the end that there is a sudden fall followed by a rise. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 91.

Chart 4 (question) begins with a high pitch which suddenly falls, then there is a level pitch followed by a gradual rise to the height at which the sentence began; then there is again a fall followed by a level pitch. At the end there is again a gradual rise and a gradual fall. It is thus rise : fall : level : rise : fall : level : rise : fall. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 87.

Chart 5 (wonder) begins with a very low pitch, there is gradual rise and then a fall almost to the point at which the sentence began. After it, there is a level pitch and then a gradual rise to a very high pitch. The highest frequency in this sentence is 253 and the lowest 85.

§ 161. In individual words, the only scope for the play of tone is when a person is called from far off or when a word expresses acquiescence or prohibition. In the former case the last syllable of the word rises high in pitch besides being elongated, *e.g.*, **bhāijā** : : : : 'brother'.



In the latter case, only the interjections like **hā** : are used. Like 'yes' of English, **hā** : is capable of giving different senses by a difference in tone. The following are generally used :

1. **hā** : 'yes' — agreement or acquiescence \
2. **hā** : 'no' — prohibition or disagreement /.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

§ 162. As compared with the speech of grown-up people, the speech of children shows the following features:

1. **r** is pronounced as **l**, *e.g.*, **gfiar** as **gfiAl**.
2. **ɾ** is pronounced as **l**, *e.g.*, **gfiArɿz** as **gfiAlɿz**.

NOTE.—Sometimes a child substitutes **n** for **l**, *e.g.*, **gfiAr** as **gfiAn**, **calaU** as **canaU**.

3. retroflex mutes are pronounced as dentals, *e.g.*, **karten** as **karten**, **tharkur** as **tharkul**, **qanqar** as **dandar**, **qfiorlak** as **dfiorlak**.

4. aspiration in aspirated sounds is very feeble so that they sound as unaspirated, *e.g.*, **gfiAr** approximates **gal**.

5. **s** is pronounced as **ch**, *e.g.*, **sunau** as **chunau**, **bataisar** as **bataichar**.

It has been observed that when the child begins to pronounce **s**, he does so in the case of initial **s** first—the medial **s** continues to be pronounced **ch** a little longer.

§ 163. The speech of women does not show any phonetic divergence from that of men. The speech of literate classes sometimes retains foreign sounds in loan-words, *e.g.*, **ʃ**, **f**, **z**. Otherwise there is no phonetic divergence between the speech of one class and that of another. The difference lies only in the adoption of vocabulary (see § 9).

§ 164. Gestures play a part in emotional speech. In ordinary talk men generally do not move their hands. The head rises a little when a question is put and falls when acquiescence is to be indicated. In quarrels, particularly of women, hands play a very expressive part. Challenges and

counter-challenges are made by the hand, the persons quarrelling advance towards each other and then retrace the steps. As soon as another telling point is told they again advance and again retrace. The fists are clenched, the teeth are pressed, one set on the other, with spreading of lips and the head moves forward. These gestures, however, are not particular to Awadhi only.

INSCRIPTIONS 1—10

M=Month

T=Time

N=None

M
T

1



M
T

2



M
T

3



M
T

4



M
T

5



M
T

6



M
T

7



M
T

8



M
T

9



M
T

10



INSCRIPTIONS 11—20

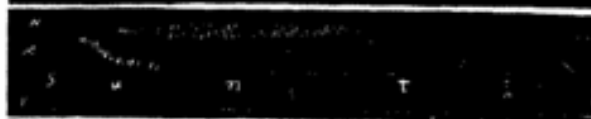
M
T 11



M
T 12



13



N
M
T 14



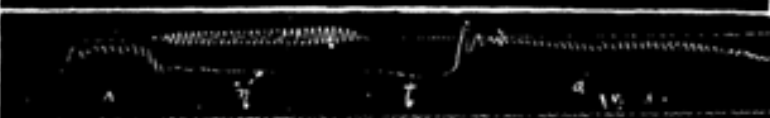
N
M
T 15



N
M
T 16



N
M
T 17



M
T 18



M 19



M 20



INSCRIPTIONS 21—31

N
M 21



N
M 22



N
M 23



N
M 24



M 25



M
T 26



M
T 27



M
T 28



M
T 29



M
T 30



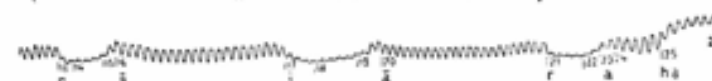
M
T



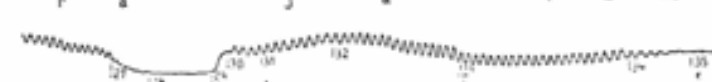
M



M 31



M



T



INSCRIPTIONS 32--43

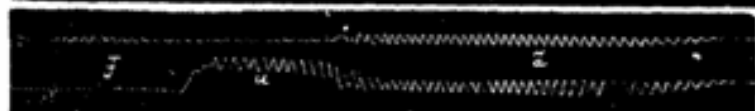
M T	32	
M T	33	
M T	34	
M T	35	
M T	36	
M T	37	
M T	38	
M T	39	
M T	40	
M T	41	
M T	41	
N M	42	
N M	43	

INSCRIPTIONS 44—48

N
M 44



N
M 45



N
M 46



M
T 47



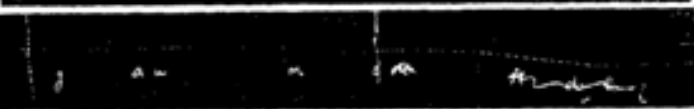
M
T



M
T 48



M





PALATOGRAMS

NOTE.—For the convenience of the study, it is proper to divide the palate into parts :—

1. the teeth (dental region)
2. the gums (alveolar region)
3. the rough back above the gums (palate)
4. the smooth back above the rough back (palate where retroflexion is made)
5. the highest portion of the smooth palate (almost where it meets the soft palate—where the so-called velars make a contact).



PALATOGRAMS 1—3



1



2

t



t

3

PALATOGRAMS 4—7.



4

ki



ku

5



6

c



no

7

PALATOGRAMS 8—11



8

Ληδα:



Ληγα:

9



10

Ληρα:



r

11

PALATOGRAMS 12—15



12

t



1

13



14

s



j

15

PALATOGRAMS 16—19



16

iz



i

17



18

er



ī

19

DRAWING 20



(a) breath



(b) voice

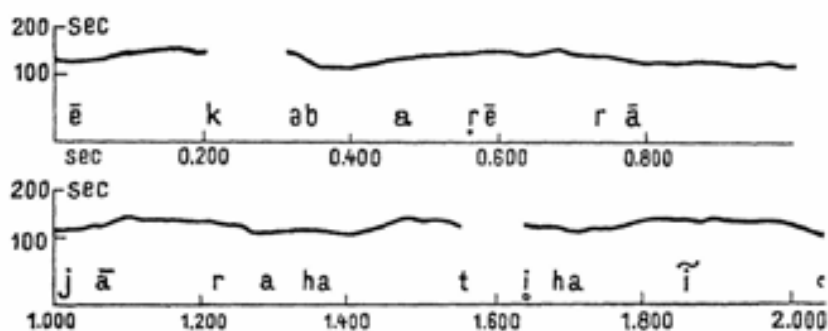


(c) whisper

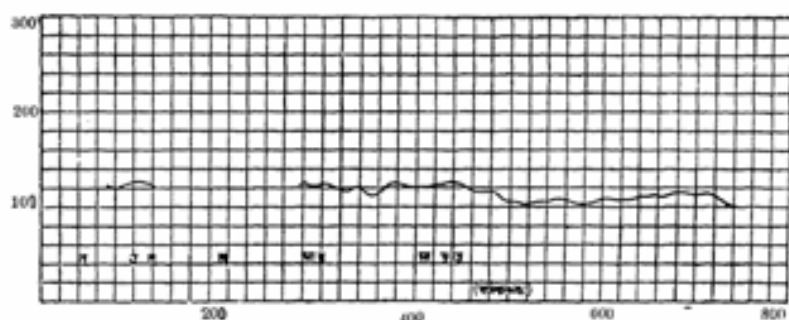


(d) closed glottis

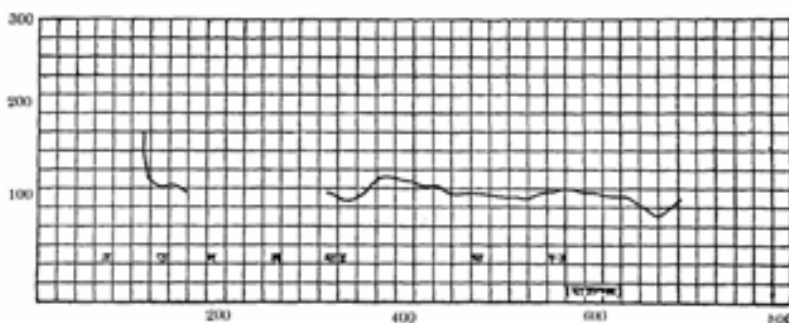
CHART 1



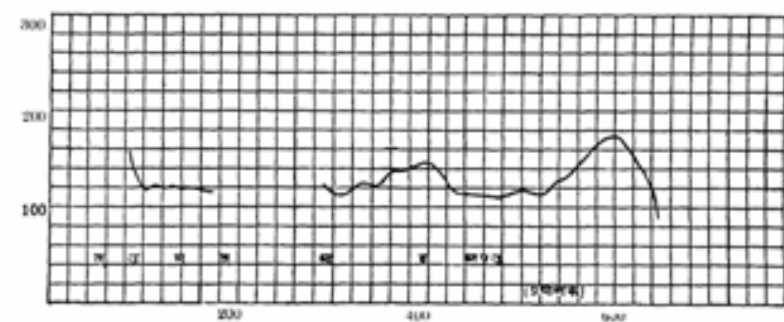
CHARTS 2—5



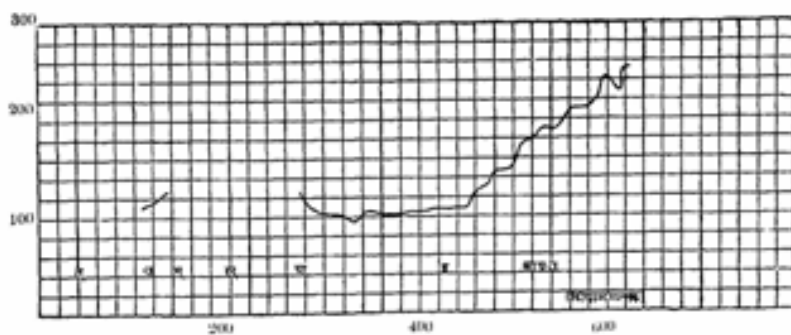
2



3



4



5

PART II
HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AWADHI



CHAPTER I

NOUNS

Stem

A. EARLY ĀWADHI

§ 165. Nouns in Early Āwadhi ended in -a, ā, i, ī, u or ū. For instance :

- a *ghōra* 'horse', *nakhata* 'star', *maccha* 'fish', *ārana* 'forest', *tāra* 'palm-tree', *sāuja* 'beasts'; *bhūkha* 'hunger', *ūkha* 'sugar-cane' Jāyasī.
ghara 'house', *mana* 'mind', *hiya* 'heart';
avadha 'Ayodhyā', *sikha* 'advice', *bājana* 'musical instruments', *kāja* 'work' Tulsī.
khambha 'pillar', *bakhāna* 'description', *acarja* 'wonder', *jibha* 'tongue', *kharihāna* 'granary',
bhatūha 'eyebrow', *gūṭha* 'knot', *jara* 'root',
rāta 'night' Nūr Muhd.
- ā *gilāvā*, 'clay', *lōbā* 'fox', *cāṭā* 'ant', *kūvā* 'well',
dhandhā 'work', *tarunāpā* 'youth' . . Jāyasī.
badhāvā 'congratulatory concert', *batiyā* 'bud',
dōhā 'couplet' Tulsī.
cēlā 'disciple', *hiyā* 'heart', *citērā* 'painter',
paṭavā 'braider' Nūr Muhd.
- i *jari* 'root', *bhūi* 'earth', *sihiṭi* 'Nature',
 Universe', *raini* 'night', *mahari* 'milk-maid
 bird' Jāyasī.
savati 'co-wife', *sudhi* 'recollection', *bhui*
 'Earth', *gāi* 'cow' Tulsī.
gāi (*gāya*), 'cow', *budhi* 'wisdom', *sudhi* 'recol-
 lection', *guli* 'ball' Nūr Muhd.
- ī *dharatī* 'Earth', *daī* 'creator', *mākhī* 'fly', *cāṭī*
 'ant', *bāvarī* 'big well', *mūṭhī* 'handful',
macharī 'fish' Jāyasī.

	<i>mahatārī</i> 'mother', <i>athāī</i> 'meeting-place', <i>kahānī</i> 'tale' Tulsī.
	<i>bārī</i> 'garden', <i>bovāī</i> 'sowing', <i>darabānī</i> 'stewardship' Nūr Muhd.
-u	<i>sīu</i> 'coolness', <i>mīcu</i> 'death', <i>bīju</i> 'lightning', <i>kādaū</i> 'mud' Jāyasī.
	<i>rāu</i> 'king', <i>gālu</i> 'cheek', <i>subhāu</i> 'nature', <i>pasēu</i> 'sweat' Tulsī.
	<i>gīu</i> 'neck', <i>ṭhāū</i> 'place', <i>nāū</i> 'name', <i>pīu</i> 'husband' Nūr Muhd.
-ū	<i>nābū</i> 'lemon', <i>baṭāū</i> 'traveller' Jāyasī.
	<i>nāū</i> 'barber', <i>baṭāū</i> 'traveller' Tulsī.
	<i>pahārū</i> 'watchmen', <i>ḍiṭhiyārū</i> 'one who has eyes' Nūr Muhd.

NOTE—1. A few nouns in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad end in *ō* (e.g. *hiyō*, *cērō* in T.) but they are, to be sure, borrowings from Braj.

NOTE.—2. The quantity of final vowels is very unstable in these texts and it changes for the exigencies of metre. A noun which otherwise ends in a long vowel (e.g., *rānī*, *cērī*) becomes short (*rānī*, *cērī*) in the lines of metres and a final short vowel becomes long at the end of a line (e.g. *nāū* > *nāū̄*, *ṭhāū* > *ṭhāū̄*, *karatāru* > *karatārū*).

NOTE—3. Nouns ending in *-ā* are few and those in *-ū* still fewer. Long and longer forms of the stem (§ 167) are not found in Early Awadhi texts except rarely, e.g., *bhāt* : *bhaiyā* (T), *suā* : *suatā* (J. 109), *bhikhīyā* (J. 486), *akhiūna* (N. 35), *sejiyā* (N. 38).

NOTE—4. The texts agree with respect to the use of number and gender with modern Awadhi (see below §§ 170—176).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 166. A noun (stem) may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, e.g., *diar* 'lamp', *nīrd* 'sleep'.

(a) The final vowels generally are *-ar*, *-i* (ī),

-ir *-u*, *-ur*. For instance :

-ar *kuār* 'well', *khātijar* 'bedstead'.

- i(i) **seṛṭhi** 'banker', **gari** 'cow', **raṛji** 'kingdom',
ārkhi 'eye', **jai** 'victory', **baṛarji** 'wind'.
 -ir **thaḅair** 'mason', **dṣorbir** 'washerman', **naḍir**
 'river', **parṇir** 'water'.
 -u ū **ghiu** 'clarified butter', **jiu** 'life', **gāu**
 'chance', **bṣiaru** 'rate', **daṣhiu** 'curds', **nāṛū**
 'name', **gāṛū** 'village', **dāṛū** 'chance', **āṛū**
 'mucus', **naṛu** 'boat'.
 -ur **naṛur** 'barber', **naṛinur** 'butter', **baṛur**
 'sand', **gur** 'excreta'.

NOTE.—Rarely -er, **pāṛer** 'a class of Brahmins'.

(b) The Final consonant may be one of those which can appear finally in a word (see Part I, Chapter I). For instance :

- k **sāṛk** 'breath', **noṛk** 'point'
 -kh **bṣurkh** 'hunger', **sarkh** 'credit'
 -g **sāṛg** 'horn', **mūṛg** 'a kind of pulse'
 -gṣi **gṣiargṣi** 'very clever'
 -c **kāṛc** 'glass', **āṛc** 'flame'
 -ch **kōṛch** 'the skirt on the lap'.
 -j **laṛj** 'shame', **seṛj** 'bed'
 -jṣi **jṣiāṛjṣi** 'cymbal', **sāṛjṣi** 'evening'
 -ṭ **peṛṭ** 'belly', **bṣiaṛṭ** 'bard'
 -ṭh **ṭhaṛṭh** 'pomp', **hōṛṭh** 'lip'
 -ḍ **laṇḍ** 'penis'
 -ḍṣi **thāṇḍṣi** 'cold'
 -ṛ **hāṛṛ** 'bone', **sāṛṛ** 'bull'
 -ṛṣi **baṛṛṣi** 'flood'
 -ṭ **khert** 'field', **bṣiaṛṭ** 'cooked rice'
 -ṭh **hāṛṭh** 'hand', **naṛṭh** 'the noose put in the
 nostrils of bullocks'
 -ḍ **nāṛḍ** 'sleep', **tōṛḍ** 'protruding belly'
 -ḍṣi **kāṛḍṣi** 'shoulder', **baṛḍṣi** 'string'
 -n **karn** 'ear', **sorn** 'gold'

-p	naɪp 'measurement', sāɪp 'snake'
-ph	baɪph 'vapour'
-b	baɪb 'a kind of grass', raɪb 'wet molasses'
-bʱ	jiɪbʱ 'tongue'
-m	kaɪm 'work', moɪm 'wax'
-r	saɪr 'wife's brother', haɪr 'defeat'
-rʱ	riɪrʱ 'spinal cord'
-l	meɪl 'union', caɪl 'trick'
-lʱ	maɪlʱ 'a string connecting the spindle with the spinning wheel'
-s	bāɪs 'bamboo', sāɪs 'breath'
-ʃ	bāɪʃ 'arm', raɪʃ 'way', naɪʃ 'nail'

Forms of the Stem

§ 167. In Awadhi, nouns generally have two forms : one short and the other long, *e.g.*, **nadɪɪɪ** : **nadɪjaɪ**, **gʱɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ** : **gʱɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**, **naɪɪɪ** : **naɪuaɪ**, **naɪɪɪɪɪ** : **naɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**, **kaɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ** : **kaɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**. Some nouns have only what seems to be the long form, *e.g.*, **bilɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**. Cf. Hin. **bilɪɪɪɪɪ**, **qebɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**. Cf. Hin. **qibɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ**.

(a) Of the dialects, Lmp., S., L., U., F., and Br.¹ generally use the short forms. The long is used only familiarly and sometimes has a tinge of inferiority or contempt. It is never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the younger.

(b) Fy. and Sl., the two most eastern dialects, have a third form—longer (also called redundant)—of the stem, *e.g.*,

¹ Lakhimpur (Lmp.), Sitapur (S.), Lucknow (L.), Unao (U.), Fatehpur (F.), Bahraich (B.), Barabanki (Br.), Rae Bareilly (R.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.), Partabgarh (P.), Allahabad (A.), Baghēli (Bgh.)

Of these Lmp., S., L., U., and F. are western dialects, B., Br., and R. are Central dialects and G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. are Eastern dialects (see the map).

kutrar (short) : **kutawar** (long), **kutaunar** (longer). They do not use the short form (except when a noun is used to denote a class, *e.g.*, **gfiorakę kãrdfiepai barr hort** Fy. 'the horse has mane on his neck'), but use the long very generally and occasionally employ the longer.

§ 168. To form the corresponding long, **-war** is added to the masculine short stem if it ends in **-ar** (*e.g.*, **kutrar** : **kutawar**), **-ũ** (*e.g.*, **nãrũ** : **nãũwar**) or **-ur** (*e.g.*, **narur** : **naũwar**) the vowel (together with the preceding consonant) being shortened before the termination and **-awar** if it ends in **-ir** or a consonant (*e.g.*, **dfiorbir** : **dfiobiawar**, **perɽ**, **perɽawar**). To a feminine short stem **-iar** is added if it ends in a consonant (*e.g.*, **sãrk** : **sãkïar**), or **ar** if it ends in **-i** (*i*) or **ir** (**garir** : **gãiar**, **rarɽi** : **raɽïar**, **nadrir** : **nadiar**) the whispered vowel becoming full and **-ir** being shortened before the termination. If it ends in **-ar**, **-iar** is substituted for the final vowel (*e.g.*, **burɽiar** : **burɽïar**).

(a) The Eastern dialects add **-nar** after masculine short stem ending in **-ar** or in **-u** (*e.g.*, **kũãr** ; **kũãnar**, **suar** : **suãnar**, **sukhderu** : **sukhdeunar**). These do not have the 'longer' form.

(b) The longer form is arrived at by adding **-war** to feminine long forms (*e.g.*, **kutijar** : **kutijawar**) and substituting **-unar** for **-war** of masculine long forms (*e.g.*, **ghorawar** : **ghorãunar**).

§ 169. Modern Awadhi possesses a respectful long or longer form also, *e.g.*, **serawar** : **seraur**, **kutaunar** : **kutaunur**, **kutiar** : **kutiaur**, **gfiorïawar** : **gfiorïaur**. This is made by substituting **-ur** for the **-ar** and **-war** of the masculine long and masc. and fem. longer forms and by adding **-ur** to the feminine long forms (shortening **-ar** to **-ã** before the terminations).

That this form is respectful is shown by the plural verb

e.g., **serAwax arwax**, **serAux axjer**; **gfiotAwax gai**,
gfiotAux gait.

NOTE.—The respectful form of long stems is sometimes found in tales and is particularly applied to powerful and big animals like lions and camels. Otherwise its use is rare.

Gender

§ 170. A noun in Awadhi is either masculine or feminine irrespective of the fact whether it denotes an animate or inanimate object. Bases ending in **-i** (**i**) are generally of feminine gender (**serthi** 'banker' m.) while those ending in **-u** and **-ex** are of masculine gender. Those which end in **-ax** are generally masculine (**burthax** 'old woman' fem.), but most of such as end in **-iax** are feminine. Similarly **-ux** bases are generally masculine while those in **-ix** are feminine. But such **-ix** bases as denote an agent are masculine, *e.g.*, **marlix**, **dhorbix**. Consonantal bases are found under either gender.

(a) The gender of nouns is indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verb that they take *e.g.*, **gharū jarī ga** 'the house got burnt', **kitarū jarī gai** 'the book was burnt', the first is masculine while the second feminine. It is also indicated by the agreement of the adjective: *e.g.*, **barax adomix** 'a tall man', **barix mefaruax** 'a tall woman'.

§ 171. Nouns which denote animate beings take their gender according to the sex that they denote, males being denoted by the masculine gender and the females by the feminine gender. For instance: **manax** 'man', **hanax** 'deer', **bardhu** 'bullock', **kabutax** 'pigeon', are masculine, while **mefruax** 'woman', **hanix** 'deer (she)', **gari** 'cow', **kabutaxix** 'pigeon (she)' are feminine.

(a) Some nouns, however, are either masculine only or feminine only irrespective of the sex that they denote

e.g., **suaz** 'parrot', **sā:p** 'serpent', **neuraz** 'mongoose', are always used in the masculine gender while **mainaz** 'magpie', **ciraijaz** 'bird', **chapkijaz** 'lizard' are always feminine. These are cases where the speaker is either unable to observe the sex or does not care to do so.

(b) Nouns denoting a collection of living beings may be either feminine or masculine, *e.g.*, **bfiir** 'rush of men' (fem.), **jamaru** 'collection' (masc.), **sawarir** 'passenger' (fem.)

(c) Where living beings of either sex are to be described together, the masculine noun is used *e.g.*, **larikaz khezlati haĩ** 'the boys (for boys and girls) are playing', **hanraz bfiargre** 'the deer fled away', **mezlam bafut ademir rafiāĩ** 'there were many men (for men and women) in the fair'.

§ 172. Masculine nouns which denote living beings generally form the corresponding feminine by adding terminations.

(A) Nouns ending in **-az** substitute:

- (a) **-iz** for **-az** *e.g.*, **bakoraz** 'he-goat', **bakoriz** 'she-goat'
- (b) **-ini** for **-az**, *e.g.*, **banijaz** 'grocer', **banini** 'grocer's wife'
- (c) **-iniz** for **-az**, *e.g.*, **larikaz** 'boy', **larikiniz** 'girl'
- (d) **-ijaz** for **-awaz**, *e.g.*, **bachawaz** 'cow's male calf', **bachijaz** 'female calf', **bugfiawaz** 'old man', **bugfiijaz** 'old woman', or add (e)-**ini** *e.g.*, **lazzaz** 'a term of respect for a Kayasth', **lazzarini** 'his wife'.

(B) Nouns ending in **-iz** substitute **-ini** for **-iz** *e.g.*, **marliz** 'gardener', **marlini** 'gardener's wife', or **-iniz** *e.g.*, **hā:thiz** 'elephant', **hā:thiniz** 'she-elephant'.

Nouns ending in **-uz** either substitute **-uni** for **uz**, *e.g.*, **nazuz** 'barber', **nazuni** or **-ini** 'barber's wife', **sardfuz** 'saint', **sardfīni** 'female saint', or add **-arini** *e.g.*, **guruz** 'preceptor', **guruarini** 'preceptor's wife'.

The feminine of nouns ending in **-er** is formed by substituting **-arinī** for **er**, **pāṛer**, **p^harini**.¹

(C) Nouns ending in consonants add:

- (a) **-i**, *e.g.*, **suar** 'hog (male)', **soxr** < **suar**
- (b) **-arin**, *e.g.*, **jerth** 'elder to husband',
jertharin 'his wife'
- (c) **-arinī**, *e.g.*, **paṇḍit** : **paṇḍitarini**
- (d) **-inī**, *e.g.*, **sonar** 'goldsmith', **sonarinī**

(D) Some feminine nouns form the corresponding masculine by adding terminations, *e.g.*, **maus** 'mother's sister', **mausar** 'mother's sister's husband'.

§ 173. Some nouns which denote inanimate objects form the feminine by adding terminations. The feminine in such cases always indicates a smaller thing, *e.g.*, **rasar** 'a big rope' : **ras** 'a smaller rope', **guraṇar** 'a doll' : **gurijar** 'a smaller doll', **gagarar** 'a jar', **gagar** 'a small jar'.

§ 174. The dialects of other districts closely agree with Lakhimpuri in forming feminine bases. The terminations are the same. *Fy.* and *R.*, however, substitute **-i** for **-ir** termination added to consonantal bases, *e.g.*, **suar** : **suari**, **kukur** : **kukuri**. The final **-i** of feminine forms is sometimes audible and sometimes not. For instance : *Fy.* records **lalarin** and **kofarini** both.

(a) *Sl.* gives an example of a new masculine formed from the feminine : **bharini** 'landlady, innkeeper' thence **bharin** 'landlady's husband'. The corresponding Hindustani word is **bharin**.

(b) Some nouns are used in one gender in one dialect and in another in the other, *e.g.*, **arl** is masculine in *Lmp.* while it is feminine in *P.*, **bars** (**baras**) and **gird** are masculine in *Lmp.* while feminine in *R.*, **burtar** 'strength' masculine in *Fy.* while **burt** 'strength' feminine in *Lmp.*

¹ For shortening of the first syllable see Part I § 133.

Number

§ 175. There are two numbers: Singular and Plural. The singular is employed to denote one and the plural to denote more than one.

The plural is generally used to denote one also when respect is to be shown, *e.g.*, **raɹɹaɹ aɹɹeɹ** 'the king has come'; the verb shows that the noun is plural, **eɹk ɹaneɹ aɹeɹ hãĩ** 'one person has arrived' is respectful as compared to **eɹkɹ ɹaneɹ aɹwaɹ hãĩ**.

§ 176. Words indicating classes of people add **pɹɹc** (after pronouns generally) and **loɹg** (after nouns) to form periphrastic plurals, *e.g.*, **ham pɹɹc** 'we people', **wakɹɹ loɹg** 'the vakils'.

The terminations to form the various cases are added to **pɹɹc** and **loɹg** and not to the preceding substantive, *e.g.*, **kafɹaɹ loɹgan mə**, **ham pɹɹcan mə**.

The Eastern dialects which possess a plural form in **-ai** do not generally use the periphrastic plurals. The central dialects use them.

NOTE.—The form of **pɹɹc** is **pãɹc** in the East.

C. ORIGIN: STEM, GENDER AND NUMBER

§ 177. (a) Masc. nouns in **-aɹ** (Early Aw. *ā*) generally go back to Skt. *-akaḥ* M. I. *-aṣ* type, *e.g.*, **kūpakah* > **kūao* > **kūaɹ**. The fem. nouns in **-iaɹ** are derived from Skt.; *-ikā* > M. I. *-iā* > Mod. I. *-ī*. Thence Awadhi has a further elongation in **-aɹ**. For instance: **khaṭvikā* > **khaṭṭiā* > **khaṭi**: **khaṭɹiaɹ**.

(b) Masc. nouns in **-i** (*i*) should be connected with the Nom. sg. of *-in* stems in Skt., *e.g.*, *śreṣṭhī* > *sēṭhi* > **seɹṭhi**. The fem. nouns

(1) either go back to Skt. stems in *-i*, elongated to *ī* in the Pkts. (*agnih* > *aggī*) *e.g.*, *aggī*, > **aɹgi**, *vātāvalih*, > *vāāvalī* > *vāyāalī* > *bayālī* > **baɹaɹɹi**.

(2) or are modern substitutes for *j* stems of Hindustani, e.g., *jayō* > *jayu* > **JAj** > **Jri**

(3) or are modern forms, e.g., *jari* (N) < *jaṭā* which became *jar* and then *-i* was added as a distinctive feminine ending. Cf. Ar. *khubar* : Aw. **khABarij**, Early Braj. *khavarīyā*.

(c) Masc. nouns in *-ī* go back to Skt. *-in* stems elongated to *-ika-* Pkt. *-ia-* whence *-ī*, e.g., *mālin* replaced by **mālīō* : *mālīa* > **maṛlīz**, **paṛnīz** < *pānīyaṃ*. Feminine nouns in *-ī* come from elongated *-ikā* stems.

(d) Masc. nouns in *-u* in Modern Awadhi go back to Nom. sg. of masc. and neuter bases in *-a* (*grāma*, *dēva*) preceded by a single consonant. The Pkts. would give *-ō*, Ap *-u*. This *-u* has survived (*grāmaḥ* > *gāmō* > **gāru**), the vocalisation remaining because of the previous vowel. Feminine nouns go back to *-vā* forms **naṛu** < *nāvā*.

(e) Nouns in **-ur** go back to *-ūkō*, *iaō*, *-īaō* (*nāīaō* < *nāpītakāḥ*, *nayanīaō* < *navanītakō*) types if they are masculine and to *-uā* if feminine (**baṛur** < *vālukā*).

NOTE.—The one stem in **-er** (only **pāṛer**) is possibly from a dialect where *-īaō* > **er**? Or is it connected with *pāṇḍeya*?

(f) Consonantal bases, if masculine, go back to *-a* bases of Skt. which had a consonant before them in M.I. (e.g., *sarpaḥ* > *sappō*. Early Aw. *sāpu* and *sāpa*). The fem. bases are derived from Skt. *-ā* bases (*lajjā* > Early Aw. *lāja* > **la:J**)

NOTE.—Nouns borrowed from other languages such as Persian, English, etc. all come under this scheme.

§ 178. Modern Awadhi is very fond of elongating its noun-stem. Only traces of it can be found in Early Awadhi. This elongation is practically restricted to the old Ardhamāgadhī area, i.e., to the tracts (Kāśī and Kosala) where Ardhamāgadhī was spoken. It is found in proper names only in Bengali, e.g., Hari—Hariyā > **hore** in

standard coll., *poire* in East Bengali; *Rāma*—*Rāmuā* > *remo*; *Rāsika*—*Rasikiyā* > *rofke*; *Gopāla*—*Gopāliyā* > *gopale*, E.B. *gopāile*, etc., contempt is implied. Cf. also Western Hindi *kañḥāijaz* 'Krishṇa'.

What can be the reason of this elongation? We find that there was a suffix *-ko* in I. E., we find the suffix *-ka* working to an extent in Sanskrit and to a larger extent in Iranian. In Skt. it indicated the idea of the diminutive generally either in affection or in contempt. This diminutive form was more generally used in M.I. as is evident from the declension. It was probably to give a body to the form of the noun. A similar idea seems to be at the root of elongation in Modern Awadhi.

§ 179. The three genders of OIA have been reduced to two in all NIA except in Gujrātī and Marāṭhī. In OIA inanimate objects also had an animate gender (masculine or feminine) when they were conceived of as animate *e.g.*, *apah* 'waters' as opposed to *vāri* 'water'. Also some animate objects were neuter when conceived of as inanimate, *e.g.*, *kalatram* 'women folk'. The tendency to conceive inanimate objects as animate seems to be at the basis of the loss of neuter in Awadhi and in other Mod. I.A. languages. The influence of the substratum also may be responsible. Meillet suggests that the loss of gender in Armenian may be due to Caucasian substratum. In India, we find that the languages which are nearest Tibeto-Burman (where there is no grammatical gender) have practically lost the distinction of gender.¹ Pischel² notes that the passage of neuter to masculine is common in Māgadhī but rare in other Prakrits.

§ 180. As has been noted, nouns denoting male beings in Awadhi are masculine and female ones feminine. So, as

¹ J. Bloch § 180, Chatterji § 483.

² § 357.

far as living beings go, the grammatical gender corresponds to the sexes. It is only in cases where the sex is not noted that the gender depends on the form of the noun. For instance :

suaz 'parrot', and **mainaz** 'magpie', are masculine, because most of the nouns ending in **-az** are masculine, while **chāpkijaz** 'lizard' is feminine as nouns endings in **-iaz** are generally feminine.

§ 181. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate objects is generally masculine or feminine according as they were masculine or feminine in Sanskrit and M. I. For instance : **bart** is fem. < *vārtā* fem., **hārt** is masc. < *hastā* masc. But the gender of the predecessor language is retained only if it fits in with the form of the word, otherwise it changes. For instance : **argi** (< *agni* masc.) is feminine as it ends in **-i** which is a characteristic fem. ending. Similarly **jai** 'victory' (< *jaya*) is fem. The word for *jambū* is masc. or fem. according to its form (**jamunaz** masc., **jamuniz** fem., **pharēzidaz** masc.).

§ 182. Sanskrit neuter nouns were already passing to masculine in Māgadhī Prakrit and we find in Apabhramśa forms such as *phalu*, *ghin*, *dahin*. These are masculine in Awadhi also. Where the form of a noun is in conflict with the inherited gender, we find a difference in dialects. For instance : **mortiz** 'pearl' < *mauktikam*—**mottiv* is masculine in Lakhimpurī and feminine in Fyzābādī. The fem. gender of **ārc** 'flame' shows that it became feminine at a stage when it had **-i** with it.

§ 183. The following words are feminine in spite of their form : **narū** 'boat', **barsu** 'smell', **maru** 'beating', **haru** 'defeat'. **narū** retains its gender (Skt. *naup*, Pāli *nāvā*), **barsu** appears to have its gender owing to contamination with **gandhi** which is feminine. Contamination with **jai** 'victory' (fm.), may be responsible for the gender of **haru** and **maru**.

It may be noted that Hindi abstract nouns are generally feminine, *e.g.*, **karṭ** 'cutting', **jit** 'victory'.¹

§ 184. Loan-words from languages which have a neuter gender for inanimate objects (for instance, English) or have a masculine or feminine gender for them (*e.g.*, Arabic) are generally treated of as masculine or feminine according as the nearest corresponding word in Awadhi is masculine or feminine respectively. For instance: **rezl** (rail) is feminine, the general word for a vehicle in Awadhi being **laṣṣijaz** or **garṣiz**, **kitā:b** 'book' (Arabic *kitāb*—masculine) is feminine because of **poṛthiz** fem., the masc. word **poṛthaz** < *pustakam* being reserved for a longish book. Where Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed noun takes its gender according to its form, *e.g.*, **kumerṭiz** (Eng. Committee) is feminine as nouns in *-i* are mostly feminine. If Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed word from a language distinguishing neuters as masculine or feminine retains its gender, *e.g.*, **maut** 'death'. (Ar. *maut* fem.).

§ 185. The formation of feminine nouns from masculine ones retains traces of Sanskrit feminine affixes. Fem. **-iz** or **-ijaz** for masc. **-az** represents *-ikā* : *akāḥ* type in such pairs as **bakəraz** : **bakəriz**, **bachawaz** : **bachijaz** and *-ikā* : *-aḥ* type in such pairs as **suaz** : **sozriz**. For the rest **-ni** or **-niz** forms the distinctive feminine suffix. For instance: **marliz** : **marlini** represent *mālikāḥ* : *mālinikā* type. In some feminine forms the final **-iz** has been preserved (which shows that they are probably later formations) while in others it has survived as **-i**. This **-i** already is losing ground in some dialects (See § 174).

§ 186. The device of indicating the plural by periphrastic use of the words 'lozg' and 'papc' is modern and has been brought about by necessity. The noun in the direct generally has no distinction in form for number, but a

¹ I owe this suggestion to Prof. Bloch.

distinction becomes necessary, particularly when a class of beings is to be denoted. Thus we find that the periphrastic plural noun is most used in Western dialects of Awadhi where the noun does not keep any distinction of number. All the dialects use the periphrastic plural for pronouns of the 1st person and 2nd person where **ham** and **tum** (or **tūz**) are used for both numbers.

log (Skt. *loka*) 'people', **paṛc pāic** (Skt. *pañca*) 'people' is generally used for a number of people. It is not used to denote objects. This is an instance of the distinction between animate and inanimate and of the influence of substratum languages.

Case

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 187. Like Modern Awadhi, Early Awadhi has two cases of the noun—direct and oblique.

The direct is used generally as

(a) the subject, e.g.,

rānī utara māna satī dīnhā 'the queen answered proudly' (J. 140).

cāri mīta kabi Muḥamada pāyē 'the poet Muhammad found four friends' (J. 31).

kāha na pāvaku jāri saku 'what cannot fire burn' (T. 176).

laṣanu ki rahihahī dhāma 'will Lakshmana stay at home?' (T. 176).

sōvai kūara lihaī dhanakōrā 'the prince slept with the beloved' (N. 9).

sugādha surāṅga puhupa tahā phūlat 'flowers of good smell and colour were blooming there' (N. 9).

(b) the inanimate direct object, e.g.,

katahtī pakhaṇḍī kāṭha nacāvā 'at some places the juggler (juggler) was putting some wood in circular motion' (J. 59).

pahilai tehi kara nātū lei 'at first having remembered His name' (J. 2).

jaṭū na rāmu bana jāhṭ 'If Rāma does not go to the forest' (T. 170).

lāgi dēna sikha 'began to offer advice' (T. 176). *baranatū rājakuṭara kī bānī* 'I describe the nature of the Prince' (N. 9).

rūpa kanaka kahū garhaṭ sonārā 'in some places the goldsmiths were making ornaments of gold and silver' (N. 14).

(c) *the vocative, e.g.,

ē rānī 'o queen!' (J.)

taba jāyehu bhaiyā! 'O son! then you may go' (T. 178).

mātu 'mother', *hō bhāi* 'O brother!' (N.)

NOTE.—Sometimes the direct is used to indicate the animate object e.g., *savūrāṭ karatārū* 'I bear in mind the Creator' (J. 2), and it comes also as the first member of genitive compounds e.g., *āgamānu-sūcaka ahaṭī* 'are the indicators of the arrival' (T. 160), *nagaru-banāvū* 'the decoration of the city' (T. 162), or as genitive (e.g., *sarisa kapāsu* 'like the cotton-plant' (T. 3.) or dative, e.g., *nṛpa jubarāju rāma kahū dēhū* 'O king give the viceroyalty to Rāma' (T. 158).

§ 188. The oblique is used with or without post-positions. For instance :

(a) with post-positions :

Singular—

jaga kaha 'to the world' (J. 17), *uparōhita kahū hari* 'having kidnapped the priest' (T. 74), *sūrajā kaha* 'to the sun' (N. 3); *kēli saṭ* 'with play' (J. 49), *ratana tē* 'with jewel' (T. 15), *hiē tē* 'with heart' (T. 24), *gāya sō* 'with the cow' (N. 9); *gosāṭ kēra* 'of the lord' (J. 27), *gāqḥē kai sāthī* 'friend in difficulty' (J. 24), *daī kara nātū* 'the name of the Creator' (J. 41), *bharata kara saṁmata* 'the approval

of Bharatā' (T. 176), *śavati kai kathā* 'the tales of co-wives' (T. 164), *cēri kaikei kēri* 'the maid of Kaikēi' (T. 162), *tapī kara ajñā* 'the order of the hermit' (N. 5), *bārī ki nālī* 'in the manner of a garden' (N. 6); *purāna mahā* 'in the Purāṇa' (J. 11), *bhōga mahū* 'in the enjoyment' (T. 12), *phulavārī mahū* 'in the garden' (N. 6).

Plural —

pañkhinḥa kahā 'to the birds' (J. 126), *paḍitanḥa (kabilanḥa) saṭṭu bhajā* 'spoke to the Pandits' (J. 33), *pakhurinḥa kai chātē* 'bands of petals' (J. 48), *purukhanḥa kai dīṭhi* 'glance of men' (J. 254), *lōganḥa pahī* 'in the nearness of the people' (T.), *sakhina sō* 'from the friends' (N. 93), *raghubatṣinḥa māha* 'among those of the family of Raghu' (T. 108), *kandaranḥi mahū* 'in the caves' (T. 40), *biprānḥa para* 'on the Brahmins' (T. 92), *adharana para* 'on the lower lips' (N. 49).

(b) without postpositions :

Singular —

ākusa gajā nāvai 'he tames the elephant with the goad' (J. 39), *bhāya nāma japata* 'utters the name with feeling' (T. 16), *hēraḥṭ cakku nārī* 'the women look with the eye' (J. 49), *ārana raḥaṭ* '(they) live in the forest' (J. 4), *baiṭha aḥaṭṭu baṭachāḥṭ* 'I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree' (T. 27), *pūniṭṭu karā* 'digit of the full moon night' (J. 25), *cāṭaḥṭ karai* '(He) makes the ant' (J. 9), *uparoḥitaḥṭ dēkha jaba rājā* 'when the king saw the priest' (T. 75), *piyaḥṭ riḥhāi* 'having pleased the beloved' (N. 9), *maṭ carita sañchēpahi kahā* 'I described the deeds briefly' (T. 49), *sōnai sājā* 'decked with gold' (J. 67), *purukḥahi cāhia ūca hiān* 'lofty heart (courage) is necessary for man' (J. 363), *cōraḥṭ rāti na lḥāvā* 'the night is not in the liking of the thief' (T. 162), *samudaḥṭ pārā* 'across the ocean' (J. 23), *mōtihi jō maṭina hō karā* 'if the glow of the pearl becomes dim' (J. 90), *rāmaḥṭ fākā* 'the corona-

tion of Rāma' (T. 159), *ābahi dābha na hōi* 'if there is no blossom in mango' (J. 29), *kuāhi khūḍa bahu mēli* 'having put a great deal of sugar in the well' (J. 52), *māthai mōrē* 'on my forehead' (J. 89), *gunahi manu rātā* 'the mind was absorbed in merit' (T. 6), *babūrahī phala lāgahī* 'the fruits come on the babūl tree' (N.).

Plural—

saṭhanhi rāma-saṭmukha kō karata 'who would have turned the wicked towards Rāma' (T. 284), *nayanahī dharahī mōti* 'pearls fall from the eyes' (J. 127), *mukhani kahī nija hōnī* 'narrated their birth with mouths' (T. 4), *adharana hāsī* 'smiled with lips' (N.), *muni bhāinha asīsa dīnhī* 'the sage gave blessing to the brothers' (T. 102), *paṭavana gharabārā* 'in the houses of the braiders' (J. 56), *sacētanha karanī* 'the deeds of the sensible' (T. 40), *sakhinha lāja* 'modesty of friends' (J. 510), *na nayananha āsū* 'nor a tear in eyes' (J. 242), *jūhī bakucanha lāvā* 'the jasmine flower was planted in plenties' (J. 53), *jhalakā pāyanha jhalakata* 'the blisters shine on the feet' (T. 237), *janaka pūḍhana baiḥhārē* 'Janaka seated them on wooden seats' (T. 142), *mērē hāthana* 'in my hands' (N.).

§ 189. The oblique is also used as the agent of past participle verbs in all the texts. For instance:

rājai sunā 'the king heard' (J. 84)

rājat putra biāhā 'the king married the son' (N. 7)

pāvā sakhinha 'the friends obtained' (J. 104)

sakhinha kahā 'the friends said' (J. 103)

rājanha sunī 'the kings heard' (J. 83)

siddhanha baḍa māmā 'the great considered (him) to be big' (J. 31)

surana astuti kīnhā 'the gods prayed' (T. 39)

muninha kīrati gāi 'the sages sang the fame' (T. 10)

lōgana jānā 'the people thought' (N.)

sakhina pūchā 'the friends asked' (N.)

sakhiyana pahicānā 'the friends recognised' (N.).

NOTE.—The oblique singular in *-hi*, *-i* is used to indicate the inanimate direct object also in a few instances.

bāsuki jāi patārahī cāpā 'Vāsukī went and got hold of the nether-world' (J. 19), *bajarahī māri uḍāi* 'he turns to pieces the thunderbolt' (J. 9), *banahī sidhāē* 'went to forest' (T. 222).

§ 190. Terminations of Cases

(a) *Direct Singular*—The bases ending in *-a* form their direct singular either by substituting *-u* for *-a* or like bases ending in other vowels use the base itself as this case.

(b) *Direct Plural*—Bases ending in *-a* have a direct plural case in *-ē* (e.g., *tārā* : *tārē*, *chātā* : *chātē* *sapanā* : *sapanē*) and the feminine bases ending in *-a* have a plural in *-ī* (*asīsa* : *asīsai*, *bhātūha* : *bhātūhai* (J. 86), *bāṭa* : *bāṭai* (J. 110), *mūrata* : *mūratai* (N.). Otherwise the base itself is used as this case.

Traces of *-i* ending for *-a* bases [corresponding to Eastern Awadhi *-ai* 'see § 197 (b)] are found in J. *savarupavantai mukha jōhahī* 'all those who have forms look up to the face', (p. 29), *sapata dīpa kē barai onāhī* 'the birdegrooms of all the seven Dvīpas come up' (J. 83), *āgai saguna saguniai tākā* 'those who knew the omens saw the omens in front' (J. 265).

(c) *Oblique singular*—the most common form of this is the base. There are two other forms:

1. ending in *-hi*, *-hī*, *-i* *-ī* (shortening the preceding vowel if it is long) for all bases,
2. ending in *-ē* for bases in *-a* and *-ā*.

(d) *Oblique plural*—this ends in *-nha*, *-nhā*, *-na*, *-nhi*, *-nhī*, *-ni*. The termination *-nha*, *-nhā* is common in Jāyasī and Tulsī, while *-na* in Nūr Muhammad.

Those in *-nhi*, *-nhī*, *-ni* are rare and are found in Tulsī only.

§ 191. I have taken statistics of the forms of the oblique case in the first five hundred lines of each of the three texts. The results are shown below.

(a) Jāyasī

Obl. sg.—there are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 22 end in *-hi*, 4 in *-hī*, 3 in *-i* and 1 in *-ā*. The last case (*ēkai nayanāhā* 'by one eye only' p. 29) has *-ā* for *-i* or *ī* (which is expected) probably for the sake of rhyme in the second half of the line (*māhā*).

obl. pl.—there are 18 cases of obl. pl. of which 13 end in *-ha*, 4 in *-na* and 1 in *-nhi*. The last case is :

janatū sabhā deotanhi kai jūrī, p. 55 'as if an assembly of the gods had assembled'. Here it appears that the feminine gender of the word *sabhā* has affected the form of *deotanhi* (expected *deotanha*).

(b) Tulsī

Obl. sg.—there are 20 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 9 end in *-hi* and 11 in *-hī*.

Obl. pl.—of the 6 cases 4 end in *-ha* and 2 in *-ni*. The latter are the cases where the connected feminine words appear to have influenced the form of the oblique, e.g., *nija nija mukhani kahī nija hōnī*, p. 4 'have described their birth by their own mouths'—here *hōnī* is feminine; *sabarī gīdha susēvakani sugati dīnhi raghunātha*, p. 15 'the Lord of the Raghus gave bliss to his good servants the S'abara woman and the vulture'—here *sugati* is feminine.

But in one case *muninha prathama harikīrati gāi*, p. 10 'the hermits first sang the fame of Hari' the feminine gender of *kīrati* has not affected the form of the oblique.

Also in the following cases of *-i* forms no contamination of any feminine noun is present :

karakamalani 'lotus-hands' p. 202, *sīsani* 'on the heads' p. 202, *nija āsramani* 'in their hermitages' p. 210,

sabankhi 'all', p. 210, *sēvakani* 'to the servants' p. 230, *nayanani* 'with eyes', p. 239, *kōlanhi* 'the kōls', p. 245, *-sīkani* 'with drops', p. 247 and *saṭhanhi* 'the rogues', p. 284.

(c) Nūr Muhammad—

obl. sg.—There are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 5 end in *-hi*, 4 in *-hṛ*, 1 in *-i*, 7 in *-ṛ*, 1 in *-ē* and 12 in *-ē*.

obl. pl.—There are 12 cases all of which end in *-na*. We thus see that Nūr Muhammad comes very near the practice of Modern Awadhī in dispensing with the *-h-* of the termination.

B. MODERN AWADHĪ

§ 192. There are two cases : direct and oblique.

The direct is used to denote (a) the subject (b) the inanimate direct object and (c) the vocative. For instance :

(a) *kutawax mariṅ gar* 'the dog died', *kutawax mariṅ ger* 'the dogs died', *gari jartṅ hai* 'the cow is going', *garix jartix hai* 'the cows are going'

(b) *gfiarṅ nō bairau* 'do not burn the house', *gfiar nō jairau* 'do not burn the houses'; *ārkhiṅ dñoxiṅ qarrau* 'wash the eye', *ārkhiṅ dñoxiṅ qarrau* 'wash the eyes'

(c) *larikawax rei* 'O boy'.

§ 193. The direct is used to denote an animate object in the case of the following verbs :

1. 'to milk'—e.g., *gari* (or) *garix dufiau* 'milk the cow (or) cows'.
2. 'to beg for'—e.g., *raṅja se bñaiṅsi* (or) *bñaiṅsir māṅgeu* 'did you beg for the buffalo (or) buffaloes from the king?'
3. 'to take'—e.g., *tum gāiaṅ leṅ māṅ bñaiṅsir* 'you take the cow, and I the buffaloes'.
4. 'to bring'—e.g., *mājur laxeu?* 'did you bring the labourers?'
5. 'to give'—e.g., *ham kar carṅ adomir deru* 'give me four men'.

6. 'to steal'—*e.g.*, **uz chageriz corarwatj rafi** 'he was stealing some goats'.
7. 'to stake, to win or to lose a wager'—*e.g.*, **uz apanj mofaruaz dērupō dñarti hai** 'he stakes his wife' **jo ham bñāĩsiz hariz** 'if I lose the buffaloes', **tau tum gariz jirtau** 'then you win the cows'.
8. 'to capture'—*e.g.*, **gñoraz pakarti hai** 'he catches the horses', **uz gñorawaz dñae lifesi** 'he caught hold of the horse'.
9. 'to kill as game'—*e.g.*, **uz macheriz mairti hai** 'he catches the fish'.
10. 'to eat as meat'—*e.g.*, **uz bakoraz khariti hai** 'he eats goat.'

§ 194. The oblique is used with the various positions. For instance :

(a) the singular

with **kō** (accusative)

tum apōnex larika kō marreu 'you beat your son',

with **se** (instrumental)

maĩ dñdñ se marreũ 'I beat *with* the stick',

with **kō** (dative)

uz māgata kō khari kō diñisi 'he gave *to* the beggar something to eat',

with **se** (ablative)

birawa se partaz girez 'the leaves fell *from* the tree',

with **ki** (genitive)

rarm ki laũñiaz mari gai 'Rām's daughter died'.

with **mō** (locative)

amkhorawa mō duxdñu nariz hai 'there is no milk *in* the cup'.

(b) the plural

with **kō** (accusative)

ui apōnex larikan kə kherdī dīḡinī ḡai 'he has turned out his sons'.

with **se** (instrumental)

phuzlan se bagiaz maḡakati ḡai 'the garden is fragrant *with* the flowers',

with **se** (ablative)

birawan se partar ḡḡarex 'the leaves fell *off* the trees'.

with **kə** (genitive)

kutawan ke naḡ pain hortī haĩ 'the nails *of* dogs are very sharp'.

with **par** (locative)

ciraḡjan par charraz ne calarox 'do not fire shot *at* the birds'.

§ 195. The oblique is used without a post-position in the following instances :

1. When a word meaning 'for the sake of' or 'near, with' follows, *e.g.*, **tanikai bart khartir** 'for the sake of a little thing', **larikan khartir** 'for the sake of boys', **meḡaruaz tizr** 'near a woman', **argiz tizr** 'near the fire.'

2. When a word meaning 'through (the way of)' follows, *e.g.*, **dḡūazraz ḡagar** 'through the ventilator', **panairan ḡagar** 'through the pipes'.

3. When the noun is repeated and gives a locative sense, *e.g.*, **ḡḡar ḡḡar laḡaziz bḡai** 'there was a quarrel in every home', **ḡāzwan ḡāzwan ḡḡurmen** 'we roamed in all villages'.

4. When the noun means 'force' and gives an instrumental sense, *e.g.*, **jabarjastir uḡhari laiwar** 'he brought away by force', **mai kar jurtan pirḡisi** 'he beat me with shoes'.

(a) The oblique plural is optionally employed as the subject of such transitive verbs as are based on the participle, *e.g.*, **bamḡanan** (or **bamḡan**)

sab karmṇ bigarī diṣini 'the Brahmins spoiled the whole business'.

§ 196. The dialects of other districts agree with Lakhimpuri in the use of the direct and oblique cases.

In the Eastern dialects the obl. pl. case is regularly employed as the subject, e.g., **gāijan khaiṣai** 'the cows will eat', **bṣaujaijan kṣai** 'the sisters-in-law said'.

Terminations of Cases

§ 197. (a) *Direct singular*—The simple noun-stem, without any terminations, forms this case, excepting masculine stems ending in consonants to which **-ṇ** is added, e.g., **sārp : sārpṇ**.

(b) *Direct plural*—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem for this case, except that the feminine stems ending in **-i** (**i**) substitute **-iz** for **-i** (**i**) and the feminine stems ending in consonants add **-ai**. For instance **garī : gariz, āikhī : āikhiz; bājār : bājārai; bāras : bārasai; kitārb : kitārbai**.

The dialects of Bahraich (B.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.) and Partabgarh (P.) have a general direct plural case ending in **-ai** which is more often used than the simple noun-stem. For instance : **ṭhakurwar : ṭhakurwai; corwar : corwai; larikai nirkṇ ṭṭai** 'the boys are good' (Sl.), **larikai nirkṇ ṭṭai** 'the girls are good' **kutaunai mari ger** 'the dogs died'.

§ 198. (a) *Oblique singular*—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem as this case except that the final **-i** is pronounced as **i**. The bases in **u**, however, substitute **-i** for **-u**, e.g., **pāru** dir. sg., **pāri** obl. sg., except **gāru** which remains so in both the cases.

NOTE.—The obl. sg. of consonantal bases ends in the consonant but in slack pronunciation a final **-ə** is audible. It is impossible to know if like dir. sg. **-ṇ**, this **-ə** is whispered (see § 115).

(b) *Oblique plural*—In all the dialects this is formed by adding (1) **-An** to stems ending in a consonant (e.g., **sārp : sārpAn; sīzg : sīzgAn**) or in **-u** (the **-u-** then changes to **-w̃¹**) (e.g., **gōrū : gōrūw̃An; narū : narūw̃An**) and

(2) **-n** to stems ending in other vowels; the whispered vowel becomes full and the long becomes short (e.g., **kūōr : kūān; ērkhi : ārkhi; nādziz : nādzin; naruz : nāzun; pāzrex : pāzren**).

NOTE.—The dialects Fy., Sl. and P. appear to add **-An** (instead of **-n**) to **-uz** stems also (e.g., **qarkuz : qarkuAn**). This, however, is a case of changing the stem to its lengthened form in **-az** and not of any difference in formation (**qarkuz > qarkuaz** and then the termination **-n** is added).

Other Cases

§ 199. The dialects possess a vocative plural case which is used to call more than one person. It is formed by adding **-Au** to a stem ending in a consonant or **-u**, and **-u** to a noun ending in any other vowel. Before the termination, the vowel undergoes the modification as mentioned above § 198 (b). For instance :

kāfiarz : kāfiarAn. The enclitics **rez** (masc.) and **riz** (fem.) are often added after this case, or **orez** (masc.) **oriz** (fem.) before it (e.g., **orez kāfiarAu parkiz uḥaroz** 'O! *kahars* lift up the palanquin' **oriz mōfiarAu gaunāiz garoz** 'O! women sing the songs').

(a) All the dialects possess this case but such of them as have a direct plural case in **-ai** § 197 (b) use it oftener as the vocative plural. For instance : **kāfiarAu** or **kāfiarōwai parkijaz uḥaroz mōfiarAuai gaunāiz garoz**. These dialects differ also in the use of the vocative enclitic inasmuch as they use **rez** or **orez** irrespective of the gender of the noun being masculine or feminine. G. and B. avoid using the enclitic altogether.

¹ Part I § 154.

§ 200. The nouns **janaz** 'person' and **larikazbarraz** 'issue' have the direct plural case as **janez** and **larikazbarrez** in all the dialects. Similarly the nouns **sau** 'hundred', **paru** 'a quarter', **nāzū** 'name' **dāzū** 'chance' have **sai**, **pazi**, **nāzi**, **dāzi** respectively as their direct plural case. The simple stem does not serve as this case for **janaz** and **larikazbarra**, but it does optionally in case of **sau**, **paru**, **nāzū**, **dāzū**.

§ 201. An instrumental case ending in **-en** is found in such adverbial expressions as **pijarsen** 'out of thirst', **bfiurkhen** 'out of hunger', **qlaren** 'out of fear', used with or without the enclitic **marrez** 'on account of' after them, e.g., **ham pijarsen mari gen** or **ham pijarsen marrez mari gen** 'I died out of thirst'.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the oblique plural for it (Lmp. **pijarsen** Fy. **pijarsan**, Lmp. **bfiurkhen**, P. **bfiurkhan**.)

§ 202. A case expressing motion towards a thing is found ending in **-ai** (after nouns ending in a consonant or **u**) or **-i** (after those ending in any other vowel) in such usages as **ui gfiarai ger** 'he went home', **larikazmadarsai azer** 'the boys came to the school', **tum iz gārwai arjeu** 'you came to this village'. This is used without the postposition.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the locative in **-er** (mentioned below) instead. For instance : Sl. records **gfiarer gar**, while a specimen of 17 miles West of it records **gfiarai**. G. has **jaun kuchu mūflier arwar** 'whatever came to the mouth'.

(a) The consonantal bases indicating inanimate objects have a locative case (by adding **-e**) in all the dialects. This form is mostly used for the locative (generally without postpositions) but sometimes to indicate other case-relations also. For instance : **ui duarez baith haĩ** 'he is sitting outside (on the door)' **qāzru hamorez marther paraz** 'the fine

fell to my lot (on my forehead) ' **waz hamorex samafiez nikari ariz** 'she came out in my presence', **ghaimem na nikarau** 'do not come out in the sun', **ham tum kar saponem derkhen** 'I saw you in a dream', **raizake karnem bart kaffi deru** 'Speak the word in the king's ear', **ui kauner karme ko ger** 'for what business has he gone?' **duaire ko ger**, 'he has gone outside', **barax janwarsek ariz** 'the bridegroom's party came to the reception-house', **bijariek saranjarmu karau** 'make the arrangements for the marriage'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 203. The direct case is the result of the old Nominative-accusative, the direct singular of the singular and the plural of the plural. Thus :

sā:ip represents Skt. *sarpah* : *sarpam*, Pkt. *sappō* : *sappam*, Ap. and E. Aw. *sāpu*, while

sā:ip represents Skt. *sarpāh* ; *sarpān*, Pkt. *sappā* : *sappē*, Ap. *sāpā*, E. Aw. *sāpa*.

ā:khī represents Skt. *akṣi*, Pkt. *akkhī*, Ap. *ākhi*, E. Aw. *ākhi*.

ā:khiz represents Skt. *akṣīni*, Pkt. *akkhīm*, Ap. *akkhīr*, E. Aw. *ākhi*.

§ 204. The direct plural of feminine consonantal bases in Western Awadhi and of all bases in Eastern Awadhi should be derived from the ancient neuter plural ending in *-āni*. The adoption of this neuter ending for nouns of animate gender is attested by some Skt. texts and by Bhāsa's Prakrit¹. Western Awadhi stands between Eastern Awadhi and Western Hindi in this respect. Eastern Awadhi has it for all nouns, Western Awadhi for consonantal feminine bases only while Western Hindi for all feminine bases, e.g., Hindustānī **laṛkiz** : **laṛkijāz**; **oirat** : **oirētāī**.

¹ Printz : Bhāsa's Prakrit, pp. 26-27.

§ 205. The direct plural of *-ā* bases (*citērā : citērē*) in *ē* goes back to the Pkt. accusative ending in *-ē¹*, and pronominal Nominative ending *-ē*. It represents the type *citrakarakāḥ : citrakarakāḥ : citrakarakān, cittayaraō : cittayaraē*. Such forms, however, are very rare in Awadhi and might be loan words from Western dialects. Chatterji derives these from the ancient instrumental plural forms.

§ 206. In Modern Awadhi the traces of distinction between the direct sg. and dir. pl. are found in the case of fem. bases ending in *-ī (i)*, e.g. *āṛkhī* 'eye' *āṛkhir* 'eyes' and masc. consonantal bases (*sāṛp* 'snake' : *sāṛp* 'snakes'). This is explained by the difference in the origin of the two forms : *āṛkhī* < M.I. *akkhi* and *āṛkhir* < M.I. *akkhiim* or in the case of ancient masculine and fem. forms < *-īō*, e.g., *aggīō*—modern *argi* 'fires', *sāṛp* < M.I. *sappō* and *sāṛp* < M.I. *sappā*.

Distinction between the direct sg. and the obl. sg. is found only in the case of masc. consonantal bases (e.g., *sāṛp* : *sāṛp*) and the fem. bases in *-ī (i)*. This is also explained by a difference in their origin, the direct being the original nom.-acc.-voc. and the oblique the ancient genitive or dative.

Though other nouns have lost the distinctions to-day, the traces which we find above clearly point to distinctions in the origin.

§ 207. What is the origin of Early Awadhi obl. sg. *-hi*? Chatterji (§499) explains the *-hi* by a supposed I.E. **-dhi* (> Greek *-oi*), Pāli *-dhi*, a suggestion put forward originally by Hoernle and accepted by Grierson. But this case is not operative in Pāli (the only available form is *sabbadhi* quoted by Wackernagel). It is, therefore, unlikely that such a common case as *-hi* which we find in abundance in Early Awadhi should come from *-dhi*. I have, therefore,

¹ Pischel · Gram. Prakrit, sec. 367a.

preferred to derive it from the pronominal locative in *-smin* > *mhi* > *hɪ*, *hi*.

I suggested elsewhere¹ that the Early Awadhi *-hɪ*, *-hi* might have come from the ancient plural instrumental ending *-bhis*. That, however, does not explain the nasalisation. Besides the transfer of a plural termination to singular remains unexplained².

§ 208. The derivation of the Modern Aw. obl. sg. may be had from the ancient genitive or the dative. The distinction between these two cases is not found in nouns other than *-a* bases in MIA. It would, however, be preferable to derive it from the genitive which was in more common use, *gharassa* > *gharasa* > *gharaha* > Early Aw. *ghara* > Modern Awadhi *għār*.

The passage of M.I. *-ss-* to late M.I. *-h-* and then its disappearance has a parallel in the forms of the Simple Future : *karissai* > *karihai* > Early Aw. *karihi* and Mod. Aw. *kārīz*.

As Turner has shown³, a sound in terminations is likely to have a more rapid (and possibly different) change than the corresponding sound in the body of words.

NOTE.—The nouns in *-u* (*gāzū* etc.) are all in the dir. case, and the dir. is used with postpositions also. But the use of the dir. thus in place of the obl. appears to be quite a recent development. Even to-day we find some traces of the obl. sg. here : *hāmār jiu* dir. but *hāmārēz jīz māz, narū : narī, darū : darī*.

§ 209. The oblique plural in Modern Awadhi in *-n*, Early Awadhī *-nha*, *-nhā*, *-nhi*, *-nhɪ*, *-ni* is based on the ancient genitive plural, Skt. *-nām* : Pkt. *-ṇaṃ*. The *-i* is possibly due to contamination with feminine forms (see §191).

¹ Noun-declension in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās (Ind. Ant. LII, 1923, p. 5.).

² Prof. Bloch sees the possibility of a secondary affix in *-hɪ*.

³ R. L. Turner : J. R. A. S., 1927, p. 227 and ff., also see J. Bloch : B. S. L. 1928, p. 4.

An objection to this derivation of the oblique plural is that the *-n* of terminations survives in most modern languages only as a simple nasalisation (Marāṭhī *dēvāṃ*, Hindustānī **ghoṛṭōr**, Rājasthānī **ghoṛṭār**). But we find the full *n* surviving in the oblique of some Indo-Aryan languages, viz., in Kāshmirī (L.S.I., VIII, part II, page 271), Sindhī (L.S.I., VIII, part I, p. 25), Singhalese and Gypsy and to some extent in Bengali (Chatterji, sec. 486).

The *n* of neuter plural ending in *-āni*, *-īni* has been lost, but there is a difference between the treatment of *-āni*, *-īni* on the one hand and of *-ānām*, etc., on the other, noticeable in the Pkts. The former became *-āim*, *-īim*, etc., while the latter are found as *ānam*, *īnam*, etc. This differentiation has been kept up by Modern Awadhi **-Ai** < *-āni* and **-n** < *-nām*.

The Early Awadhi *-h* and *-hi* can be explained only as addition to *-na*, owing to the influence of the general oblique singular in *-hi*. Aw. *-nh* could come from *-nn-* also (cf. Marāṭhī *dinhala* : Pkt. *diṇṇa*, Braj **diṇṇ**) but no ancient case form in *-nn-* is available.

§ 210. The vocative plural case of Modern Awadhi in **-Au** (corresponding with Western Hindi **-or**) is derived from ancient Nominative-vocative plus the enclitic *-hō*. This enclitic was used in the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and by constant use came to form a part of the substantive. The loss of *-h-* and the reduction of *-ō* to *-u* are normal features.

§ 211. The plurals **janer** (sg. **janar**) < *janāḥ* and **baxrer** (sg. **baxrar**) < *bālāḥ* are loan-words from a dialect where *-ā* bases form the plural in *-ē* (Cf. § 200). A larger use of these plurals is found in Tulsīdās.

§ 212. The plurals **sai** (< *śatāni*), **narī** (< *namani*), **darī** (< *dāmāni*), **parī** (< *pādāni*) are survivals of ancient neuter plurals.

§ 213. The instrumental in *-en* goes back to *-ēna* with elongated forms **qaraēṇa* > **qaren** 'out of fear.' The

survival of nasal after a front vowel -*ē*- has a parallel in Kāshmirī also¹.

§ 214. The Modern Awadhī case in -**ai** expressing motion towards a thing, represented by Early Awadhī -*hṛ*, -*hi*, -*i* goes back to Skt. ending -*smi* which is found in Prakrits variously as -*mmi* and -*mḥṛ* added to nouns alternately with -*ē* (*puttē* or *puttamhi*, *puttammi*). Nouns with this termination indicate other senses, besides locative, in Early Awadhī—chiefly Objective-dative. Modern Western Awadhī has retained this case for expressing motion only. Eastern Awadhī uses the locative in -**ex** to denote this sense.

This case is represented by the dative of Sanskrit (*gr̥hāya gataḥ*); but -*āya* would phonetically become -*ā*, and not -*ahi* or -*ai*.

§ 215. The locative case in -**ex** of Modern Awadhī, a few cases of which are found in early Awadhī as well, goes back to the ancient locative singular in -*ē* of elongated forms (*dvārakē*: **duarrex**). The final -*ē* of *dvārē*, *gr̥hē*, etc., would phonetically become -*i*² in modern IA, but -*aē* of middle-Indian would survive as -*ē*. The predominantly locative use of this case in Modern Awadhī warrants the derivation from an ancient Locative.

¹ J. Bloch : B. S. L. 1928 p. 5.

² as attested by old Rājasthānī texts.

CHAPTER II

ADJECTIVES

§ 216. In Awadhi, the adjectives are very seldom employed and so we find a very small vocabulary of qualitative adjectives. The pronominal adjectives of possession and of quantity are generally in use; they will be treated of under Pronouns. The numerals also have been dealt with separately.

In *Gululāwālī kathā* (Texts No. 1) in the first paragraph we find 36 nouns but only three adjectives—all pronominal, and eight numerals. Similarly whenever specimens of Awadhi have been searched through it is very seldom that the adjectives have been found.

Gender and Number

A. EARLY AWADHI.

§ 217. (a) J. has two genders of the adjective and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun, e.g., *ghani tibiḷi* 'dense *Imḷi*', *ghana tāra* 'dense palm' (p. 42), *hariara akāsa* 'green sky' (p. 40), *bipati bahu ghanī* 'very dense (great) calamity' (p. 5), *karui bēli* 'bitter creeper' (p. 6), *āgari karā* 'best digit' (p. 22), *khiranī mīṭhī* 'sweet *khirni*' (p. 41); but *navatū pauri para* 'on the 9th gatepost' (p. 64), *kinhesi ūkha mīṭha rasa-bharī* 'he created sugarcane, sweet and juicy' (p. 6), where a masculine adjective has been used with a feminine noun.

The -ā adjective changes to -ē in plural direct and obl. and sg. obl., e.g., *jei pādḥata sikhē* 'those who are well-read and learned' (p. 15), *dui dīpaka ūjiārē* 'two bright lamps' (p. 25), *apanē apanē ghara* 'in one's own house' (p. 67); *kaunau harē dhūma au kārē* 'some of them were green,

dusky and black' (p. 69), *dēkhi tinha thāḍhē* 'seeing them standing' (p. 63).

(b) T. has two genders and the distinction is rigorously maintained. For instance :

āgila kāju 'coming business' (p. 162), *āgili bāta* 'coming thing' (p. 164), *dukhu bara* 'heavy misery' (p. 165), *sapatha barī* 'a heavy curse' (p. 168), *bidhi ati dāhina* 'the Creator is very favourable' (p. 163), *dāhini ākhi* 'right eye' (p. 165), *manabhāvati bātā* 'a pleasant thing' (p. 167), *manabhāvata (ji kā)* 'a pleasant (boon)' (p. 168), *avadha ujāri* 'desolate Ayodhyā' (p. 169).

The *-ā* adjective changes to *-ē* for plural direct and obl. and for singular obl. For instance : *rāma-abhiṣēka suhāvā* 'beautiful coronation of Rāma' (p. 160), *bacana suhāē* 'beautiful words' (p. 159), *pachilē pahara* 'in the last watch (of night)' (p. 172).

The adjective has the case-ending like Mod. Awadhi (vide § 221) when the noun is understood, e.g., *bareht abhiṣēkū* 'coronation to the elder' (p. 161).

The plural noun when indicating a single individual or thing (vide § 175) has a plural adjective, e.g., *bharata bhōrē* 'the simple Bharata' (p. 171).

(c) N. observes the distinction of gender only in *-ā* and *-ī* adjectives. For instance : *piyārā* : *piyārī*, *gāḍhī gāṭha* 'a difficult knot' (p. 4), *bhālī kīrata* 'good fame' (p. 8). In other cases the masculine form is used for the fem. noun also, e.g., *cintā āna* 'other anxiety' (p. 11), *nā ati lāba* 'not very tall (princess)' (p. 19), *mūṭha hōi likhanī* 'the pen (fem.) may become sweet' (p. 13).

The *-ā* adjective changes to *-ē* for the plural, e.g., (*tārē*) *ājīārē* 'bright stars'.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 218. In Lakhimpurī, adjectives as a rule have two genders : masculine and feminine, e.g., *nirk* : *nirkī* 'good',

nizk larikaz 'good boy', **nizki laũrijaz** 'good girl'.

The feminine is formed by

(a) adding **-i** to the masculine ending in a consonant, *e.g.*, **girl** : **girli** 'wet', **burzi** : **burzsi** 'old', **partar** : **partari** 'thin'.

(b) changing **-az** to **-ir** in case of a masculine ending in **-az**, *e.g.*, **thorraz** : **thorzir** 'little', **baraz** : **barzir** 'big', **lambaz** : **lambzir** 'tall'.

Other adjectives (in **-i bard** 'useless', in **-ir bñazir** 'heavy', in **-uz karuz** 'bitter') do not change for gender.

NOTE.—The change for gender in adjectives in **-uz (karuz : karuir)** sometimes noticed in the speech of the literate, is due to the influence of the literary speech Hindustānī (Hīn. **karuaz : karuir**).

Adjectives of Persian origin, *e.g.*, **kharaab** < *kharāb* **larjak** < *lāyaq*, **larl** < *lāl*, **sapert** < *safaid* do not change for gender. The following also do not change for gender :

ujazir 'desolate', **kariaz** 'black'.

§ 219. The distinction of gender is lost progressively as we proceed to the East. The Western dialects (Lmp. S., L., U. and F.) observe it as detailed above. For instance :

L. has **chozt bñazir** 'younger brother' (masc.), **choztir razi** 'small kingdom' (fem.); **thorzir bñut cirz baste** 'a few things' (fem.), **thorraz khazi leriz** 'I should eat a little' (masc.). U. has **tab sarōñajai risāñi hōzi larz** 'then the sisters-in-law began to be angry' (fem.), **burzi kañai larz** 'the old people began to say' (masc.), **uz tharzi bñar** 'he stood (lit. became standing)' (Masc.).

F. has **burzi ardmir rāñā** 'there were old people' (masc.), **burzir meñorazir rāñā** 'there were old women' (fem.).

The Central dialects (B., Br. and R.) are less particular about gender than the Western dialects. For instance :

B. a specimen of 12 miles West to Bahraich records a change for feminine in **ham mīṭharīz ab saigarī choṛī dīzn karab** 'I shall now leave more (a larger quantity of) sweetmeats' and no change in **paṣīl meṣṭaruz** 'the first wife'. While a specimen of 20 miles East to Bahraich records change for feminine in **-ar** adjectives (e.g., **bṣātorar karṭīz**, **kaljugošīz** 'the killer of the husband, belonging to *Kaliyuga* (feminine)', it does not record any change in consonantal adjectives (e.g., **hamar aurat** 'my wife', **hamar jindagīz** 'my life' (both feminine).

Br. and R. have no change in the singular of consonantal adjectives (e.g., **partar swāṛṭar** 'a thin stick' (masculine), **partar chāṛīz** 'a thin stick' (feminine), **cīrkan loṛṭar** 'a smooth jug' (masculine), **cīrkan baṭuīz** 'a smooth pot' (feminine), but do have it in the plural (e.g., **gāgorīz juṛṭ hai** 'the jar is cool' (sg. feminine), **gāgorīz juṛṭīz haī** 'the jars are cool' (pl. feminine). The distinction of gender is, however, observed in the case of **-ar** adjectives, e.g., **lambar** (masculine) **lambīz** (feminine) 'tall'.

The Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P. and A.) do not observe clearly any distinction of gender in adjective. For instance :

G. a specimen of Balrampur records **raṇḍīz calar gāi**, 'the prostitute went away', where **calar** (masculine) qualifies (feminine) **raṇḍīz** without any change.

Fy. **nīrk lārikar** 'good boy' (masculine), **nīrk lārikinīz** 'good girl' (feminine), **gīrl marṭīz** 'wet clay' (feminine).

Sl. **īz pārnīz ṭhaṇḍī ḷṣāi** 'this water is cold' (feminine), **īz pīsān gīrl ḷṣāi** 'this flour is wet' (masculine), **īz sārnīz gīrl ḷṣāi** 'this fodder is wet' (feminine).

P. **hamar samāi raṣīz** 'my time was' (feminine).

The Eastern dialects avoid the use of **-ar** (masculine), **-īz** (feminine) (**baṛar** : **baṛīz**) adjectives by substituting

consonantal adjectives for them, *e.g.*, **nirk** for **acrhiz**; **lārb** for **lambaz**, **lambiz** and **jerth** for **bařaz**, **bařiz**).

NOTE—1. In none of the dialects, is the distinction of gender based on the animate or inanimate nature of the object qualified. For instance the adjective **partar** 'thin' is applied to masculine nouns (animate or inanimate) in Lakhimpurī and **partari** 'thin' to feminine nouns—**partar mānāiz** 'a thin man', **partar bārs** 'a thin bamboo', **partari meñaruaz** 'a thin woman', **partari lařthiz** 'a thin stick'.

NOTE—2. When a plural noun is used to show respect for an individual, the adjective qualifying it is plural (*e.g.*, **iz tharner-dair bařez haĩ ui chorř** 'this police-officer is high, that is low'; here the adjectives qualifying the police-officer are in the plural).

§ 220. The dialectal differences regarding the case and number are generally similar to those of gender—as we proceed towards the East the distinction no longer exists. B., for instance, does not modify the adjective: **razm acřhař** (expected **acřhez**) **razjaz rařhez**, **khařjaz** (expected **khařzez**) **ařme kə bařiazi deru**, **kūařiz** (expected **kūařiz**) **biřijan kə nə mařrau**. Of the Central dialects R. and Br. modify the adjective: Br. **jurř**: **jurřez**, **gorř**: **gorřez**, R. **surkh**: **surkhe**: **surkhiz**). The modification of **-ař** adjectives (to **-ez**) is noticed in P. and Fy. here and there, otherwise it is absent in all Eastern dialects.

§ 221. The adjective may be used as a noun when the noun used previously is understood in subsequent uses, *e.g.*, **kaun lařikař ařwar** 'which son has come?', **bařaz ařwar hai** 'the big (one) has come'.

In such cases the adjective has the necessary case modifications like nouns, *e.g.*, **acřhez lařikař aři gařez**, **khararř ařwatř hořiaĩ** 'good boys have arrived, the bad (ones) must be coming'. **Acřhen kə ařwai diřeu khararř**

ban ke durijazi difieu 'let the good (ones) come in, turn the bad (ones) out'.

NOTE.—Here the plural obl. terminations **-n** and **-An** have been added to the adjectives. It should be noticed that the plural termination is added to the modified form where it exists, e.g., **Aczhez** : **Aczhen** in Lakhimpurī but **Aczhar** : **Aczhan** in P'y.

Stem

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 222. In all the texts the short forms of **-ā** and **-ī** adjectives (**-a** and **-i**) are frequently found, particularly in Tulsidās in whom the long (**-ā** and **-ī**) are comparatively rare. For instance :

(a) J. *ūcī pavārī ūca abāsū* 'high was the gate and high the residence' (p. 55), *koi bhikhārī* 'some beggar' (p. 5), *rājā bhaē bhikhārī* 'the king became a beggar' (p. 60), *saba thāḍha pahārā* 'all the hills standing' (p. 69).

(b) T. *sayāni* 'clever', *ujāri* 'desolate', *lagana bhali* 'auspicious time' (p. 161), *phuri bānī* 'true speech' (p. 164), *lāgi madhu* 'the honey which was present' (p. 162), *candini rāti* 'moon-lit night' (p. 162), *nīci karatūti* 'lowly action' (p. 162), *anamani hasi* 'thou art dejected' (p. 162), *kāri janu sāpini*, 'as if a black serpent' (p. 162), *jhūṭhi phuri bātā* 'false and true words' (p. 163), *karui mai māi* 'I am bitter, O mother!' (p. 163), *bari cūka* 'great mistake' (p. 164), *rāni risāni* 'the angry queen' (p. 167), *sūḍha subhāvā* 'a straightforward nature' (p. 165), *bhōra subhāū* 'a simple nature' (p. 168), *bara chōṭa* 'big and small' (p. 170), *thārhi thārhi* 'standing'.

(c) N. *ahai thārha* 'is standing' (p. 4), *kou thārha hai* 'somebody is standing' (p. 16), *prēma gārha* and *gārha* 'great (lit. thick) affection' (p. 13), *rāja rahā mīṭhā* 'sweet was the kingship' (p. 20) and *mīṭha hōi likhanī* 'the pen may become sweet' (p. 20).

When the feminine adjective in *-ī* is shortened in N. it takes the same form as the masculine, *e.g.*, *pahīlī rāta* 'first night' (p. 10) and *pahila rāta* 'first night' (p. 12).

B. MODERN AWADHI.

§ 223. The *-aṛ* (feminine *-īṛ*) adjectives have sometimes long forms and longer forms, like the noun, *e.g.*, **baṛaṛ : baṛakaṛ, baṛakawaṛ, baṛiṛ : baṛakir : baṛakijaṛ**. The Eastern dialects use these long and longer forms oftener than the Western dialects. The *-k-* of these long forms is pronounced long whenever particular emphasis is to be put on the attribute, *e.g.*, **baṛakaṛ** or **baṛakṛaṛ, baṛakir : baṛakṛiṛ**.

NOTE.—Sometimes, particularly in Bgh., an elongation in *-fiṛaṛ* is found, *e.g.*, **purānifiṛaṛ, rogiṇfiṛaṛ**.

§ 224. In Lakhimpurī, masculine adjectives ending in a consonant (*e.g.*, **kūaṛ** 'unmarried') and in *-aṛ* (*e.g.*, **baṛaṛ** 'big') and feminine adjectives in *-ī* (*e.g.*, **kūaṛī** 'unmarried') have modified forms to express the direct plural and oblique singular and plural cases.

The modified forms are obtained by adding *-er* to consonantal adjectives (**kūaṛer**) and by substituting *-er* for *-aṛ* in the case of *-aṛ* adjectives (**baṛer**) and *-īṛ* for *-ī* in the case of *-ī* adjectives (**kūaṛiṛ**).

The following instances illustrate the use of the modified forms attributively:

Direct singular—

kūaṛer laṛikaṛ aṛjer 'the unmarried boys came', **baṛer biṛowar giriṇ ger** 'the big trees have fallen down', **kūaṛiṛ laṛiṇjaṛ aṛiṛ** 'the unmarried girls came.'

Oblique singular—

kūaṛer laṛika kə bolazor 'call the unmarried boy',
baṛer laṛika kə bolazor 'call the older boy',
kūaṛiṛ laṛiṇja kə bolazor 'call the unmarried girl'.

Oblique plural—

kūarēr lārikan kə bolāxor 'call the unmarried boys',

bāṛēr lārikan kə bolāxor 'call the older boys',

kūārīr lāūṛijān kə bolāxor 'call the unmarried girls'.

NOTE.—The unmodified form of masculine consonantal adjectives (**kūār**) is also used to qualify a direct plural case of the noun, *e.g.*, **kūār lārikar āxēr** 'the unmarried boys came'.

The modified form is less in use predicatively; it comes with feminine always (**ui lāūṛijān kūārīr hāī** 'those girls are unmarried', **ui lāūṛijān kə kūārīr batarwatī hāī** 'they say those girls are unmarried') and with the masculine Nom. plural when the adjective is an **-ār** base (**ui lārikar ācāher hāī** 'those boys are good'). Everywhere else the unmodified adjective is used.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 225. Awadhi has no separate forms for the degrees of comparison in adjective.

The sense of the comparative is expressed by (a) putting the compared (standard) thing in the ablative (obl. plur. **se**) (*e.g.*, **iū lārikar ui seṛ goṛ hāi** 'this boy is fairer than that', **uz lārikar iz seṛ kārīar hāi** 'that boy is darker than this') or by (b) using some such word as **jārdar**, **bāṣūt**, **sāigar** meaning 'more' and **kām** meaning 'less' (*e.g.*, **iū lārikar ui seṛ jārdar goṛ hāi** 'this boy is fairer than that', **uz lārika iz seṛ kām goṛ hāi** 'that boy is less fair than this').

The comparison may be made with the rest of the class, *e.g.*, **iū lārikar sab seṛ goṛ hāi** 'this boy is fairer than all the rest'.

The sense of the superlative is expressed by the simple adjective preceded by such expressions as **sab mar** 'amongst all', **sab ādmīn mō** 'amongst all men', **sab lārikan mō**

'amongst all boys', *e.g.*, **iu lārikar sab mar nirk hai** 'this boy is the best of all boys', **Fy. iz lārikar saban mar goir hai** 'this boy is fairest of all', **B. and G. iz lārikar sab mar gorēṣar hai** 'this boy is the fairest of all'—**gorēṣar** means 'fair'.

C. ORIGIN.

§ 226. The origin of Awadhi adjectives is closely allied to that of the nouns. In OIA and MIA the adjective, unless compounded with the substantive, had the modifications of gender, number and case of the noun qualified. In Modern Awadhi we have traces only of that. It is only the *-ā* adjective which keeps up the modifications to some extent in all Awadhi dialects, in others the base form is generally used.

The masculine oblique singular in **-er** goes back to *-akē* ending like the noun (vide § 215) and the masculine plural in **-er** to the Nom. Acc. plural in *-ē* (Cf. **janer** and pronominal forms). The obl. singular feminine **-ī** and feminine plural in **iz** have the same explanation as the corresponding forms of the noun (vide § 203).

The retention of distinction of gender in *-ā*, *-ī* forms in Eastern Awadhi is intelligible from the fact that a large number of these are ancient participles (past passive) in *-aka* elongated forms. We shall find that the distinction of gender in the Verb is maintained only in Participial forms.

We should note that the direct singular and direct plural of consonantal adjectives have different origins, like the noun, **kūar** < *kumārah*, **kūar** < *kumārāḥ*.

The practice of elongating the adjective-stem accords with the general practice of elongating the noun (vide § 177). The long consonant in these forms is used for emphasis.

CHAPTER III

NUMERALS

Cardinals

§ 227. The following are the cardinal numbers:—

Number.	Hindustānī.	Lakṣimpurī.	Other dialects.	Early Awadhī.
1	ek	ek	U. yark	J., T., N. <i>ēka</i> .
2	doz	dui		J., T., N. <i>dui</i> .
3	tin	tinī		T. <i>tinī</i> , N. <i>tinā</i> .
4	car	carī	Br. car	J., T. <i>cāri</i> , N. <i>cāra</i> (but <i>cāriu</i>).
5	pāc	pāc	Br. parn	J., T., N. <i>pāca</i> .
6	cheḥ, cher	char		T. <i>cha</i> .
7	sar	sar	...	J. <i>sāta</i> , N. <i>sāta</i> .
8	arḥ	arḥ	...	N. <i>āṭha</i> .
9	no	nau	...	J., N. <i>nau</i> .
10	das	das	...	J., T., N. <i>dasa</i> .
11	gjarrafi	gerar	{ Fy. gjarar Br. egjarar P egjarar }	N. <i>egayāraha</i> .

12	barrāḥ	barrar	...	J., N. <i>bārāha</i> .
13	terrāḥ	terrar	R. <i>tjarrar</i>	N. <i>tērāha</i> .
14	codāḥ	caudar	...	J., T. <i>caudaha</i> , T. <i>cāridasa</i> .
15	pandrarāḥ	pandarar	...	J., T. <i>sōraha</i> .
16	sorlāḥ	sorraz	R. <i>swarrar</i> Fy. <i>sorras</i>	N. <i>saraha</i> .
17	sattrāḥ	sattrarar	R. <i>satarar</i>	J., N. <i>aṭhārāha</i> .
18	aṭhararāḥ	aṭharrar	...	
19	onrirs	onāis ...	B., P. <i>onrāis</i>	
20	birs	birs	...	J. <i>bīsa</i> .
21	ikrirs	ekāis ...	B. <i>ekrāis</i> . G. <i>akrāis</i> .	N. <i>bāisa</i> .
22	barirs	baris	...	J. <i>caubisa</i> . T. <i>pacisa</i> (-ā).
23	terirs	teris	R. <i>caurbis</i>	
24	cobirs	caubis	...	
25	paciirs	paciis		
26	chabirs	chabris		
27	sattrarirs	sattraris		
28	aṭharirirs	aṭharis		
29	untirs	ontis	Fy. <i>onātris</i> G. <i>wāntis</i>	N. <i>vontisa</i> .

Number.	Hindustānī.	Lākḥimpurī.	Other dialects of Modern Awadhī.	Early Awadhī.
30	tīs	tīs	...	N. <i>fīsa</i> .
31	ikātrīs	ekotīs	...	T. <i>ikafīsa</i> (-ā).
32	bātrīs	bātrīs	...	J. <i>baḥṣa</i> .
33	tētīs	tētīs	...	J. <i>ttīsa</i> .
34	cōtīs	cāūtīs	...	
35	pētīs	pāūtīs	...	N. <i>chafīsa</i> .
36	chātrīs	chātrīs		
37	sētīs	sāūtīs		
38	ātrīs	ātrīs		
39	untārīs	ontārīs		
40	caḥlīs	caḥlīs	...	N. <i>cālīsa</i> .
41	iktārīs	ekotārīs		
42	bājārīs	bājārīs		
43	tētārīs	tētārīs	R. <i>tirtārīs</i>	
44	cowārīs	cāuārīs		
45	pētārīs	pāitārīs	Br. <i>chijāḥlīs</i>	J. <i>saṭālīsa</i> .
46	chijārīs	chijārīs	...	N. <i>aṛḥatālīsa</i>
47	sētārīs	sāītārīs	...	
48	ātrārīs	ātrārīs	R. <i>ekrāmpAcārīs</i>	
49	uncārīs	oncārīs		

50	pācars	pācars	...	T. <i>pacāsa</i> .
51	ikrjarwan	ekrjarwan	R. ekrarwan	
52	barwan	barwan		
53	tirepan	tirpan		
54	cowan	cāwan		
55	pachpan	pachpan	G. paṇcarwan	J. <i>chappana</i> , <i>chapana</i> .
56	chapān	chapān	...	N. <i>satiāvana</i> .
57	satrarwan	satrarwan	...	
58	at:harwan	at:harwan		
59	unsath	onsathī	P. onsath	N. <i>sāṭha</i> .
60	sath	sathī	...	
61	iksath	ekosathī		
62	barsath	barsathī	...	N. <i>trisaṭha</i> .
63	tiresath	tirsathī		
64	cōsath	cāūsathī		
65	pēsath	pāūsathī		
66	chijarsath	chārchathī	B. charsathī	
67	sarsath	sarsathī		
68	arsath	arsathī		
69	unḡatrar	onḡatrarī		
70	satrar	satrarī	...	N. <i>sattara</i> .
71	ikhattrar	ekhatrarī		
72	baḡatrar	baḡatrarī		
73	tiḡatrar	tiḡatrarī		
74	coḡatrar	cauḡatrarī		

Number.	Hindustānī.	Lakṣmipurī.	Other dialects of Mod. Awadhī.	Early Awadhī.
75	pichatr	pachatr		
76	chifatr	chiatr } chiatr	Br. cheṣṭatr P. cheṣṭatr.	
77	sathetr	sathatr } athatr		
78	athatr	athatr		
79	unarsir	onarsir	Fy. onarsir	
80	Asir	Asir		
81	ikrjarsir	ekrjarsir... } bajarsir	Br. ekarsir Fy. ekarsir	
82	bajarsir	tirarsir	...	J. camrāsī.
83	tirarsir	caurarsir		
84	corarsir	pacarsir		
85	picrjarsir	chiararsir		
86	chijarsir	satrarsir		
87	satrarsir	atharsir	Fy. satarsir Fy. atharsir	
88	atharsir	nawarsir		
89	nawarsir	navar		
90	navar			

91	ikrjarnver	ekrjarnber	{ Fy. ekrarnber Br. ekrarnber G. ekkarn:Δjer
92	barnver	barnber	{ Br. barn:Δber Fy. barnΔber G. barn:Δjer
93	tirarnver	tirarnber	
94	corarnver	caurarnber	Fy. pacarnΔber
95	picrjarnver	pāpcarnber	
96	chijarnver	charnber	P. santarnber
97	satrarnver	satrarnber	
98	Δt:hararnver	Δt:hararnber	G. ninrarnΔjer
99	ninrjarnver	ninrarnber	
100	so ... }	sg. sau pl. sai	J. chānabai. T. saya, N. sau, sai,
1000	hazar	hΔjarr	J. sahasa.
10000	lakh	lakh	J., T. lākha.
1000000	karor	karorri	J. krōḍa, J. karōri, T. karōri.

NOTE.—(1) The Eastern dialects have lost final -i of the numerals.

(2) From 91 to 99 G. has numerals ending in -Δjer.

§ 228. As the cardinal numbers as taught at the schools have a tendency to influence and even replace the dialectal forms, I have given the standard (Hindustānī) forms side by side with Awadhi forms.

The people generally count only upto 20, onwards they count by twenties, *e.g.*, **dui bixsīx au carī** '44 i.e., two twenties and four', *Fy.*, **car bixsīx rupaijāz rafīz hai** 'there were eighty rupees'. Even within twenty, numbers near twenty are expressed by the help of twenty, *e.g.*, **R. erk kam bixs** 'nineteen'.

There is generally the practice of adding **thāĩ**, **thaur** or **thiz** as help-words after numbers, *e.g.*, **R. car thāĩ: larikāz** 'four boys', **parp thaur rupaijāz** 'fives rupees', **P. erk thiz dārkharis** 'one petition'. A parallel usage in Bengali and Bihari may be noted.

Ordinals

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 229. The following cases of the use of ordinal numbers are found in the early Awadhi texts :

(a) Jāyasī—

pahila 'first', **dōsara** 'second' (p. 1), with which compare **akasara** 'alone' (p. 401), **dōsari disa** 'on the second side' (p. 561), **tisaraī āi caḍhāĩ pūjā** 'the third came and offered the worship' (p. 427), **tēsari hatiā** 'third murder' (p. 470), **chaṭhi rāti** 'sixth night' (p. 80), **navatū pauri** 'the ninth threshold', **dasatū duārā** 'the tenth gate' (p. 64), **dūija** '2nd date' (p. 21), **caudasi** '14th date' (p. 21).

(b) Tulsī—

ihai saguna phala dūsara nāhi 'this is just the result of the omen, none else' (p. 160), **dūsara bara** 'the second boon' (p. 168), **dharamu nahī dūjā** 'not a second Dharma' (p. 181), **tiya dūjī** 'second (another) woman' (p. 244), **anubhaeu na dūjē** 'no one else has experienced' (p. 158), **tisarē pahara** 'in the third watch' p. (237), **cauthē pana** 'in

the fourth period of age' (p. 174); similarly Greaves¹ cites *dūsari*, *tisara*, *tisari*, *tijai*, *cauthi*, *chaṭha*, *chaṭhē*, *sātava*, *āṭhava*.

(c) Nūr Muhammad

pahila khaṇḍa 'first part' (p. 15), *pahilī rāta ki mūrata* 'the image of the first night' (p. 10), *dūsara rāta* 'second night' (p. 10), *dūsara sakhi* 'another friend' (p. 116), *dūsara*, *tisara*, *cauthā* 'second, third, fourth' (p. 71), *dusarē tisarē cauthē bana* 'in the second, third, fourth forest' (p. 27), *cauthē khaṇḍa* 'in the fourth part' (p. 15), *pācaṭh*, *chaṭaṭh*, *sataṭh bana* 'in the fifth, sixth, seventh forest' (p. 28), *dasaṭh dvāra na khōlata kōi* 'no one opens the tenth door' (p. 46), *akasara* 'alone' (p. 51), *dūjē* 'a second time' (p. 59), *duija kai candū* 'the moon of the second date' (p. 38).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 230. The ordinal numbers in Lakhimpurī, have two genders, masculine and feminine, like the adjective. Cardinal numbers five and onwards from seven form their ordinals by adding -**Awāṛ** (masculine) or -**Āīṛ** (-**wāṛ** and -**īṛ** if the number ends in -**ar**), e.g., **pāṛc** : **pācawāṛ** : **pācāīṛ**, **baris** : **baisawāṛ** : **baisāīṛ**.

NOTE.—11th to 18th, however, insert a short -**ā**- in the termination, e.g., **gerar** : **gerāḥwāṛ** : **gerāḥīṛ**.

All the other dialects form the ordinals like Lakhimpurī. Fy., however, does not add -**ā**- in 11th and 12th, and B. and G. add -**ā** before -**wāṛ** (**gerāḥawāṛ**).

(a) Lakhimpurī forms other ordinals as below :

1st **pāḥil**, 2nd **doṛsar**, 3rd **tisrar**, 4th **cauth**, 6th **chaṭṭhar** and their feminines like ordinary adjectives (§ 218).

Fy. has an ordinary form for the 1st (**ekawar** : **ekāīṛ**) and the 6th also (**chaṭhawāṛ** : **chaṭhāīṛ**). For 2nd

¹ E. Greaves : Grammar of the Ramayan, p. 17.

and 3rd it has **duſarkaz** and **tiſarkaz** (**duſarkiz** and **tiſarkiz**). Similarly R., Br., P. and Sl.

(b) The dates of the Samvat era have the semi-tatsama forms (**duiḡ**, **tizḡ**, **cauthi**, **paṇcimiz chaṭhi**, **ſaṭrimiz**, **Aṭrimiz**, **naumiz**, **daſmiz** etc.) as contrasted with those of the Muslim and Christian eras where the ordinary forms are used, e.g., **ſataṭi** '7th day of Muharram'.

(c) The order of sons and daughters (1st son, 2nd son etc.) is generally expressed by the following words:

eldest	baṭaz	:	baṭiz
2nd	māḡḡil	:	māḡḡilakiz
3rd	ſaṇḡḡil	:	ſāḡḡilakiz
youngest	choṭ	:	choṭekiz

Multiplicatives Etc.

§ 231. Awadhi does not possess special numerals of the type of twice or thrice etc. The sense is, however, given by some word expressive of time usually, for instance, **darī** or **darū** in Lakhimpurī and R., **pherraz**, **barr**, **barḡiz**, **darī**, **darū**, **berijaz** in Fy., **berr**, **dēṛū** in B. and **barḡiz**, **dawar**, **dapher** in G. Twice is thus resolved to 'two times' **dui darī**; thrice to 'three times' **tiṇḡ darī**. For example:

ham ſab janaz din bharē mē erkaī dui darī kharitī hai, ſaṭheb loṅ tau pēic pēic chaciḡar darū ṭipan uṭarwatī haī 'we eat our food only once or twice a day while the Sahebs eat tiffin five or six times'.

(a) The following words are used for the multiplication tables, in Lakhimpurī:—

ekzan 'once', **durniz** 'twice', **tijāḡ** 'thrice', **caḡruḡ** 'four times', **paṇceḡ** 'five times', **chakaḡ** 'six times', **ſateḡ** 'seven times', **Aṭhe** 'eight times', **nawāḡ** 'nine times', **daſarwan** 'ten times'.

Other dialects use similar words. For instance, Fy. has: **durniz**, **tijarīḡ** or **tirakḡaz**, **cauk**, **paṇjeḡ paceḡ**, **chark**, **nawāḡḡ**, **daḡarīḡ**.

(b) For expressing the idea of 'double', 'treble', etc., the word **-gunar** is added to two, three etc., e.g., **dugunar** 'double', **tigunar** 'treble', **caugunar** 'four times'. R. adds **-gun**, e.g., **dugun**.

Tulsī—*cauguna cāu* 'four-fold enthusiasm' (p. 177).

(c) The following are the most common fractional numerals:—

$\frac{1}{4}$ **paumar** or **paru** $\frac{3}{4}$ **paun**
 $\frac{1}{2}$ **adḥar** or **aḍḥar** $1\frac{1}{4}$ **sawaru** or **sawaijar**
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ **deṛṣi** or **deuṛṣi** $2\frac{1}{2}$ **arḥariz** or **arḥaijar**
 Tulsī—*paharu arḥai* 'for $2\frac{1}{2}$ watches of the day' (p. 266).

C. ORIGIN

§ 232. The history of IA numerals has been fully discussed by Bloch (*Langue Marathe* §§ 211-226) and Chatterji (§§ 511-536). Awadhi numerals do not present any special peculiarities. The following points, however, may be noted:—

(a) Cardinals—11 (Br. **egjarar**, P. **egjarar**) in some dialects preserves the original initial *e* while in others it has been lost (Lmp. **gerar**) leaving only an influence on the vowel of the second syllable (*ekā*—).

16 (Fy. **soiras**) is queer on account of the final *-s* which appears to be a recent influence of Sanskrit.

19 (Lmp. **onais**) while **-k-** is preserved in 21, 31 etc., it has been softened to **-g-** in 11, but entirely lost in 19, 29, 39 etc. It appears in some Rājasthānī dialects (e.g., Mālvi) where the forms are **gunziz** **guntiz** and **guncarliz**. 43 R. **tirtarliz** is curious and is recent.

91—99 **-Ajer** forms are recent.

The help-words **ṭhaĩ**, **ṭhaur** and **ṭhi** (< *sthā*—?) are modern devices to give additional force to the number expressed. I have noticed no form in Early Awadhi.

(b) Ordinals—the terminations **-wāz** and **-ĩz** are corresponding to *-ma*, *-mī* of Sanskrit in the ordinary ordinals.

pañil < *pañhilla prath-illa*, **cauth** < *caturtha*, **chaṭṭhar** < *ṣaṣṭhaka*, while **doisar** and **tisar** have an affix *-sar* (Chatterji, p. 700)—Of. **ekōsar** 'all alone'.

māññil < M I *majjha* plus *-illa* and **saññil**¹ appears to be on its analogy.

¹ This has had the contamination with Persian *seh* 'three' also, most probably. Professor S.K. Chatterji communicates a derivation (suggested by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar) on the analogy of Oriya which is said to have a form *sāna māñha* 'third'—Bengali *sāñhuā* > *sejo* where *sāna* < *sañha* < *ślakṣṇa* 'small' + *māñha* < *madhya* 'middle'. **saññil** would then be a contracted form from *sāna + māñh*—.

CHAPTER IV

PRONOUNS

Introductory

§ 233. As shown below (§ 269) the postpositions are employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns, because the pronouns being used very often and, generally speaking, occupying a comparatively unimportant and meaningless part in speech, become weak both phonetically and semantically. There is thus a quicker disintegration of pronouns than that of nouns and there is consequently a rebuilding and a great variety of forms. Even at the Prakrit stage we find a large number of forms of the various pronouns (see Pischel § 415 for instances of the pronoun of the first person, Bloch § 207). Some of these, doubtless, existed from OIA times.

In the case of all the pronouns we find that the initial sound has subsisted in spite of disintegration and re-modelling. Similarly pronouns which have only one syllable (*kā* etc.) have subsisted. This is quite in accordance with the principle of frequent use, *viz.*, that the important element of words of frequent occurrence survives because it is fixed up in the mind.

First Person Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 234. The texts have the following forms:—

	sg.	pl.
direct	<i>maṭ</i> (also <i>haṭ</i>)	<i>hama</i>

	sg.	pl.
oblique		
	<i>mō, mohṭ (mohi)</i>	<i>ham, hamahṭ (hamat)</i>
genitive adjective		
	<i>mōra</i>	<i>hamāra</i>

(a) The direct case is employed as the subject. In Jāyasī *haṭṭi* is as frequently found in use as *mat*, e.g., *haṭṭi jāṭṭi* 'I go' (p. 90), *haṭṭi mānusa* 'I am a man' (p. 92), *haṭṭi lōni* 'I am charming' (p. 134), *haṭṭi āwā* 'I came'. *mat* is generally used as the subject of past-participle or future-participle verbs, e.g., *mat pāi* 'I got' (p. 26), *mat sukhā dēkhā* 'I experienced happiness' (p. 90), *mat paṭhaba* 'I shall enter', *mat jāba* 'I shall go'. But there are a few cases where it stands as the subject of other verbs also, e.g., *mat ravatū* 'I live in enjoyment' (p. 131), *jaṭṭi lagi mat phiri āṭṭi* 'until I come back' (p. 88). In Tulsī *mat* is the usual form and is used as the subject, e.g., *mat kari prīti parichā dēkhū* 'I have tested his affection' (p. 163), *karui mat māi* 'O mother! bitter am I' (p. 163), *mat dherāṭṭi* 'I am afraid' (p. 164), *mat lēbā* 'I shall take' (p. 197). In two instances (*hō-hū kahāwata* 'I also allow to be said' (p. 17), *nātha haṭṭi tyāgi* 'my lord has abandoned me' (p. 354), however, *haṭṭi* has been used. In an emphatic form (*maḥṭ sakala anaratha kara mūlā* 'I alone am the root-cause of all evil', p. 259) the form *mat* has become *ma-*. In Nūr Muhammad *mat* is used always, e.g., *likhanī mat līnhā* 'I have taken up the pen' (p. 4), *haṭṭi mat* 'I am' (p. 4), *mat hōṭi* 'I become' (p. 21), *mat bōlati* 'I speak' (p. 110).

In all the three texts *hama* is used as the subject of the verb in plural number, e.g., Jāyasī: *hama taru buddhi gavṭṭi* 'we lost our power of thinking' (p. 113), *hama nicinta* 'I was care-free' (p. 116), *hama gavānaba kāṭi* 'we shall go to-morrow' (p. 96), *kita hama* 'where shall we be' (p. 96); Tulsī: *sēvaka hama* 'we the servants' (p. 167), *nātha sanātha bhaḥ hama ājū* 'Lord! we have to-day been endowed with a protector' (p. 209); Nūr Muhammad: *hama nā rahē karabalū*

ṭhālī 'I was not in Karbalā' (p. 3), *hama kehi kārana karaba sṭgārā* 'why shall we decorate ourselves?' (p. 25), *ṣṣada milana kahā hama jāhī* 'I go to seek for the remedy' (p. 72).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In Jāyasī *mō* is used with postpositions (e.g., *mō kahā* 'to me', p. 137, *kō sari mō saṭi pāvai* 'who can gain an equality with me', p. 83) and *mohṭ* without postpositions (e.g., *tei mohṭ pantha dīnha ūjiārā*, 'He gave to me a well-lighted path', p. 24, *dēsa dēsa kē bara mohi āvaṭṭ* 'suits of every country come for me', p. 87, *hīrāmani mohṭ nāṭi* 'Hīrāmani is my name', p. 131, *taba guna mōḥṭ aḥā* 'then there was merit in me', p. 124).

In Tulsī *mō* is used with postpositions (e.g., *mō para* 'on me', p. 163, *mō kahā* 'to me', p. 183) and *mohṭ* with or without postpositions (e.g., *mohi sana* 'from me', p. 164, *mohi pāhṭi* 'to me', p. 166, *jēhi bidhi mōḥṭ* 'as to me', p. 158, *pramudita mōhi kaheu guru* 'the preceptor gladly told me', p. 158, *mōhi achata* 'while I live', p. 159). In one instance *mohi* appears as *muhi*.

In Nūr Muhammad *mō* is generally used with postpositions (e.g., *mō kā* 'to me', *mō mahā* 'in me', p. 11, *mō kahā* 'to me', p. 21, *mō sē* 'from me', p. 107, *mō kaṭ* 'of me', p. 57) but in two cases without postpositions (*mō mana basā* 'has resided in my mind', p. 24, *bhāvāra na mō tana ḍamka lagāvai* 'the bee does not sting my body' p. 56); *mohi* is used without postpositions (e.g., *mohi bibēka kachu nāhi* 'no discrimination is in me', p. 4, *būjhi mohṭ parā* 'was realised by me' p. 5, *sūjhi parā mohṭ* 'was visible to me', p. 3, *mohi pāra utārō* 'take me across', p. 2, *mohi karani kō* 'with me the sailor', p. 2, *dayā dṛiṣṭi mohi ūpara ḍārō* 'cast the glance of mercy on me', p. 2). In one instance (*mahi ghāyala kahā* 'to me the wounded person', p. 108) the form of *mohṭ* appears as *mahi*.

hama as an oblique case is used in Jāyasī both with or without postpositions, e.g., *hama kā* 'to us' (p. 261), *hama*

taṭ kōi na āgari rūpā 'no one is superior to me in beauty' (p. 254); *dēha dēha hama lāgu anaṅgā* 'Cupid is sticking to every limb of mine' (p. 87), *gaī hama āū* 'our life has been spent' (p. 112). It is used with postpositions in Tulsī, e.g., *hama para rōṣū* 'anger on me' (p. 120). Only one example is found without postposition: *tajī rāma hama* 'Rāma has abandoned us' (p. 191). Nūr Muhammad employs it with postpositions, e.g., *hama kahā* 'to me' (p. 2), *hama tē* 'from me' (p. 38), *hama sō* 'with me' (p. 64).

hamahṭ (*hamat* in N.) is used without postpositions in all the texts, e.g., Jāyasī: *hamahṭ lōbha* 'owing to our greed' (p. 116), *hamahṭ garaba* 'owing to our pride' (p. 116), *aba kō hamahṭ karī bhōginī* 'who will make me an enjoyer (of objects), (p. 254); Tulsī: *hamahi kā hānī* 'what harm to me' (p. 163), *dēihi hamahṭ sajāi* 'will give me punishment' (p. 165), *dēu yaha hamahṭ* 'give this to us' (p. 166); Nūr Muhammad: *deihai bahuta hamat asa cērī* 'will give many maids like us' (p. 57), *hamat tuma cīnhā* 'you recognised (took) me' (p. 83).

(c) The genitive adjectives *mōra* 'my' and *hamāra* 'our' are used in all the three texts and modify their forms for case and gender. For instance:

mōra Jāyasī: *jōbana mōra* 'my youth' (p. 87), *hichā bhai mōrī* 'I had a wish' (p. 396), *hichā pūjai mōrī* 'my wish may be fulfilled' (p. 370), *puravahu mōrī darasa kai āsā* 'you satisfy my hope for sight' (p. 370), *pitā ki āyasu mātḥat mōrē* 'father's order is on my forehead' (p. 89), *sēvā mōra* 'my service' (p. 614).

Tulsī: *mōra mana chōbhā* 'my mind became dejected' (p. 163), *mōrē biraha* 'owing to my separation' (p. 189), *mōrē jāna* 'in my knowledge' (p. 258); *āyasu mōrī* 'my order' (p. 181), *dahini ākhi nita pharakai mōrī* 'my right eye always throbs' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: *prabhū āhai mōrā* 'is my master' (p. 24), *kanaka sohāga mōra hari līnhā* 'has robbed me of my

golden prosperity' (p. 25), *pañkha pāya saba mōrē* 'I have wings and feet' (p. 85), *mōrī bairina (gāvahṭ)* 'my enemies sing' (p. 35).

NOTE 1. In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad we come across stray forms of the *mērū* adjective which are surely borrowings from another dialect, e.g., Tulsī: *pūrahu sakala manōratha mērē* 'satisfy all my wishes' (p. 10); Nūr Muhammad: *sāthī mērē* 'my companions' (p. 96), *hai thōrī budhi pājiya mērī* 'I possess very little capital in the shape of wisdom' (p. 4), *icchū mērō* 'my wish' (p. 79).

hamāra Jāyasī: jiana hamāra 'life is ours' (p. 50), *pitā hamāra na ākhi lagāvahṭ* 'my father does not see' (p. 87), *kā pūchahu aba jāti hamārī* 'why do you ask (me) about my caste now' (p. 575), *hamārē kahata rahai nahṭ mānū* 'if you do not believe by my word' (p. 610).

Tulsī: *bacanu hamāra māni* 'having complied with my words' (p. 181), *jē hamāra ari mitra udāsī* 'who are my enemies, friends or are indifferent towards me' (p. 158), *jānati hau basa -nāhu hamārē* 'you think the husband is under my control' (p. 163), *bipati hamārī bilōki barī* 'having seen our great distress' (p. 162), *barī cūka hamārī* 'great is my mistake' (p. 164), *hamārē bayara* 'owing to my enmity' (p. 31), *hamārē bhāyē* 'according to my thinking' (p. 31).

Nūr Muhammad: *jō hamāra dou hātha banāwā* 'who made both my hands' (p. 56), *jānata paragaṭa guputa hamārā* 'he knows our open and secret acts' (p. 1), *hōtai mukuta hamāra* 'I would have my liberation' (p. 16), *tohī dāyā sō mukuta hamārī* 'I shall have my liberation by your favour' (p. 2), *thāki nāva hamāra* 'my boat is done up' (p. 35), *bhīkha hamāra* 'my alms' (p. 79), *barī hamārī bhāga* 'great is my luck' (p. 156).

NOTE 2. Like *mōra*, *hamāra* also, in Nūr Muhammad, does not generally change for gender.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 235. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :

sg.	pl.
mai (mafi)	ham
Genitive Adj. moir	hamair

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl. —the same form serves for both, only **mafi** is not used as a subject. For instance: **mai gajeū** 'I went', **mai kar deru** or **mafi kar deru** 'give to me', **ham gajen** 'we went', **ham kar deru** 'give to us'.

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, e.g., **moir kurkur mari gar** 'my dog has died', **moirer kurkur ko marin** '(they) beat my dog', **moiri kutijar mari gai** 'my bitch has died', **moirir kutija ko marin** 'they beat my bitch'. Similarly we have **hamair : hamarer, hamairi : hamarir**

(c) The forms in other dialects of Modern Awadhi are the same as in Lakhimpurī. B. and G. specimens give an additional form **hamai** (emphatic **hamrai**) which is used as accusative-dative, e.g., **ur hamai marisi** 'he beat me', **ur hamai difisi** 'he gave to me'. Bgh. has **māj** and **hamfi** and **hamfiar**.

(d) The singular form of this pronoun is used less frequently than the plural. The latter replaces the former. The Eastern dialects have entirely lost the singular of this pronoun, the plural '**ham**' is invariably used as such, e.g., Fy. **ham derkhab** may mean 'I shall see' or 'we shall see' according to the context. When a particularisation is to be made, the plural is indicated by adding **sab** or **sab keur**, e.g., **ham sab derkhab** 'we shall see'.

(e) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives exists in the case of the genitive adjective (see § 219).

(f) The pronunciation of **mafi** and **moir** is generally **moſi** (**mwafi**) and **mwair** in R., Br., U., part of S. and F. and in Bgh.

C. ORIGIN

§ 237 (a) *haū* is not found in Modern Awadhi but was used in Early Awadhi as is attested by its frequent use in Jāyasī and by sporadic instances in Tulsī. It goes back to the extended form *ahakam* (Chatterji § 538). This pronoun fell in disuse in Awadhi almost as early as Tulsī but is of frequent occurrence in Western Hindi.

(b) Modern Awadhi **mai**, E. Aw. *maṛ* goes back to Pkt. *maē* (Skt. *mayā*). This form is used in Jāyasī mostly in participial constructions which shows its origin from an oblique case. The nasalisation in the Early Awadhi form has been explained by Chatterji (§ 539) by an influence of the regular instrumental affix *-ēna*.

(c) Early Aw. *mō* goes back to *mama* (Chatterji § 541) and serves as a general oblique. *moḥ* is super-imposed oblique form by the addition of *-h*, oblique sg. termination of nouns. Modern Awadhi **mafi** should be connected with *moḥ*, and **moir** with *mō* and the genitive postposition *kara*. The *mērā* form would go back to *mō kēra*.

(d) Modern Aw. **ham**, E. Aw. *hama* is connected with OIA *asmē* through Pkt. *amhē*, *amha* with the transfer of aspiration to the initial position. Modern **hamai**, E. Aw. *hamah* is the general oblique form by the addition of *-h*.

hamair, E. Aw. *hamāra* is *hama* plus the postposition *kara*, *kāra*.

Second Person Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 237.	sg.	pl.
direct		
	J. <i>tū</i> , <i>tuṛ</i>	<i>tumha</i>
	T. <i>tū</i> (<i>tū</i>) <i>taṛ</i>	<i>tumha</i> (<i>tuma</i>)
	N. <i>taṛ</i> (<i>tui</i>)	<i>tuma</i>

oblique	sg.	pl.
	J. <i>tō</i> , <i>tohi</i>	<i>tumha</i>
	T. <i>tō</i> , <i>tohi</i>	<i>tumha</i> (<i>tuma</i>) <i>tumhahṛ</i> , <i>tumahṛ</i>
	N. <i>tō</i> , <i>tohṛ</i> (<i>tohi</i>)	<i>tumhai</i> , <i>tumahi</i>
genitive adjective		
	J. <i>tōra</i> (<i>tohāra</i>)	<i>tumhāra</i>
	T. <i>tōra</i>	<i>tumhāra</i>
	N. <i>tohāra</i> (<i>tōra</i>)	<i>tumhāra</i>

(a) The direct case comes as the subject. In Jāyasi both *tū* and *tuṛ* are used but the latter is generally the subject of past-participle verbs, e.g., *hīrāmani tū parāna parēvā* 'O Hīrāmani bird thou art my life-breath' (p. 91), *tū pañkhi piārā* 'thou art a dear bird' (p. 92), *ui gosāt tū aisa biḥātā* 'O Master, Thou art such a creator' (p. 107), *dēhi tū cārā* 'thou givest meal' (p. 107), *tū suaṭā pañḍita hatā* 'O parrot, thou wert wise' (p. 113), *tū bidhi dēhi adhāra* 'O Creator, give (me) support' (p. 122); *tuṛ suraṅga mūrati vaha kahī* 'thou hast spoken of her, a picture of good colours' (p. 155), *jasa anūpa tuṛ dēkhī* 'as unique as you have seen (her)' (p. 160), *tuṛ rājā kē pahirasi kanthā* 'O king why do you put on rags' (p. 232), *tuṛ dayāla saba kē uparāhī* 'thou art compassionate over all' (p. 370). In one case Jāyasi has *taṛ*: *taṛ hari laṅka harāi kēhari* 'by stealing the middle part of your body—as is shown by its being very thin—thou hast defeated the lion' (p. 551). In Tulsī both *tū* and *taṛ* have been frequently used as the subject, e.g., *jananī tū jananī bhai* 'mother!, you have been my mother' (p. 220), *kō tū ahasi* 'who art thou?' (p. 220), *tū chala binaya karasi kara jōrē* 'you are practising false supplication with folded hands', (p. 120); *bhagata taṛ mōrā* 'thou art my devotee' (p. 74), *taṛ pālava sīcā* 'thou hast watered the twig' (p. 220). In Nūr Muhammad the most common form is *taṛ*, e.g., *mitra taṛ mērō* 'thou art my friend' (p. 84), *taṛ jina rahu* 'thou shouldst not remain' (p. 104), *taṛ na dukhī mana hō* 'do not

be distressed at heart' (p. 128), *taṭ dhana kalī samā paṭa māhī* 'good woman! thou art like a bud (covered) in cloth' (p. 49), *jā sō magu taṭ hērā* 'from whom thou hast sought the way' (p. 58), *taṭ marama na pāvā* 'thou hast not reached the secret' (p. 75). In one case (*lābha ki bāta kahī tui gyānī* 'wise man! thou hast uttered words for my benefit' p. 153) we find *tui*.

tumha is used with the plural verb, e.g., *Jāyasī: pātisāha tumha jagata kē* 'you are the king of the world' (p. 17), *tumha rājā cāhahu sukha pāvā* 'you are a king and want to obtain happiness' (p. 229), *tumha abahī jēia ghara pōi* 'you eat finished (food) at home' (p. 229); *Tulsī: tumha kahahu* 'you should say' (p. 25), *tumha pūchahu* 'you are asking' (p. 164), *rāmapriya tāta tumha* 'dear child, you are dear to Rāma' (p. 223), *milehu rāma tumha* 'Rāma! you have met me' (p. 327), *jā para nātha karahu tumha dāyā* 'on whom, my lord, you are compassionate' (p. 354). In Nūr Muhammad the form of this pronoun is *tuma*, e.g., *sumirehu tuma mōhī* 'you should think of me' (p. 4), *tuma gurū* 'you are the teacher' (p. 20), *tuma kāmīni mati-hīnī* 'you are a loving woman, bereft of wisdom' (p. 21).

NOTE.—In *Tulsī* stray cases of *tuma* are found, e.g., *dēkhahu tuma* 'you see' (p. 351).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In all the texts *tō* is used with postpositions and *tohi* (*tohī*) without them. For instance:

Jāyasī: aihai bhavāra jo tō kaha jōrā 'the bee who is the mate for thee will come' (p. 383), *au bidhi rūpa dīnha hai tō kā* 'and the Creator has given you beauty' (p. 466), *tō saū mana lāi* 'having attached his mind with you' (p. 522); *tohi lāyaka bara* 'a bridegroom befitting thee' (p. 87), *karata tohi sēcā* 'while rendering service to thee' (p. 91), *na tohi dāru āvā* 'fear did not come to thee' (p. 126).

Tulsī: sapanehu tō para kōpu na mōhī 'I have no anger on thee even in dream' (p. 163), *tō sana larata jo sōha* 'who

would like to fight with thee' (p. 380); *sikha dīnhiṭṭa tōhi* 'I have given you advice' (p. 163), *bharata sapatha tohi* 'Bharata's swearing by thee' (p. 163), *kahaṭṭa na tōhi* 'I do not tell thee' (p. 165), *jaṭṭa kachhu kahaṭṭa kapaṭṭa kari tōhi* 'if I tell thee anything deceitfully' (p. 167), *tohi sama hitu na mōra saṃsārā* 'nobody is such a well-wisher of mine in this world as thee' (p. 166), *pūchaṭṭa tōhī* 'I ask thee' (p. 25). Nūr Muhammad : *tō sē kō patiyāva* 'what confidence with thee?' (p. 142), *gārhi gārhi parai jahā tōhī* 'wherever you have a difficult point' (p. 4), *tohi dāyā sō* 'by thy favour' (p. 2), *sunāvāṭṭa tōhi* 'I tell thee' (p. 14), *sūjha būjha nahṭ tōhi* 'you do not possess insight or wisdom' (p. 21).

oblique *tumha* in Jāyasī is used with or without postpositions, e.g., *ghaṭai tumha āū* 'your span of life becomes smaller' (p. 64), *maṭ tumha rāja bahuta sukha dēkhā* 'I have experienced great happiness in your rule' (p. 90); *tumha saṭṭa kōi na jītā* 'nobody has won you' (p. 90), *tumha taṭ* 'from you' (p. 286).

In Tulsī *tumha* (obl.) is used with postpositions, e.g., *dharma sujasa prabhu tuma kaṭṭa* 'lord, virtue and good glory will accrue to you' (p. 90), *tumha kaha bipati bīja bidhi bayeū* 'the Creator would sow the seed of calamity for you' (p. 165), *tumha sana tāta bahuta kā kahaṭṭa* 'why should I speak to (with) you more, dear sir' (p. 194), *rājahṭ tumha para prēma bisēkhā* 'the king has a great love for (on) you' (p. 164). In one instance (*tuma samāna tumha tāta* 'dear, you are like yourself', p. 276) *tuma* has been used without a postposition.

The accusative-dative form (*tumhahṭ, tumahṭ*) is used without postpositions, e.g., *tumhahṭ bidita raghupati-prabhutāi* 'to you the greatness of the Lord of Raghus is well-known' (p. 25), *aba jau tumhahi sutā para nēhū* 'now, if you have affection for your daughter' (p. 35), *cāhata dēna tumhahṭ yuvarājū* 'wants to give you the title of the crown prince' (p. 161), *tumhahṭ lei sāthā* 'taking you with me'

(p. 185), *tumahi bolāi* 'having called thee' (p. 238), *tumahi avadhi bhari bari kaṭhināi* 'you have great difficulty throughout the period' (p. 276).

In Nūr Muhammad the oblique *tumhai*, *tumahi* is used without postpositions, e.g., *tumhai...jōga na chājā* 'Yōga is not suitable for you' (p. 21), *jhūṭha kahānī tumahi sunāeu* 'told you a false story' (p. 23), *tumhai merāihi piya piyārā* 'will make thy dear beloved meet with thee' (p. 41), *tumhai sapana mō dēkhaū tahā* 'I see you there in a dream' (p. 72), *pitā tumhai kārana dukha sahā* 'your father bore unhappiness on your account' (p. 144); with postposition in *tumhai nita* 'for your sake' (p. 72).

(c) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case in Jāyasī and Tulsī regularly while only sometimes in Nūr Muhammad.

Jāyasī : *tōra* is the common form (there being only one instance of *tohāra* : *tahā tohāra mat kīnhā bakhānū* 'there I gave thy description,' p. 396), e.g., *kā tora purukha* 'what is thy man?' (p. 140), *tōrai gharahi mājha dasa panthā* 'there are ten ways in thy own house' (p. 232), *jehi bidhi asatuti tōri* 'in which way thy praise (should be done)' (p. 370).

Tulsī : *tōra kahā jehi dina phura hōi* 'the day on which thy word will turn out to be true' (p. 163), *karagata veda tatva saba tōrē* 'all the principles of the Vedas are under your control' (p. 25), *pūjīhi nātha anugraha tōrē* 'it will be fulfilled, my lord, by thy favour' (p. 158), *taba dhari jibha karhāvātū tōrī* 'then I shall get hold of you and will get your tongue cast out' (p. 163).

Nūr Muhammad : *tohāra* (*tehāra*, *tihāra*) form is more common, e.g., *āvana bhaeu tohāra* 'came your arrival' (p. 14), *piya toharā* 'thy husband' (p. 41), *līnhā sarana* (fm.) *tohāra* 'took thy refuge' (p. 32), *prīta* (fm.) *tohāra* 'thy love' (p. 136), *sundara sīla tehārō* 'thy conduct is good' (p. 92), *tehārō binatī* (fm.) *māneū* 'agreed to your supplication'

(p. 104), *nāma tihārō* 'thy name' (p. 48); *tōra bokhāna* 'thy description' (p. 49), *mukh tōra* 'thy face' (p. 62).

NOTE.—Stray cases of *tērā* forms are also found, e.g., *caracā tērō* 'thy talk' (p. 49), *nihōrā tērō* 'thy kind act' (p. 84), *sēvā tērī* 'thy service' (p. 57), *cēri hōtīū tērī* 'I would become thy maid' (p. 79).

tumhāra is found in all the three texts.

Jāyasi: *kanta tumhāra marama mat lūhā* 'my beloved, I came to know your reality' (p. 147), *karai tumhārā khōja* 'searches you' (p. 147), *pai tumhāra nahī rōā pasijā* 'but your hair did not become wet' (p. 503), *tumharē darasana lāgi* 'for your sight' (p. 501), *tumharei mā/apha* 'in your own bower' (p. 460), *mati hīna tumhārī* 'your thought is low' (p. 490), *tumharī jōli* 'by thy light' (p. 551).

Tulsi: *jehi bidhi hōihī parama hita nārada sunahu tumhāra* 'O Narada, the way in which there would be your best good' (p. 60), *bhayeu tumhāra tanaya soi* 'the same has become your son' (p. 159), *sātha tumhārē* 'in your company' (p. 183), *tumharē hṛdaya* 'in your mind' (p. 179), *tumharehi bhāga* 'by your luck only' (p. 186), *tumhārī mātū baidēhī* 'Sita is your mother' (p. 186), *jari tumhārī caha savati ukhārī* 'your co-wife wants to dig up your root' (p. 164), *haī tumharī sēvā basa rāū* 'the king is under the control of your service' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: *hai sadana tumhārā* 'is your house' (p. 22), *jīu tumhārā* 'your life' (p. 21), *nainā tumhārē tasa karat* 'your eyes may do thus' (p. 62), *jīu sō niara tumhārē* 'am near you by my life-breath' (p. 76), *prīta tumhārī (hai)* 'your love is', *pai tumharī ākhiyā matavārī* 'but your eyes are bewitching' (p. 176), *dōṣa tumhārī ākhina kērā* 'the fault is of your eyes' (p. 62), but *bhajana* (masc.) *tumhārī* 'your prayer' (p. 72). In one instance the spelling is *tomhārā* (*gulāba tomhārā* 'your rose', p. 37).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 238. Lakhīmpurī has the following forms:

sg.	pl.
tui (tuṣi)	tum
Genitive adj. toṛr	tumār (tumṣār)

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl., the same form serves for both, only, **tui** is not used as a subject. For example: **tui gawar** 'thou went', **tui kar diṣeū** or **tuṣi kar diṣeū** 'I gave to you'; **tum gajeu** 'you went', **tum kar diṣeū** 'I gave to you.'

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, e.g., **toṛr kurkur marī gar** 'thy dog died', **torrex kurkur kō khari kō diṣen** '(we) gave (something) to eat to your dog', **torrī kutijar marī gai** 'thy bitch died', **torriz kutija kō khari kō diṣen** '(we) gave (something) to eat to your bitch'. Similarly, we have **tumār**, obl. **tumārez**, **tumārī** : **tumāriz**.

Sometimes a short aspiration is heard after **-m-** in the case of this adjective.

(c) In Lakhīmpurī the singular (**tui**) is used only for the younger, chiefly children and the servants. It expresses either deep affection or contempt. Parents would always address their grown up sons and daughters as **tum** 'you'.

(d) The forms of this pronoun in S., L., U., Br. and R. are the same as in Lakhīmpurī, only in U., R., part of S. and L. **toṛr** is pronounced as **twār** and **tui** as **toi**. F. and Bgh. have **tāj** for Lmp. **tui** and **twār** for **toṛr**. B. for the singular direct has **twāi** or **tui** and **tuz** for the singular oblique while for the plural it has **tum** like Lmp. Bgh. has **tumfi**. G. has **twāi** for the singular but generally uses **tuz** for both the numbers and **toṣār** as the genitive adjective. Fy., Sl., P. and A. have only one form **tuz** (sometimes **tūz** in Fy.) and **toṣār** for both the numbers. For the accusative-dative they have an additional form **toṣāi** (**toṣāij**) which alternates

with **tor kar** or **tõfi kar**. In these dialects when a specification is necessary **sab** is added after this pronoun to indicate the plural, e.g., **tur sab**, **tõfi sab kar**, **tofiãĩ sab kar**.

(e) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives (see § 219) exists in the case of this genitive adjective also. Only the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have separate adjectival forms in the genitive.

C. ORIGIN

§ 239. (a) Modern **tur**, **tũr**, Early **tũ** all go back to forms of *tram* in Pkt. *tumam* etc. (Pischel § 420).

(b) Modern **tui**, **taĩ**, Early **tut**, **taĩ** have parallels in Prakrit and are connected with *twayā*.

(c) Modern **tor**, Early **tō** represents OIA *tava* (Chatterji § 549), and Modern **twai twaĩ**, Early **tōhi** are oblique forms with *-hĩ*. **torr**, *tōra* was **tō** + *kāra*, while **tērā** was **tō** + *kēra*, **tofiarr** was **tō** + *kāra* with an emphatic *-h-*.

(d) **tum**, *tumha* goes back to Pkt. *tumhē*; *tumhahĩ* is the oblique with *-hĩ* and **tumarr**, *tumhāra* simply *tumha* + *kāra*.

Third Person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun.

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 240. sg. pl.

direct

J. <i>vaha</i> , <i>sō</i>	<i>vei</i> , <i>unha</i> , <i>tei</i> , <i>tinha</i>
T. <i>sō</i>	<i>tē</i> , <i>tinha</i> , <i>una</i> , <i>unha</i> , <i>ō</i> , (<i>sō</i>).
N. <i>sō</i> , <i>vaha</i>	<i>sō</i> , <i>vai</i> , <i>una</i>

oblique

J. <i>ohi</i> , <i>ō</i> , <i>tehi</i> , <i>tāhi</i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>tāsu</i>	<i>unha</i> , <i>tinha</i> ,
T. <i>ohi</i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>tehi</i> , <i>tāhi</i> , <i>tāsu</i>	<i>tinahĩ</i> , <i>tinha</i> , <i>tinahahĩ</i> , <i>unha</i> , <i>unhahĩ</i>
N. <i>vā</i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>vohi</i> (<i>vahi</i>), <i>tehi</i> , <i>tāhi</i> , <i>tāsu</i>	<i>una</i> , <i>tina</i> , (<i>tena</i>), <i>unhahĩ</i> , <i>tinhai</i>

adjective

tauna

The forms of these three pronouns are so confused together that it is impossible to distinguish one from another.

(a) The direct is used as the Nominative or inanimate object.

In Jāyasī *vaha* is generally used as the personal pronoun and as demonstrative while *sō* as the correlative. For instance: *jabah̄ gharī pūjai vaha mārā* 'as soon as the hour was completed, he would strike' (p. 64), *calā vaha āvā* 'he came near' (p. 112), *nā vaha milā na bēharā* 'neither is he united nor separate' (p. 11), *vaha binauba āgai hoi* 'he will come forward and supplicate' (p. 15). In one instance (*siṅghala-dīpa jāi vaha pāvai* 'by going to the island of Singhala he will obtain her' (p. 118) *vaha* has been used as the direct object; *sō pāvai vaha sīpa* 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), *sō rahai* 'he will remain' (p. 10), *dūri so niara niara sō dūri* 'what is far becomes near, what is near becomes far off' (p. 35), *jō vei cahā so kīnhesi* 'what He wanted, He did' (p. 10).

NOTE.—*vaha* is found as *uha* in one case (*dhanapati uhai* 'he alone is rich', p. 7).

In Tulsī *sō* is the form for the direct singular and *tei* as the subject of trans. past. part. verb, e.g., *sō suni tiya risa gayeu sukhāi* 'on hearing of the woman's anger, he became extremely unhappy (lit. dry)' (p. 167), *sō* is also used as the direct inanimate object, e.g., *sō janaba satasaṅga prabhāu* 'take that to be due to the company of the good' (p. 4), *āyasu hōi so karaū gosāi* 'I should do that which my lord advises' (p. 161), *pīra tei gōi* 'she concealed the pain' (p. 168), *teī kachu kāna na kīnha* 'she did not listen to anything' (p. 177), *gavana tei kīnha* 'he went' (p. 201).

In Nūr Muhammad *vaha* is generally used as the third person or demonstrative pronoun and *sō* as correlative, e.g., *pitā rāja para bhā vaha rājā* 'he became king over the father's kingdom' (p. 7), *sapanē mō sō hōta hai jau santukai*

na hōi 'that happens in dream which may never happen in direct perception' (p. 11), *jā mana āi basai jō kōi, tā kahā prāna piyārā sōi* 'he who comes and stays in one's heart, is as dear to one as life-breath' (p. 13).

In Jāyasī, the plural form of this pronoun is used, with plural verb generally and with participial singular transitive verb, e.g., *vei hērahṣ* 'they see' (p. 49), *vei tō phirē utaru asa pāvā* 'they obtained such an answer and returned' (p. 90), *vei tau uḍē aurū bana tākā* 'they flow away and aimed at another forest' (p. 112), *niṭhura tēi jō para māsa khāvā* 'they are cruel who eat others' flesh' (p. 126), *hajarata khvāja khijira tēi pāē* 'he (respectful plural) met Hazrat Khvājā Khizra' (p. 26), *tēi mohṣ pantha dīnha ūjiārā* 'he (respectful plural) showed me the well-lighted path' (p. 24); *niramara pantha kīnha tinha jinha re diā kichu hātha* 'they have paved a clear way who have given something by (their own) hand' (p. 300); *janu unha jōga tanta aba khēlā* 'it appears that they have played a trick of Yōga now' (p. 431), *nāgaphāsa unha mēli giā* 'they have put a serpent-noose on their necks' (p. 538).

In Tulsīdās *tē* and *ō* are the regular direct plural forms while *tinha* and *unha* are used as subjects of transitive participle verbs, e.g., *tē ki sadā saba dina milahṣ* 'they are found always' (p. 181), *aba tē dina bitē* 'now those days are past' (p. 164), *tē priya tumhahṣ* 'those are dear to you' (p. 163), *sundara suta janamata bhaṣ ōū* 'they also brought forth beautiful sons' (p. 85), *rēlha tinha khācī* 'they drew a line' (p. 165), *sisa tinha nāē* 'they bowed their heads' (p. 159), *tinha nija ōra na lāuba bhōrā* 'they will not have any consideration' (p. 5), *citrakētu kara ghara una ghālā* 'he (respectful) destroyed the family of Citrakētu' (p. 38), *chana mahā sakala kaṭaka unha mārā* 'in a moment they destroyed the whole army' (p. 305).

NOTE.—In one case *sē* has been used (*sē karata mitāi* 'they befriended', p. 326).

In Nūr Muhammad *sō*, *vai* and *una* are used in the plural without any difference, *e.g.*, *sō rahē āṭha jasa cērē* 'they were like the eight disciples' (p. 11), *āgē vai pagu rākhaḥ* 'they put forward the footstep' (p. 97), *mirtaka rahē jīva una pāē* 'they were dead, they got life' (p. 168).

(b) Of the forms of the oblique singular in Jāyāsī *ō* and *tā* are always used with postpositions, *e.g.*, *jō dukha sahai hōi sukha ō kā* 'he who bears misery, to him happiness would come' (p. 476), *dēo pūji puni ō paḥa āi* 'having worshipped the deity (she) came to him' (p. 501), *rahā na ō saṭ dōsari kādhi* 'there was no one with him to give a shoulder' (p. 590), *sō rājā vaha tā kara dēsū* 'he was the king and that was his country' (p. 39), *tā kahā āna hāṭa kita lāhā* 'how can he have a gain in another market' (p. 56), *rōa rōa tanu tā saṭ ōdhā* 'every hair of his body was closely connected with her' (p. 577), *baḍahara sō anūpa ati tākē* 'its *barahāl* fruits were unrivalled' (p. 41). *ohi* and *t hi* are mostly used with postpositions, *e.g.*, *ohi saṭ māṭ pāi jaba karanī* 'when I obtained competence from him' (p. 26), *ohi huta dēkhai pāē* 'through him I was able to see' (p. 27), *nā koi hoihai ohi kē rūpā* 'there shall be no one like him' (p. 11), *kīnhesi tehi kahā bahuta birāsū* 'for him he created many objects of enjoyment' (p. 5), *tehi taṭ adhika* 'more than that' (p. 195), *prathama jōti bidhi tehi kai sāji* 'the creator first created his light' (p. 14), *tehi kara gurū* 'his preceptor' (p. 26), *bīju tehi mākā* 'lightning in that' (p. 2), *tehi para* 'on that' (p. 64). They are used sometimes without postpositions, *e.g.*, *ohi na kāhu kai āsa nirāsā* 'to him there is no hope or despair from anybody' (p. 7), *nā ohi kuṭūba* 'there is no family of his' (p. 10), *tehi sājū* 'his trappings' (p. 5), *tehi prīti* 'owing to his love' (p. 14). *tāhi* is used without a postposition, *e.g.*, *dōsa tāhi jehi sūjha na āgū* 'the defect is his who cannot see before himself' (p. 138), *bāta na pūchī tāhi* 'did not ask him anything'

(p. 507). *tāsu* is used as genitive only, e.g., *janama bhā tāsū* 'his birth came' (p. 81).

NOTE.—At one place *tāū* is used meaning 'her' (*nāgamatī nāginī matī tāū* 'Nāgamatī—her intellect was that of a she-serpent', p. 138).

Tulsīdās uses *tā* always with postpositions and *tehi* mostly with postpositions while *ohi* and *tāhi* without postpositions, for instance :

tā sanu āi kinha chalu ' (he) came and practised deception on (with) him ' (p. 286), *tā tē* 'owing to that' (p. 164), *tā kahū bibudha nadī baitaranī* 'for him (there is) Baitaranī, the river of the gods' (p. 286), *cāri padāratha karatala tākē* 'the four achievements are under his palm' (p. 175), *tehi para* 'above that', *tehi tē* 'owing to that' (p. 170), *tehi avasara* 'at that time' (p. 161); *āna bhūti nahī pāxō ōhī* 'I shall not get her otherwise' (p. 60), *dēu daiu phiri sō phalu ōhī* 'may fate give him that fruit again' (p. 164), *kāhū baiṭhana kahā na ōhī* 'no one asked him to sit down' (p. 286); *ajasa peṭārī tāhi kari* 'having made her an object (box) of infamy' (p. 162), *bhēṭata bharata tāhi ati prīti* 'Bharata embraces him with great affection' (p. 232), *dharama nīti upadēsia tāhī* 'to him should virtue and polity be advised' (p. 185), *bacana bāna sama lāgaht tāhī* 'to her the words struck as arrows' (p. 176). *tāsu* is the genitive, e.g., *bānī savinoya tāsu sohāti* 'humble words of her liking' (p. 169), *tāsu nirādara* 'his disrespect' (p. 174).

In Nūr Muhammad *vā* and *tā* are always used with postpositions, e.g., *sabada bacana amrita rasa vā kē* 'the words of his speech are like nectar' (p. 153), *ēkahu bāra na vā kai tākō* 'nobody aims at him even once' (p. 56); *buddhasēna rahu tā kō nāū* 'his name was Buddhasēna' (p. 12), *tā mahā lākha bastu kī ḍhērī* 'in that there were heaps of lakhs of things' (p. 9), *rījhā tā para nirpa sarēkhā* 'the handsome king became enamoured of her' (p. 13), *pūcheū tā sō* 'I asked her' (p. 3). *vohi* (*vahi*) is used with or without postpositions,

e.g., *jāṭu vohi kē dēsa kahā* 'I am going to her country' (p. 21), *basai mana vohi* 'the mind takes an abode in her' (p. 43), *vohi ḍōlat saba ḍōlat* 'on her motion every one moves' (p. 46), *vahi darasana kā haṭi maṭ bhukhā* 'I am hungry for her sight' (p. 28). *tehi* is generally used with postpositions, *e.g.*, *adhara tehi ka jō likhai citērā* 'if the painter paints her lower lip' (p. 13), *tehi nita sādhai jōga* 'for her he will practise Yōga' (p. 7), *tehi māhi* 'in that' (p. 8), but *rājaktāra tehi rākhā nāṭi* 'his name was fixed up as *Rājaktāra*' (p. 7), *puni ānata tehi apanē niyarē* 'then brings him near herself' (p. 10), *rāja doṭu jaga kō tehi chājā* 'the kingship of both the worlds fits him' (p. 1). *tāhi* is generally used without postpositions and expresses an accusative-dative sense, *e.g.*, *dīnhā rasanā tāhi bakhānō* 'He gave me the tongue that I should praise Him' (p. 1), *raṁcika tāhi na bhāvai* 'not even little appealed to him' (p. 13), but *hōta dharama nita tāhi majhārā* 'virtuous deeds are always done in that' (p. 14). Only a few cases of *tāsu* (genitive) are found, *e.g.*, *tāsu badana* 'her face' (p. 10), *tāsu bakhāna* 'her description' (p. 69).

The plural oblique form *unha* (*una*) has been used with postpositions in all the three texts, *e.g.*, Jāyasī: *taisa cahia puni unha kahā* 'again, to them such (a treatment) should be meted out' (p. 528), *unha kē raṁgā* 'their colours' (p. 70), *nā unha kai vaha rūpa sohāi* 'neither was there her (respectful) beauty' (p. 445), *unha mahā ēka gurū jo kahāvā* 'amongst them there was one, called their teacher' (p. 431); Tulsī: *maṭ unha kara dāsā* 'I am his (respectful) slave' (p. 300), *samujhi parī mohi unha kai karanī* 'I was able to understand his deed' (p. 304); Nūr Muhammad: *una nita māgu saraga sukha bāsū* 'for them always beg for a happy residence in Heaven' (p. 136). The form *tinha*, *tina* (*tena*) is found in Jāyasī both with and without postpositions, *e.g.*, *disiṭa pāpa saba tinha kē bhāgē* 'all their sins were gone by the sight' (p. 425), *tinha mahā* 'in them' (p. 75), *ḍarapahi*

rāi dēkhi tinha ṭhāḍhē 'on seeing them standing, kings got frightened' (p. 63), *paduma gandha tinha aṅga basāhē* 'their bodies gave out a fragrance of lotus' (p. 49). In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad, however, they are seen always with postpositions, for instance, Tulsī: *tinha kē mana mandira basahu* 'reside in their mind-temples' (p. 208), *jē tinha mahū baya biridha sayānē* 'those amongst them who were older in age and wise' (p. 200), Nūr Muhammad: *pūcheū tina kara tā sō nāū* 'I asked their name' (p. 3), *sō karihai tina kara bistārā* 'he will have their amplification' (p. 69), *lōha phāda tina kē gala hīrē* 'iron-snares will be diamonds on their necks' (p. 141), *cahū disa tina para bhāvara bhavāhē* 'on all sides the bees hovered on them' (p. 8). The accusative-dative forms *unhaht*, *unhat* and *tinhaht*, *tinhai* have been used without postpositions by Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad both, e.g., Tulsī: *tasa phalu unhaht dēū* 'I shall give her (respectful) a similar recompense' (p. 170), *tinhaht suhāi na nagara-banāvā* 'to them the city-decorations did not appeal' (p. 162), *tinhaht bilōki bilōkati dharanī* 'having seen them looks towards the ground' (p. 203), *tinhaht ko mārāi binu bhagavantā* 'excepting the Lord, who can kill them' (p. 305); Nūr Muhammad: *aura na kijai unhat nirāsū* 'and do not make them helpless' (p. 136), *jīu tinhai hai prita tumhārī* 'your affection is life to them' (p. 51), *tinhai lai āvā* 'brought them' (p. 68).

(c) These forms are also used as Remote demonstrative pronouns. For instance:

Direct singular—Jāyasī: *asa vaha suā amōla* 'that parrot is so priceless' (p. 127), *sō pāvai vaha sīpa* 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), *āi so nārī* 'that woman came' (p. 134), *sō rājā* 'that king' (p. 39); Tulsī: *sō baidēhī sōvati mahī* 'that Sita sleeps on the ground' (p. 193), *soi bharōsa mōrē mana āvā* 'that very assurance came to my mind' (p. 8), *voha sukha* 'that happiness' (p. 85); Nūr Muhammad: *sō dina gayeu* 'that day has passed' (p. 52),

darapana bīca rahī vaha rānī 'that queen was in the mirror' (p. 12), *vō prēmī kahaī* 'that lover says' (p. 6).

Direct plural—Jāyasī: *tehi sira phūla caḥhahṭ vei* 'those flowers are put on that head' (p. 53), *dahū haṭi lōni ki vei padumanī* 'whether I am handsome or the rival is Padminī' (p. 134); Tulsī: *tē dina bītē* 'those days have passed' (p. 164); Nūr Muhammad: *gavanata haṭ vei lōi* 'those people go' (p. 54).

NOTE.—sg. *vei* and pl. *unha* (*una*), *tinha* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

Oblique singular—Jāyasī: *ohi jaga bichurahṭ kittu* 'how will they be separated in that world' (p. 31), *ohi chāha raini hoi āvai* 'by that very shade, night comes up' (p. 40), *tehi nāca* 'in that dance' (p. 60); *jaga kaha jiana dīnha tehi mūḥhī* 'with that hand he gave life to the world' (p. 17), *tā dina byādha bhaeu jiu-tōvā* 'on that day the fowler became the murderer' (p. 116); Tulsī: *tehi avasara āē laṣana* 'at that time Lakshmana came' (p. 161); Nūr Muhammad: *tā mukha kērā* 'of that face' (p. 11), *tā pagu raja kē ūpara* 'on the dust of her feet' (p. 99), *cētā vōhi samai calī āi* 'Cētā came at that time' (p. 69), *jō vahi mukha kō paragaṭa dēkhā* 'he who saw that face clearly' (p. 18), *bhā tehi bacana hutē saṃsārā* 'the Universe was created by that word' (p. 5), *tehi ḥhāl* 'in that place' (p. 6).

Oblique plural—Jāyasī: *unha bānahṭ* 'by those arrows' (p. 177), *tinha tālahṭ* 'in those ponds' (p. 50), *tinha purukhanha kaha* 'to those men' (p. 308); Nūr Muhammad: *sapata ahai una ākhina kērī* 'oath of those eyes' (p. 71), *tena sarīra kō cīnhā* 'who recognises those bodies' (p. 59).

NOTE.—*unhahī*, *unhaṭ*, *tinhahṭ*, *tinhaṭ* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

(d) Instances of the correlative adjective *tauna* 'that' are found in Nūr Muhammad, e.g., *kehi hita āni dharāyeu tauna sunāvahū mōhṭ* 'why did you allow yourself to be

caught tell me that' (p. 88), *siddha hōi apanē gana, sunai anāhada tauna* 'he who hears that Anāhada sound becomes an accomplished being' (p. 121).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 241. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :

	sg.	pl.
dir. masc.	uz, wāflu	ui
„ fem.	waz, wāfi	
obl.	ui, wāfi	un (unfi)

For instance : **uz** or **wāflu** **kāfisī** 'he said', **waz** or **wāfi** **kāfisī** 'she said', **ui** **kāfin** 'they (men or women) said', **ui** **kaz derkhen** or **wāfi** **kaz derkhen** '(we) saw him (her)', **un** **kaz** or **unfi** **kaz derkhen** '(we) saw them (men or women).'

(a) All these forms (excepting obl. pl.) are used as pronominal adjectives also, e.g., **uz** **larikaz** or **wāflu** **larikaz** 'that boy', **waz** **gazi** or **wāfi** **gazi** 'that cow', **ui** or **wāfi** **larika ko** 'to that boy', **ui** or **wāfi** **gazi ko** 'to that cow', **ui** **larikaz** 'those boys', **ui** **gazin** 'those cows'. The pronominal adjective for obl. pl. also is **ui** (and not **un**, **unfi**), e.g., **ui** **larikan ko** 'to those boys', **ui** **gazin ko** 'to those cows'.

(b) There is considerable dialectal difference with regard to the forms of this pronoun. S., L., Br., R. and U. agree with Lmp. except that in Br., dir. pl. is **wōfi** besides **ui**, in R., obl. sg. **wāi** besides **wāfi** and **ui** and in U. (as well as in south L.) **wāfi** is pronounced as **wōfi** and there is one more obl. sg. form **uifi**. The dir. sg. masc. is sometimes **wor**. In F. masc. and fm. forms coincide in the sg. **wāfi** or **waz** and the obl. sg. is **wāfi** or **wāi**. In B. the sg. differs from Lmp. in having no difference of gender or case, **uz** being the common form with **uifi** in the obl. sometimes. For instance : **uz** **kāi** or **uifi** **kāi** 'his or her'. G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe any distinction of gender.

The masc. dir. sg. in all these is **ur** (P. has **or** also) and the obl. sg. is **ofi** (G.), **wafi**, **or** (Fy.), **wafi wai** (Sl.), **ofie** (P. and A.). The dir. pl. in G. is **wai**, in Fy. **wafi**, in Sl. **wai**. In P. and A. **pārc** or **sab** is added to the sing. to specify the plural. The obl. pl. is **un** in all the Eastern dialects; only Fy. has **wan** and P. (also A.) **on**, **onfi** besides **un**. Besides there is an accusative-dative form **unfi ai**. Bgh. in the singular has **war** dir. and **wor** (**wafi**) obl.—and in the plural **ui** dir. and **un**, **unfi** obl.

(c) As in Lakhimpurī, the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also in all the dialects. In U. and parts of F. and R. the obl. is used as the subject also of past participle tenses.

(d) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun

The third person pronoun is also used as the remote demonstrative pronoun, there being no separate forms for the latter. The forms of this pronoun are used also as the correlative pronoun besides the forms of the correlative pronoun (see § 247).

C. ORIGIN

§ 242. Like other Mod. IA languages we have three varieties of forms, viz. (1) *s-*, (2) *t-* and (3) *u-*, *w-* or *o-*. Possibly nowhere else do we find a variety so abundant as here. In Sanskrit there were forms of the Third person pronoun *saḥ*, *taḥ* etc. (which appear to have combined two pronouns: note *sasmin* in Vedic, Pischel p. 300) and of the Demonstrative pronoun *asau*, *amū* etc. (where also a combination of two pronouns is shown). A distinction of gender was maintained. We find that the distinction of gender is losing ground in the Prakrits. Early Awadhi has already entirely lost it. Of the three varieties of forms

(1) those with initial *s-* are connected with *saḥ* and *sā*, and E. Aw. *sō* (modern **sox**) exactly represents *saḥ* of

Sanskrit¹. On account of frequency of use and being a monosyllable it has maintained itself. Its use for the plural is modern (post-Middle-Indian) on the analogy of nouns. *sē*, used as plural only, is on the model of *tē*, *kē*, *yē*.

(2) *t*-pronouns are attested by the variety of forms in the Prakrits. Nominative **taun** goes back to *taṃ + uṇa* (< *taṃ punah*) of the Prakrits, Nom. sg. **tex** in Eastern Awadhī dialects is Māg. Nom. -ē, *tehi* is its oblique. *tā* with postpositions was another oblique derived from *tasya*, a later and fresh form of the same is *tāsu*² and *tāhi* is the superimposed oblique. Nominative plural *tē* (**tex**) is in line with other pronouns while **tix** is a new formation. *tei* appears to be the emphatic of *tē*. *tinha*, *tenha*, *tin̄h*, *tin* are the oblique forms based on the ancient genitive plural -*nām* like nouns.

(3) It is difficult to find the derivation of the pronouns in *u-*, *o-* or *o-*. We have no forms in old Indo-Aryan (except *avāḥ* in R. V., vide Chatterji § 572) or in Middle Indo-Aryan which might be called the ancestors of our modern forms. Chatterji observes that the *ava* base, though not attested by literary dialects, must have been current dialectically. It was current in Iranian and Dardic. But it seems a little strange that none of its forms should have been shown by the Prakrits which have such a variety of pronominal forms. Their first use is found in the Apabhraṃśa (Chatterji, p. 837). I should offer another explanation as an alternative. The proximate demonstrative has initially *i-* *e-*; on its analogy the remote demonstrative came to be indicated by forms with *u-* *o-* as the initial sound. Once *this way* of expression is taken into a language, the

¹ Prof. Chatterji, however, thinks that Hin. **soi** < *saṃ* < *saḥ* < **sa-ka-h*, while Skt. *saḥ* > *sā* > *su*.

² Prof. Chatterji thinks that *tāsu* and other -*s*- forms are loan-words from literary Apabhraṃśa.

variety of forms would result from an analogy with the forms of the Proximate demonstrative pronoun :

Proximate	Remote
ī	ū
ē	ō, vē
yehu	wahu, ohu
yā	wā (vā)
ehi	ohi, wahi
inha	unha

In Modern Awadhi the western dialects observe the distinction of gender just as in adjectives. In Early Awadhi no distinction of gender in pronouns is attested by the texts which all belong to the Eastern Hindi area. The same applies to the Proximate Demonstrative.

Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 243. The forms of this pronoun are generally found in all the three texts as adjectives and seldom as pronouns except in Tulsīdās. The orthography transcribes *ya* and *e* and *ye* separately, but like modern Awadhi, there does not appear to have been any difference in pronunciation in Early Awadhi as well.

direct	sg.	pl.
	J. <i>yaha, yahu</i>	
	T. <i>yaha, yahu, eha, ehu</i>	ē, yē
	N. <i>yaha</i>	yei, yaha
oblique	J. <i>ehi</i>	
	T. <i>ehi</i>	inhahī, inahī inha
	N. <i>ehi, yā</i>	ina

(a) Direct—Jāyāsī : *yaha pachitāu calatū binu sēvā* 'this is the regret that I am going without having served you' (p. 90), *kō yaha bāta pitā satī cālai* 'who can start this talk with father' (p. 399), *ratanasēna yahu tahā narēsū* 'this

Ratnasēna is a king there' (p. 616). In one instance the form *iha* is found (*tā kara ihai jo khānā pianā* 'this only is his meat and drink', p. 7). *Tulsī*: singular—*yaha suni* 'having heard this' (p. 168), *yaha bicāri* 'having considered this' (p. 179), *yaha bicāru ura āni nṛpa* 'the king having put this thought in his mind' (p. 158), *ēka kahaht yaha bāta aūhā* 'some say that this (thing) is untrue' (p. 176), *mohi sama yahu anubhayeu na dūjē* 'no one else has experienced this as much as I have' (p. 158), *bimala baṃsa yahu anucita ēkū* 'in the untarnished family, this one is improper' (p. 161), *bhayeu punīta āju yahu gēhū* 'this house has become sanctified to-day' (p. 161), *yahu kucāli kachu jāna na kōi* 'this evil machination nobody knew' (p. 166), *eha sudhi pāi prayāga nivāsi* 'inhabitants of Prayāg, on getting this news' (p. 199), *satya kahehu giribhava tanu ēhā* 'you have truly said that this body was born from a mountain' (p. 38), *jadyapi eha samujhata hatū nīkē* 'although I understand this well' (p. 226), *bharata bhuāla hōht ehu sēcī* 'Bharata will become a king, this is true' (p. 165), *sakhā parama paramāratha ēhū* 'my friend, this is the best objective' (p. 193); plural—*ēka kahaht ē sahaja suhāē* 'some said: these are naturally beautiful' (p. 204), *ē dōū dasaratha kē qhōṭā* 'both of these are the fondled children of Daśaratha' (p. 96), *yē priya sabahṭ jahā lagi prānī* 'these are dear to all living beings' (p. 94). *Nūr Muhammad*: *ēka kahā yaha bhā matavārā* 'one said: he has become mad' (p. 62), *gurujana sō yaha binatiya mōrī* 'this is my prayer before the elders' (p. 4), *yēi dasa kāmīni saṃgī, hat jōgī tohi jōga* 'O yogin, these ten loving women are thy fit companion' (p. 83), *hat hatyāre nayana yaha tērē* 'these, thy eyes, are murderous' (p. 62). In one case the form is *iha* (*ihai agama kō pantha* 'this is the path to the unreachd', p. 26).

(b) Oblique—*Jāyasī*: *jei na hāṭa ehi līnha besāhā* 'whoever did not purchase anything in this market' (p. 56), *ehi misa laharai dēi* 'for this reason, sets up waves'

(p. 98), *ehi bana rahata gai hama āu* 'our life-span has finished up in this forest' (p. 112).

NOTE.—The oblique has been used as inanimate object in several cases, e.g., *ghara paithata pūchaba ehi hārū* 'when I enter the house, they will ask about this necklace' (p. 103), *āvahu ehi bana chūḍi parāhi* 'come let us leave this forest and run away' (p. 112). In an emphatic (inclusive) form we find direct : *ehū kaha asa mayū karēhū* 'do show favour on this also' (p. 470) and in one case the form is *ei* : *ei bikha-cūrai saba budhi thagī* 'this food-poison robbed me of all wisdom' (p. 113).

Tulsidās : singular—*ehi tē adhika dharamu nahī dūjā* 'there is no better virtue than this' (p. 181), *pālava baiṭhi pēḍu ehi kāṭā* 'the tree has been cut by this (her) sitting at the top' (p. 175), *ehi tau rāma lāi ura līnhā* 'Rāma himself has embraced this one' (p. 233), *ehi avasara* 'at this time' (p. 160), *ehi pāpinihi sūjhi kā pareū* 'what did this sinner think?' (p. 175). In one case the form is *yehi* (*rāma-pēma-bhājana bharata barē na yehi karatūti* 'Bharata was loved by Rāma and was great not on account of this accomplishment' p. 283). In another case the direct *yahu* has been used as oblique (*yahu kula ucita rāma kaha ṭikā* 'in this family, it is proper to give coronation to Rāma', p. 164); plural—*inha kai dasā na kaheū bakhānī* 'I have not given details of their state' (p. 40), *jani sapanehu inha kē basa hōhū* 'do not be under their control even in dream' (p. 186), *ehu saba bhā inha ākhina āgē* 'all this has occurred before these very eyes' (p. 222), *taru-bara bāsa inhaṭ bidhi dinhā* 'the Creator gave these, residence under a (good) tree' (p. 204), *inaṭ haraṣaprada baraṣā ēkā* 'to these the rainy season gives great joy' (p. 320).

Nūr Muhammad : *ehi kārana maṭ līnhēū* 'for this reason, I have taken' (p. 43), *ēhi samujha ḍara mānata jūū* 'understanding this he is afraid at heart' (p. 58). In one case the form is *yēhi* (*rahiyē yēhi nagara bairāgi* 'O yoginī, live in this town', p. 3) and in another *ihi* (*ihi kājā* 'for this reason', p. 30), *yā tē bhaṭō na aura* 'nothing is better

than this' (p. 43), *yā tē tehi kachu hātha na āwā* 'owing to this he obtained nothing' (p. 60), *yāhī sō* 'by this very (thing)' (p. 56), *yāhū para* 'even on this' (p. 45), *ina kē bīca* 'between these' (p. 3).

NOTE—In a few cases direct *yaha* is found used with an oblique substantive, e.g., *yaha sapanā kī bāta para* 'on this mention of the dream' (p. 11), *yaha jaga mō* 'in this world' (p. 171).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 244. Lakhimpurī has the following forms:

	sg.	pl.
dir. masc.	iu, jaiu	ix
„ fem.	jar, jai	
obl.	ix, efi	
		in, inf.

For instance: **iu** or **jaiu gawar** 'this (man) went', **jar** or **yai gai** 'this (woman) went', **ix haī** 'these (men or women) are'; **ix kar** or **efi kar khawaror** 'feed this (man or woman)', **in** or **inf kar khawaror** 'feed these (men or women)'.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp. Br. and R. have **efu** masc. dir. sg. and **jar** fem. dir. sg. and the other cases are the same as in Lmp. Br. has dir. sg. masc. **iu** and dir. pl. as **ix** or **jai**, everywhere else it has **ix**. G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe distinction of gender, the dir. sg. being **ix** everywhere and the obl. sg. **ix** or **jar** (e.g., Fy. **ja kare**) **efi** and **ex**. The dir. pl. is **jai** (G., Fy., Sl.) and **ex** (P. and A.). The obl. pl. is **ix** in G., Fy. and Sl. and **en** in P. and A. Bgh. has **jar** dir., **jai** or **jar** obl. sg., **ex, eni** dir. pl., **jan, jani** obl. pl.

(b) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also except that in Lakhimpurī the dir. pl. is used as the obl. pl. also in adjectival uses. For instance: **ix larikar arjer** 'these boys came', **ix larikan ko marrau** 'beat these boys'. In U. the obl. pl. is used as

the subject of past participial verbs, e.g., *infi mairraz* 'these beat (me)', *infi larikan ham kar mairraz* 'these boys beat us'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 245. Sanskrit had two bases *idam* and *etad*. In Awadhi we do not find any descendants of the former. *yahu*, *ehu* both go back to *ēṣaḥ* and *iu* is further decay of the same form. The existence of *iu* and *ehu* side by side in modern Awadhi can be explained by the difference in time at which their ancestors came into the language—*eso* and *ehu* must have been used side by side. In *yaha*, *cha* and *yā* there is the history of *ēṣā*. *ē* goes back to *ēlē*; *yē*, *yei* and *yaī* also are closely connected with it.

iz appears to be a fresh formation. The oblique *inha* (*ina*, *in*) is a regular form from *ī* and *inhahṛ* is a superimposed oblique.

Relative and Correlative Pronouns

A. EARLY AWADHI¹

§ 246.

	sg.	pl.
direct		
J. <i>jō</i> , <i>jei</i>		<i>jei</i> , <i>jō</i> , <i>jinha</i>
T. <i>jō</i> , <i>jehi</i>		<i>jē</i> , <i>jinha</i>
N. <i>jō</i> , <i>jeṭ</i>		<i>jina</i> (<i>jena</i>)
oblique		
J. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i> , <i>jāsu</i>		<i>jinha</i>
T. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i> , <i>jāhi</i> , <i>jāsu</i>		<i>jina</i> , <i>jinha</i> , <i>jinahṛ</i> , <i>jinahṛ</i> ;
N. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i>		<i>jina</i>
adjective	<i>jauna</i> (<i>javana</i>)	

(a) Direct singular—In all the three texts *jō* is found as the subject or as inanimate direct object while *jei* (*jehi*) as

¹ The forms of the correlative have been shown above under § 240.

the subject of transitive participle verbs only. For instance :

Jāyasī : *dōsara nāht jo sarabari pāvā* 'there is no one else who has obtained equality' (p. 8), *marai jo calai gaṅga gati lēi, tehi dina kahā ghaḍī kō dēi* 'he who is going to die and to take the shelter of the Ganges, to him who is it that appoints the auspicious day and the hour?' (p. 242), *jō ḍolāu sō ḍolā* 'what he moves, moves' (p. 11), *sasi caudasi jō dai savārā, tēhū cāhi rūpa ājiārā* 'the moon of the 14th date which the Creator has made beautiful—his beauty was brighter than its' (p. 21); *jei mukha dēkhā tei hāsā* 'whoever saw the face, laughed' (p. 33), *duhū jaga tarā nāū jei līnhā* 'whoever took (remembered) the name, crossed both the worlds' (p. 15), *jei jiu dīnhā* 'who gave life' (p. 2).

Tulsīdās : *baranatī raghubara-bimala-jasu, jō dāyaku phala cāri* 'I describe the untarnished glory of the best of Raghus, which gives the four fruits' (p. 157), *munirāja kara joi joi āyasu hōi . . . bēgi karahu soi sōi* 'whatever be the order of the great sage, quickly obey that' (p. 159), *anna so joi joi bhōjana karāi, soi soi tava āyasu anusarāi* 'whoever eats that food, he will obey your orders' (p. 74), *jō jehi bhāva nīka tehi sōi* 'whatever appears good to one, for him that is good' (p. 5), *baia so lunia lahia jō dīnhā* 'whatever is sown is reaped, whatever is given is obtained' (p. 163), *jehi rāura ati anabhala tākā, soi pāihi ehū phalu paripākā* 'he will obtain the fruit of this who has aimed at your evil' (p. 165), *dīnhā hamahī jei lōcana-lāhū* 'who gave to us a gain for our eyes' (p. 205).

Nūr Muhammad : *jō asa bhāria bhāra uṭhāi* 'who lifts such a heavy load' (p. 22), *jō nabha au mahi kō bala harā* 'who robbed the earth and the sky of their strength' (p. 22), *jō baca bhākhai adhara tumhārā* 'which words your lip speaks' (p. 14), *kāḍhai sōi bara jō hōi* 'he who will draw up will be the bridegroom' (p. 17), *jei nidrā rasanā para līnhā, bandhu māsa tei bhōjana kīnhā* 'he eats the flesh of his relatives who remains quiet (lit. who takes sleep on his

tongue)' (p. 143), *paṭa bāhara jet pāva pasārā* 'who stretches the feet beyond the cloth' (p. 43).

Direct plural—

Jāyasī : *bhā jaga adala dīna jō āyē* 'on whose accepting the religion, justice was established in the world' (p. 16), *bhae dharami jei pādḥata sikhē* 'those who were well-read, became virtuous' (p. 15).

Tulsīdās : *jē* is used with all verbs while *jinha* only with past participle verbs, e.g., *jē niṣa bhagata nātha tava ahaḥī* 'O Lord, those who are your own devotees' (p. 67), *jē pura gāva basahī maga māhī, tinhaḥī nāga-sura-nagara sihāhī* 'the cities of the Nāgas and the gods praise those cities and villages which lay on their way' (p. 201), *jē priya parama kaikai kēri* 'who were very dear to Kaikēi' (p. 176), *jinha paṭhaē bana bālaka aisē* 'who sent such boys to the forest' (p. 192), *prathama jāi jinha bacana sunāē, bhūṣana basana bhūri tinha pāē* 'Those who first gave the news, they got many ornaments and clothes' (p. 160).

Nūr Muhammad : *jina bina khamḥa akāsa sāvārā* 'who (respectful) has arranged the sky without pillars' (p. 1), *jena pahirā añjana pahirāvā* 'those (eyes) which have put on the collyrium-clothes' (p. 71).

(b) Oblique singular—In all the three texts *jā* has been used always with postpositions. For instance:

Jāyasī : *kīnha sabai asa jā kara* 'whose creation all this is' (p. 2), *jā kahā hōi aisa kanahārā* 'for whom there is such a leader' (p. 24), *jā saṭi vei hēraḥī cakhu nārī* 'towards whom those women look with their eyes' (p. 49).

Tulsī : *jā tē avadha anātha na hōi* 'by which Avadha may not be without a Lord' (p. 194), *sāḍhu samāja na jā kara lēkhā* 'who is not counted in the assembly of the good' (p. 231).

Nūr Muhammad : *jā kahā karatā darasa dekhāeu* 'to whom, O Lord, you showed yourself' (p. 2), *kīnhā dīna kāraja hai jā sō* 'He has created day, by which action is

possible' (p. 1), *jā kē hiē larika budhi hōi* 'who has childish thoughts in his mind' (p. 4).

jehi in Jāyasī is found both with and without postpositions while in Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad it is generally found with postpositions, e.g., Jāyasī: *kīnhesi amē jiai jehi pāi* 'He created nectar by obtaining which one is enlivened' (p. 6), *kīnhesi daraba garaba jehi hōi* 'he created wealth by which one has pride' (p. 5), *ādihu anta rāja jehi chājā* 'whose rule is grand from beginning to end' (p. 8), *sō pai marama jānu jehi nāhī* 'he only knows the value (secret) who has not (got them)' (p. 12), *calai utāila jehi kara khēvā* 'whose paddling (of the oars) is very rapid' (p. 26), *jehi kai asa panihārī sō rānī kehi rūpa* 'what beauty must that queen have, whose water-carriers are such' (p. 49), *āmhesi kaṇṭha bōli jehi māhā* 'He has given a throat in which there is speech' (p. 12); Tulsīdas: *soi saba bhāti mōra hitakārī jehi tē rahai bhuāla sukhārī* 'he is in every way my benefactor with whom the king remains happy' (p. 188), *jehi na hōhī dukha dīna* 'by which (my mothers) are not distressed by misery' (p. 189); Nūr Muhammad: *jehi ka prēma mahā hiyā* 'whose heart is in love' (p. 6), *jehi dēkheū nisa māha* 'whom I saw at night' (p. 12).

NOTE.—Both in Tulsīdas and in Nūr Muhammad *jā* and *jehi* are found used as adjectives, e.g., *jā mana jāma prēma rasa* 'in which mind love-sentiment has taken a root' (N. p. 6), *jā dīna prēma hākūrai ātā* 'on which day, love comes to call' (N. p. 24), *jehi jehi jōni karama basa bhramahī* 'in whichever birth we have to roam according to our karma, (T. p. 166), *tōra kahā phura jā dīna hōi* 'your word will turn out to be true on which day' (T. p. 163), *jehi phāū* 'at which place' (N. p. 2), *jehi rānī kara* 'of which queen' (N. p. 20).

jāhi and *jāsu* are used without postpositions, the former in the sense of accusative-dative and the latter of genitive, e.g., *aribasa daiva jāvai jāhi*, 'whom fate keeps alive under the enemy' (T. p. 165), *jāhi dīna para nāha* 'who has affection

for the poor' (T. p. 3), *jāhi dharaḥṭ muni dhyāna* 'whom the sages keep in mind' (T. p. 55); *barābhā qarai catura-mukha jāśū* 'Brahmā who has four faces is afraid' (J. p. 587), *jāsu bhajana binu jarani na jāi* 'without the prayer of whom, the fire (anguish) is not removed' (T. p. 159).

NOTE.—In one case the form is *jisu*: (*saba siddhi sulabha japata jisu nāmū*, 'by meditating upon his (whose) name all the accomplishments become easy' (T. p. 52).

Oblique plural—*jinha* (*jina*) is used with postpositions while accusative-dative *jinhahṭ* (*jinaḥṭ*) without postpositions, e.g., *dara nisāna saba jinha kē bājā* 'at whose doors the military music always played' (J. p. 72), *para hita-hāni lābha jinha kērē* 'for whom gain consists in others' loss' (T. p. 4), *para hita ghṛta jinha kē mana mākhī* 'whose minds are like flies in the butter in the shape of others' good' (T. p. 4), *kaḥā bahuta jēna kī mati phērī* 'turned their thoughts by saying a great deal' (N. p. 100); *rāma carana-paṅkaja priya jinhahṭ* 'to whom the lotus-feet of Rāma are dear' (T. p. 190), *sumirata jinaḥṭ rāma mana māhṭ* 'whom Rāma remembers in his mind' (T. p. 242).

(c) The relative adjective *jauna* (*javana*) 'which' is found in the texts and changes for gender, e.g., *jaunahi bhṛti* 'in whichever way' (J. p. 297), *bañcehu mōhi javani dhari dēhā*, *soi tanu dharahu* 'take that body having put on which you have deceived me' (T. p. 62).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 247. Lakhimpurī has the following forms:

	sg.	pl.
Relative.		
dir.	jox, JAun	jox, JAun, jix
obl.	jiz, jefi	jīn, jīnfi
Correlative		
dir.	sor, tAun	sor, tAun, tir
obl.	tiz, tefi	tīn, tīnfi

For instance: **jor** or **jaun** **jais** **kariz** **sor** or **taun** **tais** **pariz** 'as one will do so one will get', **jor** or **jaun** or **jir** **jaifiaĩ** **sor** or **taun** or **tir** **maru** **khaifiaĩ** 'those who will go will be beaten'; **jir** **kar** or **jesi** **kar** **bolazor** **tir** **kar** or **tesfi** **kar** **khazi** **ko** **deru** 'give (something) to eat to him (or her) whom you call', **jin** **kar** or **jinf** **kar** **bolazor** **tin** **kar** or **tinfi** **kar** **khazi** **ko** **deru** 'give them (something) to eat whom you invite'.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp.; in B., R. and Br. **jesi** only is used as obl. sg. and **jex** instead of **jir** in the dir. pl.; similarly in the correlative **tesfi** and **tex**. Of the Eastern dialects G. has commonly **jaun** : **taun** and **jex** : **tex** for both the numbers in the direct and **jex**, **jesi**, **tex**, **tesfi** sg. and **jensf**, **tenfi** in the obl. Similarly, Fy. and Sl. have **jex**, **sex** very commonly and **jaun**, **taun** rarely. P. has

sg.	pl.
dir. jor , jawan	jor , jawan , jex
obl. jex , jesi	jex
dir. tawan	tawan
obl. tex , tawanex	tawanen

Similarly, A. Br., R. and Fy. have an accusative-dative case in the plural **jinfiai**, **tinfiiai**. Bgh. has **jaun** **taun** dir. and **jjafsi** **tjafsi** obl. sg. and **jjanfi** for dir. and obl. plural.

(b) The forms of the Third Person pronoun are freely used in place of those of the Correlative, *e.g.*, **jaun**, **ur**.

(c) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as pronominal adjective also. Such dialects as have a change in adjectives for gender (see § 219) change this adjective also, *e.g.*, Lakhimpuri **jauni** **laũrijar** : **jauniz** **laũrijar** etc. In Lmp. **jir** : **tir** are commoner than **jin** **jinf** : **tin** **tinfi** while in R. the latter are commoner than the former.

Of the Eastern dialects G. and P. report change of gender in the case of this adjective, G. **jauniz** : **tauniz**, P. **jawniz** : **tawniz**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 248. The initial sound of this pronoun is *j*-Skt. *y*-of ancient relative. **Jor** (*jō*) represents Skt. *yaḥ*, Pkt. *jō* while **Jer** (sing.) is the Māg. Nominative sg. **JAun** (*jauna*) represents *yaḥ punaḥ* (Chatterji, p. 842) which was regarded in Middle Indian as one group. *yaḥ* maintains itself as *jō* being a monosyllable while *yaḥ punaḥ* has disintegration first into *ja una* and then into *jauna*, **JAun**. The interchange of the vocable -u- with *va* through *vu* is a regular feature.

Early Awadhi *jei*, *jehi*, *jet* shown under the direct case are really oblique forms (being used as subject in participial construction) derived as Māg. *jē + hi* the regular oblique termination. The other oblique *jā* is *yasya* through *jassu*, *jāsu*, *jāhu*, *jāh*, *jā*. We find *jāsu* used side by side with *jā*—the latter has lost its oblique sense and requires a postposition. *jāhi* should be taken as a superimposed oblique. Modern oblique **Jix** and pl. dir. **Jix** are modern formations; the use of *jō* for plural in the texts is modern, on the analogy of nouns; *jē* (dir. pl.) represents Skt. *yē* and *jei* is its emphatic form. *jina*, *jinha*, *jen*, *jenha* are oblique forms of the plural, on the analogy of nouns, based on -*nām* and *jinhahṛ* is a superimposed oblique.

Interrogative Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 249.

direct		sg.	pl.
	J., T., N.	<i>kō</i> , <i>kei</i>	<i>kē</i>
oblique	J., T., N.	<i>kā</i> , <i>kehi</i> , <i>kāhi</i> , (<i>kāsu</i>)	
inanimate	J., T., N.	<i>kā</i> , <i>kāha</i>	
adjective	J., T., N.	<i>kavana</i> (<i>kauna</i>)	

(a) Direct—*kō* is used with all verbs while *kei* (*kehi*) with past participle verbs only, e.g., *kō pūchai* 'who asks?' (J. p. 123), *kō sari mō satī pāvai* 'who can obtain equality

with me?' (J. p. 83), *bharata sarisa priya kō jaga mākā* 'who is so dear as Bharata in this world?' (T. p. 160), *kō na kusaṅgati pāi nasāi* 'who is it that does not perish when fallen in bad company?' (T. p. 167), *tā kō mūrata kō likhi pārai* 'who can paint her picture?' (N. p. 13), *kō piya tērā* 'who is thy beloved?' (N. p. 58), *kei yaḥa basata basanta ujārā* 'who has made this flourishing spring desolate?' (J. p. 445), *kei tava nāsā kāna nipātā* 'who has cut your nose and ears?' (T. p. 304), *kei qārā* 'who has put?' (N. p. 123).

(b) Oblique—*kā* is always used with postpositions, e.g., *kā saū karaū barōka* 'with whom shall I perform the engagement ceremony?' (J. p. 83), *asa nārāga dahū kā kahā rākhē* 'no one knows for whom such oranges have been kept?' (J. p. 201), *kahe na dhyāna dhana kā para dīnhē* 'the lady does not say on whom she has fixed her attention?' (N. p. 36), *mana sō kā kahā sumirai kōū* 'who may remember whom in his mind?' (N. p. 107); *kehi* and *kāhi* are used with or without postpositions, e.g., *dahū kei jōga daī asi gaḍhī* 'for whom, has the Creator created her fit?' (J. p. 83), *kehi kahā kavāla bigāsā* 'for whom has the lotus bloomed?' (J. p. 183), *gāla karabū kehi kara bahu pāi* 'whose support shall I get, to be able to be proud?' (T. p. 163), *naht jānahū bāura kehi nēḥ* 'I do not know for whom he is mad?' (N. p. 55); *kahau so pīra kāhi binu khāgā* 'tell us your trouble, without whom are you miserable?' (J. p. 223), *vyaratha kāhi para kijia rōsū* 'on whom should anger be shown uselessly?' (T. p. 224).

kāsu is genitive, e.g., *kahia hōi bhala kāsu bhalāi* 'please say, whose good can come about?' (T. p. 261).

(c) The inanimate interrogative pronoun is used to denote 'what?'. It is used in the direct, the oblique of the animate serves for the oblique of the inanimate also. For instance: *kā baranaū* 'what shall I describe?' (J. p. 61), *karaū kā bhāi* 'hullo! what shall I do?' (T. p. 28), *kā jānai sukha bhōga bhulānā* 'what shall a man who forgets

himself in the enjoyment of happiness, know?' (N. p. 11), *na janatū kāha hoihi kabilāsā* 'I do not know what shall happen in Kailāsa?' (J. p. 468), *aba dhatū bidhihi kāha karaniyā* 'what will the Creator do now?' (T. p. 214)

(d) The pronouns given above are also used as adjectives, e.g., *kahu kehi rañkahi karatū narēsū* 'tell me which poor person I shall make a king?' (T. p. 167), *kehi dēsa* 'in which country?' (N. p. 40).

The adjective *kavana* (*kauna*) is very generally used in all the texts. It changes forms for gender in Jāyasī generally and in Tulsidās always while never in Nūr Muhammad. It changes for case in all the texts. For instance :

Jāyasī: *kaunu utara pāubi* 'what answer shall we have?' (p. 97), *na janatū kaunu pavanu lei āvā* 'God knows which wind has brought (it)?' (p. 104), *kauni mati matī* 'what opinion has been held?' (p. 223), but *kavana bhāti* 'in which way?' (p. 11).

Tulsī: *kāranu kavanu* 'what is the reason?' (p. 172), *kavani bipati bari bhāri* 'what great calamity?' (p. 312), *kavani āsā* 'what hope?' (p. 177), *kavanē avasara* 'on what occasion?' (p. 169).

Nūr Muhammad: *kavana pantha taṭ lūnhā* 'what path hast thou taken?' (p. 58), *kavana jāta hai* 'what is thy caste?' (p. 45), *kauna bhalāi* 'what goodness?' (p. 29), *rākhai kaunē māna* 'in which way will (he) keep?' (p. 92).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 250. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :—
animate

	sg.	pl.
dir.	koz, kAun	koz, kAun
obl.	kir, kefi	kin, kinfi
inanimate		
dir.	kar	
obl.	karfiex, kefi	

For instance: **kor** or **kaun ariwar hai** 'who has come?'; **huāi: kor** or **kaun raṣṭāi** 'who were there?'; **ki: kar** or **keṣi kar bolareu** 'whom (sg.) did you call?'; **kin kar** or **kiṣi kar bolareu** 'whom (pl.) did you call?'.
 (a) Of the dialects, S., L. and U. agree with Lmp., F. has obl. sg. as **kaṣi**. B. has obl. sg. as **keṣi** and obl. pl. as **kaun**. Br. dir. is like Lmp., only **kaun** is pronounced as **kaurn**; obl. sg. is **keṣi**, **koṣi** and obl. pl. does not differ from Lmp. In R. obl. sg. is **kaṣi**. All the Eastern dialects have only one form for the dir. sg. and pl. viz., **ker**; this is also sometimes used as obl. otherwise **keṣi** or **keṣ** is used in the sg. and **ken** in the pl. **kaun** is rarely used in the Eastern dialects, the form in P. being **kawan**. Bgh. has **kaun** dir., **kjaṣi** obl. sg. and **kjan**, **kjanṣi** as both dir. and obl. plural. Inanimate dir. is **karṣi**, obl. **kaiz**. In G. the obl. forms **kauner**, **kauniz** are used.

(b) In all the dialects the inanimate dir. 'what?' is **kar**. The obl. differs. Lmp., S., L., U., F., B., Br. have **karṣer**, R. **karṣer**, **kaṣi**, G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **keṣi**, **karṣer**, **kethuar** and **kethar**, **karṣer** or **keṣar**, e.g., **kethar se bādarowan ko hārikiz** 'with what shall I drive the monkeys?'.
 (c) All the dialects use **kaun** as the pronominal adjective and modify it according to case and gender (§ 219) as they do in the case of ordinary adjectives. For instance:

Lmp. **kaunī laūṛijar** 'which girl?', **kauniz laūṛija ko** 'to which girl?', **kauner larikawa ko** 'to which boy?', S.E. Sultānpurī: **kauner tarar** 'in which manner?', **kauner saimain se** 'with what preparation?'.

C. ORIGIN
 § 251. The history of the Interrogative pronoun is closely allied with that of the Relative pronoun, e.g., **kor** represents *kaḥ*, **ker** < Skt. *kā*; *kei*, *kehi*, are oblique forms, *kā*

is based on *kasya*; *kāuna* < Pkt. *ka + una*; Mod. **kañfi** < Early Aw. *kāhi*; **kofi** is absolutely modern.

Here, however, we find that the distinction between animate and inanimate is observed in Modern Awadhi and is attested by Early Awadhi. This is very clear for the direct—animate *kō*, inanimate *kā*. What is the derivation of this *kā*? Skt. had *kim* for the neuter, but that has survived only as *ki* indeclinable. Besides *kā*, Early Aw. has *kāha*. Is this *ha* merely emphatic? The forms **kethar**, **kethuar** and **karfiar** also are untraced historically.

Reflexive Pronoun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 252.

direct

J., T. *āpu* (*āpuna*), N. *āpa*

oblique

J., T. *āpu*, *āpuhi*, N. *āpa*, *āpuh*

adjective

masc. dir. J., T. *āpana*, *āpuna*, *apāna*,
N. *āpana*, *apanō*, *āpanō*, *āpunu* (*āpa*),
fm. J., T. *āpani*, fm. obl. T., N. *apanī*, *āpanī*
masc. obl. J., T. *apanē*, N. *apanē*, *āpanē*, *apānē*,

(a) Direct—e.g., *guru hoi āpu kīnha jaga cōlā* 'himself becoming the preceptor, he made the world his pupil' (J. p. 132), *sabahi khiāvai āpu na khāi* 'he feeds all but himself does not eat' (J. p. 7), *rāma jāsū jasa āpu bakhānā* 'whose glory Rāma himself has sung' (T. p. 12), *āpu laṣana para baiṭheu jāi* 'himself he went and sat near Lakshmaṇa' (T. p. 192), *linha vidhavapana apajasu āpū* '(she) herself obtained widowhood and infamy' (T. p. 227), *āpa dharama dēhi hai rājā* 'the king himself is incarnation of Dharma' (N. p. 15), *rājā rahai āpa tehi māhī* 'the king himself lives in that' (N. p. 8).

NOTE 1. Besides being used as a subject, *āpu* is found used as (animate) object also in the following instances: *gunī na kṛī āpu sarāhā* 'no skilful person praises himself' (J. p. 130), *nindahī āpu sarāhī nisādahī* 'having admired Niṣāda, they censure themselves' (T. p. 236).

NOTE 2. In Tulsī there is one instance of *āpuna* (*āpuna calau* 'himself went' p. 79).

(b) Oblique—*āpu* or *āpa* is used with postpositions while *āpuhi* (-*ṭ*) without them, e.g., *āpu āpu kahā hōihi* 'every one will be (busy) for one's own self' (J. p. 97), *āpu āpu mahā rōdana karahī* 'weep amongst themselves' (J. p. 113); *jāni āpu para nēhu* 'having known (their) affection for himself (Lakshmaṇa)' (T. p. 211), *bōlē bacana āpa mahā miṭhē* '(they) spoke sweet words amongst themselves' (N. p. 101), *ēka pāva dē āpa para* 'putting one foot on thyself' (N. p. 51); *risa āpuhi budhi aurahi khāī* 'anger harms self while wisdom another' (J. p. 145), *jō jānai sata āpuhi jārā* 'he who knows the truth, burns himself (his self)' (J. p. 323), *barabhāgini āpuhi anumānī* 'having considered themselves very lucky' (T. p. 240), *jāga au āpuhi kasa pahicānō* 'how do I take myself and the world?' (N. p. 3), *cēlā āpuhṭ jāni* 'having considered myself to be a disciple' (N. p. 21), *āpuhṭ paragaṭa karai nidānā* 'ultimately (beauty) reveals itself' (N. p. 6).

(c) The adjective is frequently used. For instance: Jāyasī: *jō piu āpana kahai so jhūthā* 'he who says 'the beloved is mine' is a liar' (p. 144), *āpuna nāhṭ kayā* 'the body is not one's own' (p. 307), *dōsa apānā* 'the fault is ours' (p. 116), *pahara pahara sō āpani bārī* 'after every watch, every one on one's turn' (p. 64), *kita āuna puni apānē hāthā* 'whence would the coming back be in our hand (control)' (p. 96), *au apānē apānē ghara rājā* 'and (they are) kings in their own houses' (p. 67).

Tulsī: *āpana mōra nika jō cahahū* 'if you want your own good and mine' (p. 181), *tahā puni sambhu samujhi*

pāna āpana 'there Śiva considering his vow' (p. 30), *sabahi apana sudhi bhōrī bhāi* 'everyone lost an idea about oneself' (p. 136), . . . *saba āpani karanī . . . baranī* 'she described her own action' (p. 220), *jō pāvāru apani jāratāi, tumhañ sugāi* 'the wretched man who suspects you owing to his own ignorance' (p. 229), *kṛpā bhalāi āpanī, nātha kīnha bhala mōra* 'my lord has acted well towards me by his own kindness and goodness' (p. 273), *phirata sanēha magana sukha apanē* '(they) move about imbued with affection and in their own happiness' (p. 15), *apanē calata* 'as far as lay in my power' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad : *jaba mañ āpana nāma bhulāvati* 'when I lose memory of my own name' (p. 25), *kaṭa cāhai apa mahimā, laṭa āpana marajāda* 'the loin wished its greatness while the lock of hair its own respect' (p. 138), *apanō citra citērā dēkhi . . .* 'the painter seeing his picture' (p. 71), *dhana jō mitra āpanō cīnhā* 'blessed is he who recognises his friend' (p. 54), *bāta samēfahu āpunū* 'finish your talk' (p. 24), *apanī apanī āṭa tē* 'with one's own money (in the folds of his cloth)' (p. 9), *āneu apanē gēha* 'brought (her) to his house' (p. 17), *gaī āpanē grēha* 'went to her house' (p. 52), *tohi lai calahū apānē gāū* 'shall take you to my village' (p. 102).

NOTE 1. The Sanskrit forms *sva* and *nija* have also been occasionally used.

NOTE 2. *āpusa (sakhina matā āpusa mō kīnhā* 'the friends settled amongst themselves', p. 100).

(d) Honorific pronouns are not found in Jāyasī or Nūr Muhammad. But we find in Tulsīdās both *āpu*¹ as the honorific pronoun and *rāura (rāvāra)* as honorific genitive

¹ Gréaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyan, p. 15) denies the existence of *āpu* as honorific and rightly criticises Growse's translation of the 2nd Caupāī after Dohā No. 177 on p. 67 of the Rāmāyan, but the instances quoted here do prove the use of *āpu* as honorific.

adjective. For instance: *saba samēta pura dhāria pāū, āpu ihā amarāvati rāū* 'Please step into (enter) the city with all; you are here and the king is in Amarāvati' (p. 254), *prabhu priya pūjya pitā sama āpū* 'you are just like my father—my master, adorable and dear' (p. 271), *gyāna ambu nidhi āpuna ājū* 'you yourself are the ocean of knowledge' (p. 271); *rājana rāura nāma jasa* 'O King, your name and glory' (p. 159), *rāuri māyā* 'your māyā' (p. 170), *sarāhana rāvarī* 'your praise' (p. 236), *hita sabahī kara raurē hāthā* 'every one's good is in your hands' (p. 270).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 253.

Apōnar:

This pronoun expresses a reflexive sense for emphasis and is used with all personal pronouns and with nouns without any change in form, *e.g.*, **rām Apōnar tau ban kar caler gajer dāsarath kō roirwai kō ghar chū:ri ger** 'Rām himself went away to the forest but left Daśaratha at home to lament', **Apōnar tau khazini piini** '(he) himself ate and drank', **Apōnar tum corazeu lu ham kar corrix lagazeu** 'you yourself stole (the money) and attributed the theft to me' **mai Apōnar maraū calai jiaū tum ser kar matlabū** 'whether I myself die or live what have you to do with me', **ui Apōna kō bāfut bālar burax kaṣini** 'he rebuked himself very much'.

(a) This pronoun also expresses the combined sense of 'you and I' sometimes, *e.g.*, **bālar Apōna se kar matlabū** 'my friend, what have we to do with it?'

(b) The form of this pronoun in all the dialects is the same. When the sense of 'all alone by one's self' is to be expressed we have **apui apū** in Lmp. and other Western and Central dialects while **Apunai** in the Eastern dialects.

(c) This pronoun is also used as an adjective, *e.g.*, Lmp. **Apān, Apāni, Apāner, Apāniz**. In the Eastern dialects

the form is **अपान**, e.g., Fy. **अपान कितार**, **अपान लरिका** 'one's book, one's son'.

(d) There are no honorific pronouns in Modern Awadhi like Hindustani **अप** or Bihari **रलुवां**. When honour or respect is shown, special care is taken to use the plural pronoun and verb. Sometimes the Hindustani form **अप** is borrowed as **अपु**. With this the verb used is that for the second person plural instead of the third person verb or the passive verb of Hindustani. For instance: Lmp. **अपु अरे**, Hindustani **अप अरिजेगा** 'please do come', Lmp. **अपु जाउ**, Hin. **अप जायिजे** 'please go'.

In Bgh. owing to the influence of Bhōjpurī **अपना** dir. and **अपने** obl. are used as honorific pronoun, e.g., **अपना मवाँई बवाकरा बहार मवाँई दिन** 'your honour never gave even a goat to me', **अपना केर** 'your honour's'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 254. The forms with *a-* (**अ-**) and *ā-* are all based on Skt. *ātman* which in Mid. Indian came to have two developments *appa* and *atta* (Chatterji § 591). The *-p-* form is found in Awadhi, Early Aw. *āpu* < *appo*. The modern form **अपना** is based on the genitive pl. *appāṇaṃ* which is used as an adjective in a variety of forms, but the presence of old Nominative is attested by modern emphatic forms such as **अपुअपु**. The use of *ātman* is also verified by a noun in Awadhi **अप** 'selfness'; *āpusa* < *appassa*.

The honorific use of this word is not Awadhi properly. That it was used honorifically in Mid. Indian is shown by the word *attā* 'mother-in-law, a respected lady'. In Early Awadhi we find the honorific adjective *rāura*, *rāvāri* etc. This is a borrowing from Bhōjpurī where the pronoun **रलुवां** is freely in use. *rāura* is based on *rājan* and has the *-ra* of the postposition *kara*. These forms are distinct from Hin. *rāwal* < *rājakula*.

Indefinite Pronouns

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 255. *aura* and its equivalents
direct

aura, *auru* (*aurana* pl. only); *āna*

obl.

aurahi (*aurana* pl. only); *ānahi*

adjective *parā-*

Forms of *aura* 'other' are found in all the three texts.
For instance :

Jāyasī : *aura jo hōi so bāura andhā* 'anybody else who be, is mad and blind' (p. 10), *aura jo dīnha jagata mahā* 'whatever else has been given in this world' (p. 8), *aura jo bhūlē āutahi* 'others who have lost (the way) while coming' (p. 16), *budhi aurahi khāi* 'wisdom eats (destroys) another' (p. 145), *kō auru narēsā* 'which other king?' (p. 162), *vei tau uqē auru bana tākā* 'they flew and aimed at another forest' (p. 112).

Tulsī : *auru karai aparādha kou aura pāu phala lhōgu* 'somebody else commits a fault and another obtains the enjoyment of the fruit (punishment)' (p. 187), *aura karahi kō bharata barāi* 'who can give more praise to Bharata', (p. 257), *aurau jē hari bhagata sujānā* 'others also who are wise and are devoted to Hari' (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad : *darasa dēkhi jō jiya tajaū yātē bhalō na aura* 'if having seen (her) I give up life, nothing else will be better than this' (p. 43), *tohī taji aurahi dhyāna na lāvoi* 'he will not fix his attention on any one else except you' (p. 62), *aurana kahā calahu vahi vōrā* 'the others said : let us go to that side' (p. 56), *aurana sō mānuṣa niyarānā* 'the man approached the others' (p. 34).

(a) Besides *aura*, forms of *āna* and *parā-* are found in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad, e.g., *āna upāya banihi naht bātā* 'in any other way, nothing fruitful will result'.

(T. p. 190), *sapatka tumhāra bharata kai ānā* 'I take your oath and another of Bharata' (T. p. 174), *mohi taji ānahi barihi na bhōrē* 'she will surely not choose anybody other than me' (T. p. 61), *sunī dui bāta āna sō rānī* 'O queen, after having heard two words from another' (N. p. 62), *daraba jo āna kō* 'another's money' (N. p. 109); *pisuna parāya pāya kahi dēhī* 'backbiters who give out other's sin' (T. p. 222), *munihī mōka mana hātha parāē* 'owing to his infatuation, the sage's heart was in other's hands' (T. p. 61), *dēkhī na sakahī parāi bibhūti* 'cannot look at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), *jaba bhayeu parāvā* 'when it became another's' (N. p. 104).

§ 256.

kōi

direct animate

kōi, kāhu, kou

oblique

kāhu, kāhi, kehu, kāhuhi

direct inanimate

J. *kichu*, T. *kachu*, *kichu*, N. *kachu*, *kichu*, *kucha*

(a) direct animate—In Jāyasī the most common forms are *kōi* and *kāhū*; I have found only two instances of *kōū*. For instance: *na kōi rahā* 'nobody survived' (p. 5), *nā koi hoihai ohī kē rūpā* 'nobody will be like him' (p. 11), *asa jaga dāna na kāhū dīnhā* 'no one in the world has given such a gift' (p. 23), *sērasāhi sari pūja na kōū* 'no one has reached the equality of Sher Shah' (p. 23), *nayana bāka sari pūja na kōū* 'the eyes are charming, nothing equals (them)' (p. 174).

In Tulsīdās *kou* is frequently used while *kōi* and *kāhū* are less in use, e.g., *kou nṛpa hōu* 'anybody may become king' (p. 163), *dāru bicāru ki karai kou* 'does any one pay an attention to the wood?' (p. 8), *jasa karai na kōi* 'as nobody does' (p. 177), *kāhu na mohī kahi prathama janāvā* 'no one gave me an indication of it before' (p. 175).

In Nūr Muhammad *kou* and *kōi* both are frequently used while *kāhu* is less in use, e.g., *tehi sama kōu na āhi* 'there

is no one like him' (p. 1), *kou thārḥā hai dhyāna lagāḥ* 'some one is standing with fixed attention' (p. 16), *na kōpehu kōi* 'please do not, any one of you, be angry' (p. 4), *mōṭi kārḥa na pārai kōi* 'no one can draw the pearl out' (p. 17), *rasa sugandha kahā chārā kāhū* 'some one gave up taste (tasteful meal) and good smell' (p. 12).

(b) oblique—In Jāyasī the most general form is *kāhū* which is used with postpositions, e.g., *ohi na kāhu kai āsa nirāsā* 'he has neither hope nor despair from (of) any person' (p. 7), *kōi karai besāhanā kāhū kēra bikāi* 'some one was making a purchase while another's article was selling' (p. 56), *rini kāhū kara līnhesi kāḍhī* 'he borrowed money of some one' (p. 120). *kāhuhi* is used without postpositions, e.g., *kāhuhi bhōga bhuguti sukha sārā* 'to some one enjoyment of objects of pleasure and the best of happiness' (p. 7); there is only one instance of *kāhi* (*bāura karihai kāhi* '(he) will make some one mad' p. 132), and two instances of *kehu*, viz., *koi kehu pāsa āsa kai gavānā* 'some one has gone to some one with hope' (p. 130), *jaṭu na hōta asa bairī, kehu kāhū kai āsa* 'if there were not such an enemy, would any one have dependence on another?' (p. 129).

In Tulsīdās, only two forms *kāhu* and *kāhuhi* are found, the latter is always found without postpositions while the former is with postpositions except when it comes as accusative, e.g., *kāhuhi dōsa dēhu jani tātā* 'dear (son) do not blame any one' (p. 221), *sanamukha bimukha na kāhuhi kāū* '(it) is not against any one who comes before it' (p. 261), *apanē calata na āju lagi anabhala kāhu ka kīnha* 'as far as I could, I have never done harm to (of) any one till now' (p. 165), *tehi nisi nīda parī nahī kāhū* 'that night, no one had sleep' (p. 172).

In Nūr Muhammad, only *kāhū* is found and it is used with postpositions, e.g., *hai kāhū kō prēma biyōgī* '(he) is lovelorn of somebody' (p. 55), *jaga mō kāhū sātha* 'with anyone in this world' (p. 81).

(c) direct inanimate—For instance, Jāyasī: *katahū kathā kahai kichu kōi* 'somewhere, some one was reciting a story' (p. 59), *tasa jaga kichū na pāēū upama dēū ohi jōga* 'I have obtained nothing such in this world as could be compared with her' (p. 217);

Tulsī: *kou kichu kahai na kou kichu pūchā* 'no one said anything, nor did anyone ask anything' (p. 252), *kachu jāna na kōi* 'nobody knew anything' (p. 166), *kachu kahūi* 'I say something' (p. 167);

Nūr Muhammad: *jō kōū kachu lēvai cāhai* 'if any one wanted to take anything' (p. 9), *kachu na sunāeu bāta* 'did not say a word' (p. 26), *kichu upāya nahi āvai* 'no means have I' (p. 51), *kichu hamāra cintā hai tōhī* 'have you any anxiety for me?' (p. 84), *tapiya kahā rājā kachu sūjhā* 'the hermit said: O king, have you seen anything?' (p. 21).

§ 257.

saba

direct

saba

oblique

saba, sabahi

(a) direct—*maṅgala kalasa sajana saba lāgī* 'all began to arrange the auspicious kalasas (jars)' (T. p. 160), *nrpa saba rahahī krpā abhilāṣē* 'all the kings remain desirous of his favour' (T. p. 158), *saba sumirata hai tāhi* 'all that remembers him' (N. p. 1), *rasanā hōi rōma saba mōhī* 'if all my hair becomes tongue' (N. p. 2), *sabu pāyēū* 'obtained all' (T. p. 158), *karatēū jiu tana mana saba vārana* 'I would have sacrificed all—life, body and mind' (N. p. 3).

(b) oblique—in Jāyasī the oblique is found used with postpositions except *sabahi* used as accusative-dative, e.g., *saba kahā bhuguti rāti dina bāṭā* 'he gives enjoyment to every one, day and night' (p. 7), *vaha saba saṭi saba ohi saṭi baratā* 'all are knitted with him and he with all' (p. 10), *mādīra mādīra saba kē caupārī* 'there are sitting-halls in the houses of all' (p. 57), *jāvāta jiu saba kara bhakha-dātā*

'you are the giver of meals of all beings that are' (p. 107), *tā kara disiṭi sabahi upārāhī* 'his glance is on every one' (p. 7), *sabahi khiāvai āpu na khāi* 'he feeds all, but himself he does not eat' (p. 7).

In Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad *saba* is used with postpositions and *sabahi* (accusative-dative) without them, e.g., *saba kē ura abhilāṣu asa* 'such was the desire in everyone's heart' (T. p. 158), *sabahi rāmu priya* 'Rāma is dear to every one' (T. p. 158), *sabahi suhāi* 'if it is pleasant to all' (T. p. 164), *saba kahā sūdhī bāṭa calāvai* 'he puts everyone on the right path' (N. p. 9), *tehi sumirana mō sabahi anandā* 'by remembering Him, delight (comes) to everyone' (N. p. 56).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 258.

Aur

This pronoun expresses the sense of 'more', 'other', 'another (else)' and is constant in form in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. **Aur kar caṣiṛ** 'what more is wanted?', **thorrex manaiṛ hiāṛ haī Aur huāṛ** 'a few men are here, others are there', **Aur ariṛ haī** 'other (women) have come'.

(a) When used as an adjective it changes for gender and case as indicated in § 219. For instance: Lmp. **Aur, Aurī, Aurex, Auriz.**

(b) There are two other adjectives **paraiṛ** and **arṇ** used in the same sense of 'other'. For instance, Lmp. **paraiṛiṛ meṣārua kō nō deṛkhai kō caṣiṛ** 'one should not look at another's wife', **paraiṛex dīān sex kaunṛ paroiṛ janṛ** 'what business (have we) with another's property?', **ham arṇex gāzu kō gajex raṣiān** 'I had been to another village'.

§ 259. Lmp. koriz

It means 'some one', 'any one' and is constant in form, e.g., **koriz arwar hai, koriz ariṛ hai** 'some one (male or

female) has come', **kozi kə nə mairau** 'do not beat any one', **kozi nariz rafiāĩ** 'there were no people'.

(a) This does not change even as an adjective, e.g., **kozi: admiz** 'some man', **kozi: mešaruaz** 'some woman'.

(b) R.S. and L. have **kozi**, U., F., Br., R. **koruz** (**koršuz**), G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **keruz** (**keršuz**).

(c) Like interrogative inanimate **kaz** 'which thing?', indefinite inanimate **kuchū** direct and **kazšeu** oblique mean 'something, anything'; the form for this in Eastern dialects is **kuchuz** dir. For instance: Lmp. **ham kuchū nariz kišen** 'I did not do anything', **ham kazšeu se perčū bšari lišen** 'I filled my stomach with something.'

§ 260.

sab

It means 'all' and has one constant form for both the genders and cases, e.g., **sab kifini** 'all did it', **sab kaz khawaroz** 'feed all'. It does not change as an adjective also, e.g., **sab mešaruān se gaunāiz gawaroz** 'cause all the women to sing', **sab Admin se ham ser kozi matlab nariz** 'I have nothing to do with all men'.

(a) All the dialects have the same form **sab**. The Eastern dialects have an accusative-dative form **sabai** (emphatic **sabzai** or **sabzaij**).

C. ORIGIN.

§ 261. (a) The forms of **Aur**, **ain**, **paraiz**, mostly adjectives, are attested by Early Awadhi and go back to Skt. *apara*, *anya* and *pāra* (-*kāra*) respectively.

(b) The forms **kozi** (*kōi*), **koruz** (*kou*) and **keruz** all go back to OIA *kō'pi*. We find that instead of being elided the last vowel has been strengthened; this might be due to emphasis. This pronoun is always used emphatically corresponding to English 'anyone', 'not one' etc. **-uz** from *-pi*, *-vi* is not regular. It is decidedly on the analogy of Nom. sg. of the nouns. **keruz** is based on Mag. Nom. sg. *kē*.

(c) A distinction between animate and inanimate is maintained in this pronoun. **kichu** keeps the *-i* of *kim* while *kachu* and *kuchu* do not have it. The forms should be traced to some form of the pronoun *kim cid*. Probably it is *kācid*; cf. Aśoka *kici* and *kicchi*. Final *-n* is perhaps a particle (Chatterji, p. 845). See also Turner: Nep. Dic. under **kuchu**.

(d) **sAb** (E. Aw. *saba*) goes back to *sarva* and **sAbai** (E. Aw. *sabahi*) is the oblique form. The *-b* becomes long in emphasis and in other languages (e.g., Nepali) it becomes aspirated. The expected form is ***sar**ā**b**, however.

Compound Pronouns

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 262. The relative pronoun is combined with forms of *kōi*, *saba* with *kōi* and *aur* with *kōi*, e.g.,

Jāyasī : *saba kōū* 'everyone' (p. 123), *saba kichu* 'everything' (p. 11).

Tulsī : *jehi kēhī* 'to whomsoever' (p. 270), *jō kachu* 'whatsoever' (p. 158), *saba kou* 'everyone' (p. 170), *saba kāhū* 'to every one' (p. 176), *saba kēhī* 'to all' (p. 241), *auru kou* 'anyone else' (p. 187).

Nūr Muhammad : *jō kōi* 'whoever' (p. 15), *jō kou* 'whoever' (p. 74), *jō kucha* 'whatever' (p. 1), *jō kichu* 'whatever' (p. 56), *saba kāhū para* 'on everybody' (p. 8), *saba kōū* 'everyone' (p. 44).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 263. The relative pronoun is combined with **koiz** and **sAb** and **sAb** with **koiz**, e.g., Lmp. **sAb koiz** 'everyone', **jōz koiz** 'whoever', **jiz sAb arjex** 'all who came'. **sAb** is also added to personal pronouns, e.g., **ham sAb** 'we all', **tum sAb** 'you all', **ui sAb** 'they all'. **Aur** also is combined with **koiz** or **sAb**, e.g., **Aur koiz** 'anybody else', **Aur sAb** 'all else'.

(a) The dialects have corresponding forms. For instance: Fy. **jer keur khizsar jarnat hori ter kaffai** 'whoever may be knowing a tale should relate (it)', P. **JAWAN kuchṛ**, Br. **joṛ kouz**, R. **sab kuchau**.

Pronominal Adjectives

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 264. The texts have pronominal adjectives of manner, quantity and number based on the demonstrative, relative-correlative and interrogative pronouns. For instance:

(a) of manner

Jāyasī: *asa diyā* 'such a lamp' (p. 78), *asi kathā* 'such a tale' (p. 78), *asi jā kari dasā* 'whose condition is such' (p. 55), *jasa amcala jhīnai mahā diyā, tasa ūjiāra dekhāvai hiyā* 'as the lamp under a thin linen, similarly shines the light in the heart' (p. 78), *jasa cāda* 'as the moon' (p. 24), (*vaha*) *aisa rahā* 'he was such' (p. 11), *aisī bithā raini saba jāgai* 'she wakes for the whole night owing to such a disease' (p. 378).

Tulsī: *abhilāṣu asa* 'such a desire' (p. 158), *asi nīli* 'such a polity' (p. 161), *tasi mati jasi bhābī* 'as the fate, so the thoughts' (p. 164), *kasi kubēsātā phābī* 'what manner of bad appearance came up' (p. 167), *aisehu kājā* 'even in such a cause' (p. 173), *aiseu bacana kaṭhōra suni* 'even on hearing such harsh words' (p. 183), *tulasī, jasi bhavitavyatā taisī milai sahāya* 'O Tulsī, one gets such help as the ordination is' (p. 71), *chabi jaisī . . . sōha na taisī* 'as the beauty is . . . so it does not shine' (p. 8).

Nūr Muhammad: *asa sapanā mat dēkhetū* 'I saw such a dream' (p. 5), *jasa pūjia hōi* 'as the capital be' (p. 30), *acaraja aisa* 'such a marvellous thing' (p. 5), *hērahu aisiya rānī* 'find out such a queen' (p. 117), *jaisō rahai tayasa*

puni hōi 'as (it) was so it will become' (p. 33), *nahṭ jānahṭ sira parihaī kaisō*, *khēlahu hōi khēlanā jaisō* 'it is not known what manner (of fate) will befall us, let us have (such) a play as (we want)' (p. 53).

(b) of quantity

Jāyasī : *etanā bōla* 'so much speech' (p. 555), *etanī bōli* 'in this much speech' (p. 289), *duijahṭ jōti kahā jaga ōī* 'where in the world, is there that much light on the second date?' (p. 168), *dukha tētā* 'that much of misery' (p. 158), *itē rūpa bhai kaniā* 'that girl was of so much beauty' (p. 80).

Tulsī : *etanā kahata* 'while he said so much' (p. 232), *janu etania birañci karatūtī* 'as if this much was the whole capacity of the creator' (p. 158), *etanai kaheu bharata sana jāi* 'say only this much to Bharata' (p. 218), *ētehu dukha* 'even on so much misery' (p. 221), *kahi jāta na jētā* 'as much (love) as cannot be described' (p. 253), *kētika bātā* 'what amount of regard' (p. 256), *kētika bārā* 'what delay' (p. 161).

Nūr Muhammad : *hai ētō upakāra* 'there is so much of good deed' (p. 61), *ētō sugharāi para* 'on this much of good finish' (p. 92), *dukha jētō pāvā* 'as much misery as (it) got' (p. 67), *jētō . . . tētō* 'so much . . . as' (p. 52), *ketikō prīta* 'how so much affection' (p. 51), *jata . . . jōgū*, *tata . . . bhōgū* 'as much *yōga*, so much of enjoyment' (p. 169).

(c) of number

Jāyasī : *rakata ka būda kayā jata ahahī* 'as many drops of blood as are in the body' (p. 577), *jāvata kēsa rōva pakhi pakhā* 'as many hair (on the head and on the body), birds and feathers as (there are in this world)' (p. 13), *ehi dharatī asa kētana līlē* 'this Earth has swallowed how many such (parrots)' (p. 110).

Tulsī : *raghupati-carana-upāsaka jētē* 'as many devotees of the feet of the Lord of Raghus (as there are)'

(p. 12), *saila himācala ādika jētē, citrakūṭa jasū gāvahṛ tētē* 'as many mountains, Himalayas, etc., as there are, all of them sing the glory of Citrakūṭa' (p. 211), *dēkhē jītē, hatē hama kētē* 'how many did we see, conquer and kill?' (p. 301).

Nūr Muhammad: *sundaratā kō lacchana jētē, pyārī cērē tērē tētē* 'as many characteristics of beauty as there are, all those are thy servants, my dear' (p. 91), *jētika ahaṭ kāya ruda aṅgū, vētika karahū tāla miradaṅgū* 'as many noises as there are in the limbs of the body, I shall make them offer tempo to the drum' (p. 34), *jaita phūla phala patriya cāhī, tāvata āgama pura mō āhī* 'as many flowers, fruits and leaves as are required, all those are in Āgamapura' (p. 14), *jāvata jōgī rahā samājā, tāvata kīnhā prēmīya rājā* 'as many Yogis as were in the assembly, the king made all of them lovers' (p. 22).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 265. Awadhi has pronominal adjectives based on the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns. These are of manner (quality), of quantity and of number.

(a) Adjective of manner

Lmp. **ais** 'of this sort', **was** 'of that sort', **jas** ... **tais** 'such as', **kais** 'of which sort?'.

S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp. B. has **as** 'of this sort', **was**, **tas** 'of that sort', **jas** 'as', **kas** 'of which sort?'. Similarly G., Sl. and Fy. agree with Lmp.

(b) Adjective of quantity

Lmp. **etrax** or **atrax** 'so much', **otrax** 'that much', **jetrax tetrax** 'as much as', **ketrax** 'how much?'.

S., L., U., F., Br., Fy. and Sl. agree with Lmp. The latter two with B. and G. have **etanar** 'so much', **otanar** or **tetanar** 'that much', **jetanar** 'as much', and **ketanar** 'how much' (besides **katik**).

R. has, besides the Lmp. set, **etArax** 'so much', **wotArax** 'that much', **jetArax tetArax** 'as much as', **ketArax** 'how much?'.

(c) Adjective of number

Lmp. **etrez** 'so many', **otrez** 'so many', **jetrez tetrez** 'as many as', **ketrez** 'how many?'.

S., L., U., F., Br. agree with Lmp.; B., G., Fy. and Sl. have **etAnax**, **otAnax**, **jetAnax tetAnax** and **ketAnax**. R. has, besides the Lmp. set, **etArex wotArex**, **jetArex tetArex**, **ketArex**. (All the dialects have **jaī** 'as many', **taī** 'so many', **kaī** 'how many' which do not change for gender or case).

The above adjectives change for case and gender as shown in § 219. For instance:

Lmp. **Aiser din maz gñar baiñhau** 'sit at home on such a day', **waīsi kitaxbphiri naxiz derkhī pariz** 'never was a book of that sort seen again', **etrez ārtā sē hamazri bñurkh naxiz jaxiz** 'my hunger will not be satisfied with so much flour', **ham otriz roxtiz kharjen** 'I ate that much bread', **tum ketraz kaxmā kifleu** 'how much work did you do?', **tumñarex ketrez larikax au ketriz laūñijax haī** 'how many sons and daughters have you got?', **jetrez larikax tumñarex haī tetrez hamarex** 'I have as many sons as you have', **jetriz laūñija hamarex haī tetriz kori kē naxiz** 'no one has so many daughters as I have'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 266. (a) of manner—we have two varieties of forms (1) in **-As** (*asa*) and (2) in **Ais** (*aīsa*). The latter go back to **-dṛśa** forms of OIA, e.g., *yādrśa* > *jāīsa* > *jaisa* > **jaīs**. The former are later and simpler formations.

(b) of quantity—there are three varieties of forms (1) in **-traz** (E. Aw. *-eta*), (2) **-tanax** and (3) **-tarax**.

In Sanskrit there were *-yat* adjectives which in the Prakrits became *-anta*. All these adjectives go back to those, the (1) forms directly while (2) and (3) by later additions of *-nax* and *-rax*.

(c) of number—the plural form of *-yat* adjectives was used in Sanskrit also for denoting number. We find the *Ardha-tatsama* forms of the same in *jāvāta*, *tāvāta* of Early Awadhi. **jai**, **kai**, etc., represent Sanskrit *yati*, *kati*, etc.

CHAPTER V

POSTPOSITIONS¹

Introductory

§ 267. The decay of old case-forms and the growth of postpositions goes side by side in a language. The history of postpositions in IA is complicated because of the fact that as these are used very often and in a variety of senses, as Bloch pointed out (Bloch: *Langue Marathe* § 197), they become semantically weak and undergo greater phonetic modification than ordinary words. There is another factor to be taken into consideration; as soon as the old auxiliary words seem to fail to indicate the required meaning, fresh words are borrowed from the literary dialects. This is

¹ What is a postposition? Any morphemic word which is generally put after other words and gives a meaning with those words only, it has no independent meaning of its own without reference to those words. It is different from terminations in as much as it does not undergo changes of form by incorporation with the previous words. If we adopt this as a characteristic of a postposition, we should not regard such words as have an independent meaning still, as postpositions.

I prefer to retain the word postposition in spite of a suggestion from Dr. Grahame-Bailey (B.S.O.S., V page 515) to use 'preposition' because the words in question are most generally post- and not pre-, as also because of the fact that I believe that the word 'postposition' has come to have a settled meaning, and too frequent a change in scientific terminology and symbols is apt to injure the science. For the same reason, I retain the terms 'direct' and 'oblique' in preference to 'prepositional' or 'postpositional'.

clear from the fact that we have in modern Bengali a number of modern loan-words for this purpose (*vide* Chatterji § 509). It is also clear from such words as **khartir** and **bidfi** in Modern Awadhi. This brings about two results :

(1) It is possible that a fresh loan-word and its ordinary form may both be employed at one time in the sense exactly the same and thence-forward may undergo common phonetic changes. We find in Tulsīdās *maha* (possibly from *semi-tatsama* **madha*—cf. Av. *maḍa*) and *mājha* (< *madhya*-) and to-day we have their successors **mar** and **mafiar**.

(2) A loan-word has a certain hesitation about it in phonetic adaptation in the language and may have different developments in different dialects. For instance Lmp. **khartir** (Per. *khāṭir*) is found in North Gonda as **khArtir**. The change from *-t-* to *-rt-* is explained only by the theory of hesitation.

This accounts for the variety of the forms of the same postpositions.

§ 268. Jāyasī and Tulsī do not generally employ postpositions. The noun or pronoun in its base form or in the case form expresses the required sense of case-relationship. There has been a gradual development of the use of postpositions as is shown by the following statistics.

In Jāyasī in the first two hundred lines there are 91 such nouns as would require postpositions according to the practice in Modern Awadhi, but we find postpositions employed only after 24 nouns, *i.e.*, after about 26 p. c. of the nouns. In Tulsī who follows closely in time, there are 184 nouns (in the first three hundred lines) which would require postpositions according to modern usage, but only 45 are followed by postpositions, or about the same percentage as in Jāyasī. But when we come to Nūr Muhammad who composed his work after about two hundred years (1157 A.H.) from Jāyasī (947 A.H., 1540 A.D.), we find that in the first two hundred lines of his work, there are 175 such

words as would require postpositions after them according to the practice of Modern Awadhi and we find postpositions employed after 137 nouns, *i.e.*, a little over 78 p. c. ; with this compare the percentage of Jāyasī and Tulsī (26 p. c.). Nūr Muhammad thus comes very near Modern Awadhi (compare also § 270).

A postposition in Modern Awadhi is used generally to denote all case-relationships except the Nominative. It is found after the oblique case, if one exists, otherwise after the direct, *e.g.*, **ra:ja se**, **ra:jan se**, **sab mai**, **acche se**, **khari me**.

§ 269. In the old texts we find postpositions employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns. For instance in Jāyasī in the first three hundred lines there are 96 pronouns which would require postpositions and these are employed after 33 pronouns. The percentage of the use of postpositions with pronouns is thus 34 as against 26 of nouns. Similarly the percentage of the first three hundred lines of Tulsī (61 : 27) is 44 after pronouns as against 24 of nouns. Not only this. Further we find that there is no case of *-hi* form of the noun (in any of the three texts) with a postposition but there are 16 (in Jāyasī), 7 (in Tulsī) and 9 (in Nūr Muhammad) cases of *-hi* form of the pronoun with a postposition. Thus even such cases as appear distinctly significant (without postposition) as regards noun have lost their case-significance as regards pronouns.

This practice is intelligible. The pronouns on account of their more frequent use become weak semantically sooner than the nouns and thus require auxiliary words. Even in the Prakrit stage we find many alternative forms of pronouns and a greater confusion in case-endings than in the case of nouns. A frequent use of pronouns can be exemplified by usages of Modern Hindi. The pronoun comes first at the speaker's tongue. For instance: one generally asks **Arer wofi lex arjer** 'Hullo, have you brought that?', and only

when the person spoken to asks 'what?' that the article is named.

The earlier and more frequent use of postpositions after pronouns explains the incorporation of the postposition in pronouns earlier than in nouns.

Modern Awadhi has **moṛr** 'mine', **toṛr** 'thine', **hamāṛr** 'ours', **tumāṛr** 'yours', **paṛaṛr** 'another's', where the genitive postposition (*kara*) has been inextricably incorporated in the pronoun, but there is no case of a noun incorporating it.

§ 270. As we see above, some of the postpositions have undergone so much phonetic change that they are hardly recognisable as derivatives of particular words, *e.g.*, **mo** < *madhya*, **po** < *pakṣē*. But if we remember the fact that they are put in a very frequent use, we can see the possibility of such a violent sound-change. With some of the postpositions, it is not possible to find the evidence of literary documents for their predecessor-forms. But it may be noted that the auxiliary words being a popular device would be recognized only later in literary works.

Accusative-Dative¹

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 271. J. and T. generally use the oblique case in *-hi*, *-ḥi* (or *-i*) to express this sense, but sometimes they employ postpositions. These are never found after the oblique in *-hi*, *-ḥi*, *-i*.

(a) J. *kaha*, *e.g.*, *saba kaha* 'to all' (p. 6), *jaga kaha* 'to the world' (p. 17), *sunai kaha* 'for bearing' (p. 12).

(b) T. generally has *kaha* (*e.g.*, *tinha kaha* 'to them', p. 19), *kahū* (*tinha kahū* 'to them', p. 7), *kāhu* (*e.g.*, *saba kāhu* 'to all', p. 19), but sometimes *kaṭi* (*tuma kaṭi* 'to you',

¹ The postpositions for these two cases have the same forms in Awadhi.

p. 90), *kō* (*sabahi kō nikō* 'good to all people', p. 17) and even *ka* (*tulsi ka* 'to Tulsi', p. 17).

NOTE:—*kahā* and *kahū* sometimes appear without nasalisation. An example of direct object—*prabhu kahā cinhā* 'recognised the master.'

(c) N. generally has *kahā* (e.g. *sūraja kahā* 'to the sun', p. 3) and rarely *kō* or *kō* (*dvāra kō* 'to the door,' p. 5, *nibala kō* 'to the weak', p. 8).

NOTE:—This *kō* or *kō* is, I believe, *kau* or *kau* and has been wrongly transcribed in the Dēvanāgarī version of the manuscript which is in Persian characters where *ک* can be read as either *ko* or *kau*.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 272. Lakhimpurī has *kō* and *kar*. For instance :

razmur gopar kō marisī 'Rāmū beat Gopāl'—Accusative, **gopar kō kuchū khari kō deru** 'give something to Gopāl to eat'—Dative. The postposition is not employed after inanimate object.

§ 273. Of the two the long form (*kar*) is used after

(1) monosyllables containing

(a) a final long vowel, e.g., **jir kar**

(b) a short vowel, followed or not by a consonant, e.g.,
gfir kar

(2) dis-syllables containing two short syllables each ending in a vowel, e.g. **kefi kar**.

The short form (*kō*) is used after all other words, **corr kō**, **mar d kō**, **gfir kō**¹, **argi kō**, **nauwa kō**.

NOTE 1. If the last vowel of a word preceding the short form of the postposition is long, it is pronounced short (e.g., **gfirkar se** > **gfirka se**, **argi se** > **argi se**).

¹ Professor Bloch suggests that the differentiation probably happened at a time when final short vowel, -a, -i, etc., was actually spoken in **mar d** (-a), **gfir** (-a), **gfir** (-a).

NOTE 2. If the word after which a long postposition is used, is lengthened by adding a suffix or otherwise, the long postposition can no longer be used (*e.g.*, **gfiar kar** 'to the house', but **gfiarafiē kō**, 'to the house only', **ir kar** 'to this', but **irma kō**, 'of this').

These rules apply to all sets of long and short postpositions in such dialects as possess them.

§ 274. S. and Western L. have **kō** and **kar**, U. and F. only **kar**, B. and Bgh. have **kō**, **kar** and **kaiṣṣā** and partly use **kai** in the East; G. has **kō**, **kar** but **kaiṣṣā** is found in specimens of the North and **ker** in the specimens of the East—**kar** or **kā** is, however, the most common. Fy. and Sl. have **kar** but Fy. specimens show **kai** also (**sab wāṣi kai garijazwai lager** 'all began to abuse him') and S. E. Sl. **ker** (**raxt ker** 'at night'); Br. and R. have **kar** and **kaiṣṣā** while P. and A. have **kar** generally but **ker** in the Eastern parts.

NOTE:—The dative-sense 'for' is expressed by such words as **khartir** etc. (See below § 286).

Genitive¹

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 275. The oblique in *-hi*, etc., is seldom used to denote this case; the noun-stem generally with postpositions and sometimes without it is used.

(a) J. has *kara* (fem. *kari*), *kēra* (fem. *kēri*) elongated sometimes to *kērā* (*kēri*) and *ka* (*kā*), *kē* and *kai*.

Of these *kara* (*kari*) is the usual one and generally does change for the gender of the following noun, *e.g.*, *haṭi saba kabitanha kara pachalagā* 'I am the follower of all poets' (p. 33), *sōnai kara saba puhumi akāsū* 'the floor and the roof both (were) of gold' (p. 73), *dharama pantha kara*

¹ The postpositions for this case agree with the following noun, pronoun, etc., in gender and case and not with the preceding noun, etc.

karahī bakhānū 'are making the elucidation of the path of virtue' (p. 59), *tā kari disīfi* 'his glance' (p. 7). *kēra* is used sometimes, e.g., *dirisa gosāl kēra* 'the sight of the Lord' (p. 27), *sulēmā kēri agūṭhī* 'the ring of Suleman' (p. 17).

ka (*kā*) singular direct and *kē* singular oblique or plural is also frequently used. For instance:

nisi ka bichōhā 'separation of (at) night' (p. 50), *sabhā ka rūpa* 'the appearance of the assembly' (p. 72), *ūca gadha tākā* 'his fort was high' (p. 61), *mādīra mādīra saba kē caupārī* 'everyone had sitting-halls in every house' (p. 67), *duhū kē bhāra* 'by the burden of both' (p. 25), *pāna phūla kē rahahī adhārī* 'subsist only on leaves and fruits' (p. 75).

kai is generally used with feminine nouns as in Tulsīdās. For instance:

kēlā kai ghaurī 'clusters of bananas' (p. 52), *gharī rahāṭa kai* 'wheel of the water-mill' (p. 52), *siṃghala kai hāṭā* 'market of Singhala' (p. 56), *bāsuki kai pīṭhī* 'the back of Vāsuki' (p. 61), *gāḍhē kai sāthī* 'friend in need', *paurī navau bajara kai sāṅī* 'all the nine thresholds are made of cement' (p. 63), *laṅka dīpa kai silā* 'the stone of Laṅkadīpa' (p. 47).

(b) T. has *kara* (fem. *kari*) *kēra* (elongated to *kērā* particularly at the end of lines), fem. *kēri* (*kēri*), obl. singular and plural dir. and obl. *kērē*; *ka* (elongated to *kā* at times) as masculine dir. and *kē* (*kē*) masculine sing. obl. and plural dir. and obl., *kī* (*ki*) fem., rarely *kō* (masculine singular) and *kai* generally feminine. The distinction of gender is generally maintained but sometimes in the *kara* set masculine postposition is used before feminine nouns. For instance:

santanha kara sātha 'the company of the good' (p. 22), *jā kari tat dāsī* 'whose slave thou art' (p. 81), but also *jāma kara dhārī* 'the stream of Yama' (p. 45), *saba kara bidā* 'the departure of all' (p. 49), *tehi kara punya* 'the merit of his' (p. 45).

In the *kēra* set the distinction of gender is maintained throughout. For instance :

mitra tāpasa nṛpa kērā 'friend of the hermit-king' (p. 75), *bhṛḡupati kēri garaba-garuāi* 'the height of the pride of the lord of Bhṛḡus' (p. 111), *carana kamala bandatū tinha kērē* 'their lotus-feet I bow down to' (p. 10).

In the set *ka, kī, kē*, the gender is distinguished. For instance :

jō jehi khāni ka 'whosoever was of whichever source' (p. 3), *ati hita saba hī kā* 'very beneficial to all' (p. 97), *kathā raghubara kī* 'the story of Raghubara' (p. 7), *ugharahā bimala bilōcana hī kē* 'the clear eyes of the heart open up' (p. 3), *mana jā kē* 'in whose mind' (p. 59), *rāma kō nāma* 'the name of Rāma' (p. 15).

kai is generally followed by a feminine noun but sometimes by masculine also, e.g., *dasā sambhu kai* 'Śambhu's condition' (p. 27), *bhagavanta kai bhagati* 'the devotion to (of) the Lord' (p. 25), *nārada kai upadēsa* 'the advice of Nārada' (p. 43), *dui kai cāri māgi maku lēhū* 'you may beg for four (boons) instead of two' (p. 168), *rāma janama kai hētu anēkā* 'various causes of the birth of Rāma' (p. 56). With the last may be compared *rāma janama kara hētu* 'the cause of Rāma's birth' (p. 68), where the same word is preceded by a masculine postposition. In *praśna umā kai* 'Uma's question' (p. 52), the feminine *kai* is all right as *praśna* (masculine in Sanskrit) is treated of as feminine by Tulsīdās throughout his work¹.

(c) N. has *kō* masculine sg. (sometimes *ka* and *kā* also), *kē* masculine singular and plural dir. and obl., *kī* (*ki*), *kai* feminine, *kara* masculine sg. dir., *kērā* masculine singular dir., *kēri* feminine, and *kērē* masculine sg. obl. and plural

¹ T. has once *kṛta* used as a postposition, viz., *jinha kṛta mahā mōha mada pānā* 'those who are under the influence of infatuation' (p. 54).

dir. and obl. The distinction of genders is maintained generally. For instance :

jaga kō rājā 'the king of the world' (p. 1), *phulavārī kā dvārā* 'the door of the flower-garden' (p. 6), *jehi ka bakhāna* 'whose description' (p. 2), *sapunē kī bāta* 'the talk of the dream' (p. 11), *pahilī rāta kī mūrata* 'the image of the first night' (p. 10), *indrāvati kai gīu* 'the neck of Indrāvati' (p. 5), *tina kara nāū* 'his name' (p. 3), *sāgara bhau kērā* 'the ocean of Bhava' (p. 2), *hāṭa mahīpati kērī* 'the market of the king' (p. 9), *jaga kērē cērē* 'the disciple of the world' (p. 2).

Sometimes, however, the distinction of gender is missed :

adharama kō jara mūla 'the root of absence of duty' (p. 9), *tapī kara bāha* 'the arm of the hermit' (p. 4), *tākō mūrata* 'her image' (p. 13), *tā kī mātā* 'on her forehead' (p. 18).

NOTE.—*kō* should be read as *kau* [see note to § 271 (c)].

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 176. Lakhīmpurī has **kō**, **kai**; **kar**, **keir**—masc. dir. sg., **kē**, **kez**, **kerex** masc. obl. sg. and pl. dir. and obl., **kī**, **kiz**, **keiriz** fm. dir. and obl. For instance :

gopāl kō (or **keir**) **larika: mari gar** 'Gopāl's son has died', **gopāl kē** (or **kerex**) **larika kō marrinj** 'they beat Gopāl's son', **gopāl kē carriu larika: jiatj haī** 'Gopāl's all the four sons are living', **gopāl kī laūrijar** 'Gopāl's daughter'.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have no short forms **kō** and **kī** and **kē**. B. is like Lmp., but has **kaj** in Eastern specimens; G. does not use **keir** but **kar** is found in specimens; it uses **kaj** very generally. Fy. possesses **kar**, **kiz** but generally uses **kar** forms (**o kariz phirak, ke karer sarthez, bars:arfi keiri biṭijar**). It also uses **kaj** mostly before feminine nouns. Sl. uses **kar** and **kaj** generally

irrespective of the gender (**un kar meṣṭaruaz, okarex hiāz, un kaj khopariz, un kaj likhaz, un kaj din**). Br. like Lmp. distinguishes gender and has the same postpositions. Similarly R. (**kjarr** for **keir**, however) P. and A. generally use **kar, kez** and **kaj**. Bgh. has **keir**, masc. dir. **ke**, masc. obl. **kez**, fem. dir. **kiz**, obl. **kai**.

Accusative-Dative-Genitive

C. ORIGIN

§ 277. The postpositions for these three cases are put together for derivation. We have:

Modern Awadhi **kō, kar (kāz), kaiṣṭāz, kai** and **kar, keir**.

Early Awadhi **kahā, kahū, kāhū, kaū, kō (kō)** and **kara, kēra, kā, kē, kai, kṛta**.

These go back (1) to some forms of **kṛ** and (2) to **kakṣa**.

(a) For **kō, kar** and obl. **kez**, the best suggestion is to derive them from **kṛta**, (**kṛtaka**) which is once found in Tulsīdās in this sense [see footnote § 275 (b)]. **kez** dir. in the Eastern dialects of Modern Awadhi is the **Māgadhī** (Nom. sg.) form of the same word. **kiz** and **kai** are the feminine forms.

But **-ṛ-** normally becomes **-i-** and here we have it as **-ā-**. Is it because of a peculiar treatment in a loan-word?

(b) **kar** (fm. **kari**) is derived from **kāraka** and **keir (keirri, keiriz)** from **kārya, kāryaka**. The later derivation requires an epenthesis which occurs already in Apabhraṃśa: **kārya > kāyara > kaira**. We have such a development in a number of words, however, and we should remember, that this was a loan-word.

(c) Modern Awadhi **kaiṣṭāz** and Early Awadhi **kahā, kahū, kāhū, kaū, kō** go back to **kakṣa**. In **kaiṣṭāz**, we see the transference of aspiration to the last syllable. We should suppose **kaiṣṭāz < kakṣyaka** (cf. **paṣṭāz** and **maṣṭāz**) or we may derive it as Aw. **kahā + iyā**.

A possible derivation of these *-h-* forms of the post-position was from *kr̥* (*kr̥ta* etc.) by attributing inter-vocalic *-h-* to the device of avoiding hiatus (Bloch, pp. 31 and 182). But the long *ā* in *kāhū* and *-kh-* in Old Bengali *kakhu* (Chatterji, p. 760) are insuperable difficulties.¹

Instrumental-Ablative²

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 278. The oblique in *-hi*, *-h̥*, *-i* is not generally used to denote this sense; the noun-stem with or without post-positions is used.

(a) J. has *sō*, *saū*, *bhai*, *tē*, *taṭ*, *sēti*, *huta* (*huti*) and *cāhi*. Of these *saū* is most common, e.g., *aratha sō* 'with meaning' (p. 127), *cāri basērē saū caṛhai sala saū caṛhai jo pāra* 'he who is allowed to truthfully take four days to get up to it' (p. 63), *saba saū* 'from all' (p. 10), *bhai (āchah̥ sadā sugandha bhai* 'are always with good smell', p. 53). *taṭ* is generally used in comparison, *ēka ēka taṭ rūpa bakhānī* 'one famous for beauty more than another' (p. 75), *chārah̥ taṭ* 'from ashes' (p. 5), *pēma tē* 'with love' (p. 348), *rājā sēti* '(talked) with the king' (p. 310), *naraka sitē* 'from hell' (p. 337). *cāhi* also shows comparison, e.g. *eka eka cāhi ēka eka baī* 'one even stronger than another' (p. 69), *laṅkā cāhi ūca gaḍha* 'the fort higher than Laṅkā even' (p. 61). *huta* denotes either 'from' (*uḥhē puhumi huti* 'rose from the Earth', p. 40), or 'through', e.g., *ohi huta dēkhai pāetū darasa gosāṭ kēra* 'through him I was able to have the sight of the Lord' (p. 27).

(b) T. has *sana* (sometimes *sanu* and *sō*), *tē* (sometimes as *tē*, *taṭ*), *sē* and *sī*.

Of these *sana* is the most common and indicates both the instrumental and ablative meaning. For instance: *sō mō sana kahi jāta na* 'that cannot be said by me' (p. 4), *saī*

¹ Cf. also Sindhī *-khē*

² The postpositions for these two cases do not differ in form.

sana prīṭi 'love with Satī' (p. 29), *sivā sana bhākhā* 'spoke to Śivā' (p. 20), *gura sana kiē durāva* 'by keeping the secret from the teacher' (p. 25), *muni sana bidā māgi* 'having obtained permission (to depart) from the sage' (p. 26).

tē generally indicates the sense of 'from' and 'than', e.g., *tehi tē kachu guna dōṣa bakhānē* 'because of that I have described a few merits and demerits' (p. 5), *ēka tē ēkā* 'some more than the others' (p. 28).

sē (masc.) and *sī* (fem.) indicate likeness only, e.g., *rāhu sē* 'like Rāhu' (p. 4), *ramā sī* 'like Ramā' (p. 18). Sometimes *sō* is used in this sense, e.g., *sītānātha sō* 'like the husband of Sītā' (p. 17).

(c) N. has *sō* (sometimes *saū* or *sō*), *tē* (sometimes *tē*), *hutē* (sometimes *hutē*), *sētē* and *sē*.

Of these *sō* is the most common and expresses both the instrumental and ablative senses, e.g., *dāyā sō* 'with compassion' (p. 2), *jīya sō* 'with heart' (p. 3), *nibarana sabarai saū dukha pāvā* 'the weak obtained misery from (at the hands of) the strong' (p. 2).

tē is less common. For instance: *jībha tē* 'with the tongue' (p. 3), *cahū disa tē* 'from all the four directions' (p. 3).

hutē means 'by reason of', 'through', e.g., *bhā tehi bacana hutē saṁsārā* 'the Universe came to be through that Word', *bacana hutē yaha jagata mō kīrati paragaṭa āhi* 'by reason of the Word, the fame is flashing in this world' (p. 5), *prēma hutē dōū kahā dīnhā alakha milāya* 'the Invisible united the two because of their love' (p. 3).

sētē is comparatively rare. For instance: *dāyā sētē* 'with compassion' (p. 4), *haū hīnā vidyā budhi sētē* 'I am bereft of knowledge and wisdom' (p. 4).

sē is unusual, e.g., *paragaṭa hōi tahā sē sōi* 'he comes out from there' (p. 10).

NOTE:—*sō* or *sō* should be read as *saū* or *saū* [see note to § 271 (c)].

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 279. Lakhimpurī has **sę** and **ser**, e.g., **ur ham kar dāṇḍa sę marisī** 'he beat me with a stick', **bardar sę būrdīr girī** 'drops (of rain) fell from the cloud'; sometimes **sener**, e.g., **karīser sener** 'with what?'. S. and L. have **tę**, **ter** besides **sę**, **ser** and also **sener**, **tener**. U. and F. have **ser** and **ter** (sometimes **ber** and **bher**). B. has **sę**, **ser** and **setir**, also **terner**. G. has **ser** and **sertir** in specimens of the North. Fy. and Sl. have only **ser**, Br. has **ser** and **ter** and sometimes uses **kāifā** also in an instrumental sense (**wāfi kāifā anarj lai arjer** 'with that (money) brought the corn'). R. has **ter**, **ternir**, P. **ser**, **señir** and **señer**, A. generally **ser**, Bgh. **ser**, **ter**.

P. expresses the sense of 'than' by **lager** (see below § 286) also, e.g., **tau hījā: lager majer mar rāfiab** 'then I shall be better off (there) than here'.

NOTE:—The idea of 'with' indicating company is expressed by some such word as **sangh**, **sarther** (see below § 286).

C. ORIGIN

§ 280. Mod. Aw. **sę**, **ser**, **tę**, **ter**, **sener** **terner**, **setir**, **santir**, **senir**, **ber**, **bher**.

E. Aw. **sō**, **saū**, **sana**, **sanu**, **sā** (**sī**), **sēlī**, **tē** (**tē**, **taī**), **bhai**, **hūto**, **hūtē** (**hutē**) and **cāhi**, **kari**.

Of these Mod. Aw. **sę**, **ser**, **señir** probably go back to *sahitēna* and **sertir**, E. Aw. **sēlī** to *santakēna* (cf. Pāli *santakō*, e.g., *parasantakō* 'belonging to another') *anta > ē*, possibly influenced by *sē*; while E. Aw. **sō**, **saū**, **sana**, **sanu** to *samaḥ* and *samēna*; **ber** **bher**, **bhai** are derivable from the absolutive of *bhū*. E. Aw. **sā**, **sī** in the sense of 'like' has a modern correspondent in Hindustani usage **muji sar** 'like me' (**muji sir** feminine) etc. and should go back to *sama* 'equal'. Mod. Aw. **tę**, **ter**, **terner** and E. Aw. **tē** (**tē**, **taī**) are probably connected with *tan*—*tatēna*.

hūta, *hūtē* (*hūtē*) have correspondents in *hunto*, *hunte* in the Apabhraṃśa and are connected with $\sqrt{bhū}$ —**honto* Mg. *hontē*, or **hontēna*.

cāhi is connected with $\sqrt{cāh}$ —‘to desire’, ‘to wish’, and is the absolutive form of the root. Similarly *kari* is the absolutive of \sqrt{kar} —‘to do’.

Locative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 281. In Jāyasī and Tulsī the oblique *-ē* and *-hi* etc. is quite frequently used to express the locative sense. Otherwise the noun-stem with or without the postpositions is used.

(a) J. has *māha* and *māhā* generally (sometimes *mājha*, *māha* and *mājhiārā*) for ‘in’ and *para*, *ūpara*, *pāhā* and *poi* generally and *uparāhī* sometimes for ‘on, over’. For instance :

bīju tehi māhā ‘the lightning in that’ (p. 2), *nakhataṇha māhā* ‘in the stars’, *saba māha* ‘in all’ (p. 75), *tinka māha* ‘in them’ (p. 75); *ghara mājhiārā* ‘in the house’ (p. 232), *jaṭnā mājha* ‘in the Jamunā’ (p. 164); *khaḍa khaḍa ūpara* ‘above every part’ (p. 74), *gaṛha ūpara tāī* ‘upto the above (of) the fort’ (p. 63), *śisa uparāhī* ‘over the head’ (p. 70).

(b) T. has *māha* (*maha*), *māhū* (*mahu*), *māhī* (*mahi*) generally and *mājha* (*mājhā*), *mājhārī* and *madhya* sometimes for ‘in’ and *para* for ‘on’, and *tara* ‘below.’ For instance :

chana māha ‘in a moment’ (p. 47), *raghubatnsinha māha* ‘amongst the descendants of Raghu’ (p. 108), *bhōga māhū* ‘in enjoyment’ (p. 12), *trētā juga māhī* ‘in the Trētā age’ (p. 26), *jaga mājhā* ‘in the world’ (p. 221), *tinka taru-baranha madhya* ‘in (amongst) those good trees’ (p. 249), *muni-maṇḍalā madhya* ‘in company of sages’ (p. 250); *dīna para* ‘on the pōor’ (p. 3), *aṭanha para* ‘on the upper floors’ (p. 149), *sindhu mājhārī* ‘in the whole ocean’ (p. 78), *milehī mājha* ‘in the middle of the process of

obtaining' (p. 175); *sura-taru tara* 'under the tree of the gods' (p. 5).

(c) N. has *mahā* (*māha*, *māhā*, *māhī*, *māhū*) usually and *mō* quite frequently and *mājhāra*, *mē*, and *ma* rarely for 'in', *para* usually, *ūpara* frequently and *uparāhā* (*uparāhī*) sometimes for 'on, above' and *tara*, *tarē* for 'under'. For instance :

gū mahā 'in the neck' (p. 5), *bārī māha* 'in the garden' (p. 5), *dou hāthana māhā* 'in both the hands' (p. 5), *tehi māhī* 'in that' (p. 8), *hāṭa mō* 'in the market' (p. 9), *bhāsā mō* 'in vernacular' (p. 4), *phāda mājhārā* 'in the snare', *sabhā mājhāra* 'in the assembly' (p. 115), *ādarasa mājhāra* (p. 10), *sindhu mē* 'in the ocean' (p. 4), *ārtha ma* 'in meaning' (p. 102); *rāja para* 'over the kingdom' (p. 7), *para trīyā para* 'on another's woman' (p. 9), *mohi ūpara* 'over me' (p. 2), *pāṭa uparāhā* 'on the kingship' (p. 7), *mukha uparāhī* 'on the face' (p. 3), *biricha tara* 'under the tree' (p. 3), *pāva tara* 'under the foot' (p. 8), *biricha tarē* 'under the tree' (p. 106).

NOTE.—*mō* should be read as *maū* [see note to § 271 (o)]. In one instance *viṣa mau* 'in poison' (p. 73), we find the correct form.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 282. Lakhimpurī has **mō**, **mar** and **maifāṭ** 'in' and **po**, **par**, **parifāṭ** 'on'. For instance : **khert mō gazi carti hai** 'the cow is grazing in the field'; **birowar par** 'on the tree', **kāṭer maifāṭ** 'in what', **duare po** 'on the door'.

NOTE.—The long forms **maifāṭ**, **par** and **parifāṭ** can be used after such words also as have the short postposition after them.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have **mar**, **maifāṭ** and **par**, **parifāṭ**, B. has all Lmp. forms except **po**. G. town does not possess **maifāṭ** but specimens of the North and South-Eastern portions of the district show it; it

has **paḷ** also for 'on' (**dukain paḷ**, **darwajje po**). **Fy.** has **maḥ**, **māḥ**, **maḥiḥ** and **po**, **Sl.** **maḥ**, and **māḥ** and **paḷ**, **Br.** **maḥ**, **māḥ**, **maḥiḥjāḥ** and **paḷi**, **R.** **maḥ**, **maḥiḥjāḥ** and **po**. **P.** and **A.** generally have **māḥ**, **po**; **Bgh.** has **maḥ**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 283. Modern Awadhi **mə maḥ** (**māḥ**), **maḥiḥjāḥ** (**maḥiḥjāḥ**), **po**, **paḷi** (**paḷ**) and **par**, **pariḥjāḥ**.

Early Awadhi *maha* (*mahā*), *māhā*, *māhī*, *mahā*, *māḥā*, *madhya*, *mā* etc.; *para*, *ūpara* *pāhā*, *pai*, *uparāhī*, *uparāhā*, *uparāta*; *tara*, *tarē*.

Of these all *m-* forms go back to *madhya*, (*-ka* or *-ra* in some cases); the forms with *-r*, *-r-* to *upari*, *uparitra* and *upariṣṭha*, **paḷi** (**paḷ**) to *prati*; *pāhā* and **po** as well as *pahi*, *pahū* etc. of Early Awadhi in *Tulsīdās* to some forms of *pakṣa*, or *pārśva*. *tara* and *tarē* go back to *tala*, *talē* (*talakē*).

Other Postpositions

§ 284. These are used after the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, after the genitive postpositions in case of such nouns as can take the short postposition, and after the noun or pronoun directly in other cases.

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 285. Besides the case-postpositions mentioned above, the texts have the following which are more or less used as postpositions.

(a) *Jāyasī saṅga* (*sāga*) in the sense of with (*e.g.*, *jehi sāga* 'with whom', p. 25.) *saṁ* in the sense of 'before, in front of' (*e.g.*, *jā saṁ* 'in front of whom', p. 49), *tāḥ* 'for' (*e.g.*, *jaga kai tāḥ* 'for the world', p. 25), *lāgi* (*lagi*) meaning 'upto' (*e.g.*, *lāgi akāsā* 'upto the sky', p. 40, *jab lagi tab lagi* 'until . . . then'), and *lei* or *lahi* in the same sense (*jau lahi* 'until', p. 58, *saraga lei lāvā* 'sown upto heavens', p. 73),

and *sari* 'like' (e.g., *sērasāhi sari* 'like Sher Shāh' p. 23), *nāt* 'like' (e.g., *bīju kai nāt* 'like lightning' p. 49), *bhari* 'whole' (e.g., *janama bhari* 'throughout life' p. 15).

(b) Tulsīdās has a large number. Frequently he uses *paḥt* (*pahā*) and *pāhṭ* and sometimes *pāsa* to indicate 'nearness', the sense of *tīr* of Lakhimpurī. For instance:

kumbhaja ṛṣi pāhṭ 'to (near) the sage born of the jar (Agastya)' (p. 26), *jasā bara maṭ baraneṭ tuma pāhṭ* 'the bride-groom such as I have described to you' (p. 34), *mahēsa paḥt calā* 'went towards Śiva' (p. 28), *sambhu pahā* 'near Śambhu' (p. 41), *bibhīṣana pāsa* 'near Bibhīṣana' (p. 77).

He uses *lāgi* (*lagi*), *liya* and *badi* in the sense of 'for', exactly in the sense in which Lakhimpurī has *khartir*. For instance: *baraḥt lāgi* 'for the bride-groom' (p. 46), *bhagatana hita lāgi* 'for the good of the devotees' (p. 10), *kuchū kahana liya* 'for saying something' (p. 217), *rāura badi* 'for your sake' (p. 279). *lagi* (sometimes *lagē*) and *lai* are used to indicate the idea of 'upto' or 'even', e.g., *barī bāra lagi* 'upto a great deal of time' (p. 60), *kahā lagi* 'upto where' (p. 16), *pāyā lai paraḥt* 'even do they fall at the feet' (p. 163).

saṅga (*sāga*) indicates 'with', 'in company of' (e.g., *daccha kumārī saṅga* 'with the daughters of Dakṣa', *rāma kubhātī saciva sāga jāhṭ* 'Rāma was going in an untoward way with the minister', p. 172) and *bhari* 'throughout' (e.g., *bhari māgha nahāhṭ* 'bathe throughout Māgha', p. 25), while *bīca* (*bica*) means 'in the middle of' (e.g., *būhinha bica* 'in the middle of the rows', p. 85).

(c) N. has *pāsa* 'near' (e.g., *tina pāsa* 'near them' p. 9), *saṅga* (*sāga*) and *sātha* 'with' (*mohi saṅga* 'with me', p. 5, *rānī sātha* 'with the queen', p. 7), *lāga* 'for' (e.g., *jōga lāga* 'for the *yōga*', p. 16), and *laga* and *tāt* for 'upto' (e.g., *jan laga* 'until that', *jaba laga*, p. 21, *aba tāt* 'uptill now', p. 20), *bīca* 'in the middle' (e.g., *sapana bica* in the middle of the dream' p. 10), *nita* 'for' (e.g., *tumhai nita* 'for you' p. 72).

All the texts use *nāī* (*nyāyī*) in the sense of 'like', 'as', e.g., *T. raurihi nāī* 'like yourself' (p. 158).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 286. (1) To express the sense of 'for' Lakhimpurī has **khartir**, e.g., **hameriz khartir duxdñi lajaror** 'bring milk for me', **waffi kir khartir** 'for him', **raim khartir** 'for Rām'. When the idea of 'officiating' is to be denoted the word **badī** is employed, e.g., **hameriz badī** 'for me—officiating me'. S. and L. agree with Lmp., U. and F. use **barez** and **mudrez** for **khartir**. B. agrees with Lmp., G. uses **waffatrez** and **khartir** both, and reserves **badī** for officiating. In the North, G. has **khartir** for **khartir**. Fy. and Sl. have **khartir**. Br. has **taīz**, **khartir** and **bader** with no nuances in meaning; R., P. and A. have **taīz**, **barez**, **santir** and **khartir**.

(2) To express the sense of 'with' i.e., 'in company of', the dialects generally use **sangfi** and **sarth** (or **sarther** in Eastern dialects, e.g., Sl. **tosferez sarther** 'with you'). For instance:

Lmp. **hamerez sangfi, ui kez sangfi, raim sangfi**.

(3) To express the sense of 'near', the dialects use **tir** or **lager**. For instance, Lmp. **hamerez tir** 'with me', 'near me'; **dukarn lager** 'near the shop'. The postposition **lager** (sometimes **lag**) expresses the sense of 'upto' also, e.g., **birowar lager pafūcau tau** 'first reach upto the tree'.

(a) **lai** also expresses the sense of 'upto' but is particularly used after adverbs, e.g., **kafñāz lai** 'upto where?'

(4) To express the sense of 'owing to', 'on account of' **marrez** is used in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. **kazmer marrez** 'owing to work', **ui kez marrez** 'because of him', **tumferez marrez** 'on account of you'.

(5) To express the sense of 'through' **dagar** 'way' is used, e.g., **mosferez dagar nikari aroz** 'come

along through the gate', **kauniz dāgar** 'through which way'.

(6) To express the sense of 'like' Lakhimpuri uses **tanar**, central dialects generally have **tanar** or **tarar** and the Eastern ones use 'bidhi', e.g., Lmp. **hamariz tanar** 'like me', **larikawar tanar** 'like a boy'.

(7) To indicate the idea of 'entirety', the postposition **bhārez** is placed after the noun and then the necessary case-postposition, for instance: **gāru bhāre ko** 'to the whole village'. After a noun in direct case **bhārij** is placed irrespective of gender, e.g., **gāru bhārij arwar** 'the whole village came'; **lāūrijar bhārij ariz**, **adomir rārij ger** 'all the girls have come away, (only) the men have stayed back'.

(8) To express the sense of 'in front' or 'before' the dialects have **samāfex** and **arger**, e.g., **hamariz samāfex** 'in front of me', **hamariz arger** 'before me'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 287. Of the other postpositional words :

Mod. Aw. **khartir**, **khartir** come from Ar. *khātīr* and **wāfātrez** from *vāstē*.

badi < $\sqrt{vand-}$ 'praise, honour'? (*rāura badi* 'in honour of your worship, for you').

santir < Pkt. *santē* 'being'. *nita* < *nimitta* 'cause'.

barez < some derivative of $\sqrt{vr-}$, **taiz** < *sthānē*?

saṅgā < *saṅgha* 'a collection'. E. Aw. *saṅga* (*sāga*) is Skt. *saṅga* and if the Mod. Aw. **saṅgh** were connected with that, the aspiration would be inexplicable.

tir < Skt. *āra* 'bank'.

lāger and E. Aw. *lāgi*, *lagi*, are derivatives of *lagna* (*lagnakē* and *lagia*).

lai, E. Aw. *lai* and *lahi* go back to the absolutive of $\sqrt{labh-}$; **marrez** may be connected with *māritēna*. **dāgar**

means 'way' in Mod. Aw. = Skt. *mārga* and is possibly a Deśī word. We may compare the use of Marāṭhī *māgē*.

sarisa < *sadr̥śa* 'like'.

tarar is Arabic *ṭarah*; is **tanar** a corrupt form of it? In this connection the substitution of *r* by *n* in child's language may be noted (*vide* Part I § 161).

bidfi < Skt. *vidhi* 'way, means'.

bharez and **bfiari**, E. Aw. *bhari* are derivatives of root $\sqrt{bhṛ}$.

sahū and *saū* of E. Aw. are connected with Skt. *sañmukha*. We have another derivative of the same word in Mod. Aw. **samañe**: 'in front'; **arge** < *agra-kē*. *pāsa* comes from Skt. *pārśva* and *nāñ*, *nyāyñ* from *nyāyena*.

CHAPTER VI

VERBS

Root¹

§ 288. (a) The roots are either active or passive in sense, *e.g.*, **lakaɽiz kaɽati hai** 'the wood gets cut' (passive), **uz lakaɽiz kaɽati hai** 'he cuts the wood' (active). The passive roots are all intransitive, the active roots are either transitive or intransitive. Roots have a simple (*e.g.*, **kaɽab** 'to cut') and a causal form (*e.g.*, **kaɽarwab** 'to cause to be cut'). All denominative roots are intransitive, *e.g.*, **lonarb** 'to taste saltish', **laɽarb** 'to feel ashamed.'

(b) The root of a verb may be obtained by separating **-bu** (*e.g.*, **horbu** 'to be'); **-ab** (*e.g.*, **karab** 'to do') or **-wab** (*e.g.*, **baɽarwab** 'to beat a musical instrument') as the case may be from the direct case of the verbal noun (see below § 335),

§ 289. Most of the roots used in Awadhi are already found in OIA and Mid. IA. There are a few roots borrowed from Persian-Arabic, *e.g.*, **newarjab** 'to be merciful' Pers. *nawāz*, **daɽab** 'to scorch' Pers. *dāq*, **gudarab** 'to pass' Pers. *guḍar*, **baldab** 'to change' A. *badal*. In some cases the ancient participle has been taken and used as a root, *e.g.*, **hataba** 'to kill' in the Rāmāyan, based on *hataḥ* 'killed', **bhāgab** 'to run away' on *bhagnaḥ* 'broken'. What appear as passive roots to-day are based on the ancient passive forms, *e.g.*, **chiɽai** 'to waste away' < *chidyatē* : *chiɽjai*, **bāɽai** 'strikes' : *vādyatē* > *bajjai*. If a root is both

¹ Early Awadhi does not differ from Modern Awadhi in the treatment of roots.

passive and active, e.g., *bharab* 'to be filled' or 'to fill', it is derivable from two different forms (Pkt. *bharīai* and *bharai* respectively). The derivation from two different sources explains the alternation of consonants also, e.g., *ṭuṭab* 'to break' (passive) and *tōrab* 'to break' (active) are derivable from *truṭyate* and *trōṭayati*, *-ṭy-* > *-ṭ-* > *t-*, while *-ṭ-* inter-vocalic becomes *r* in Awadhi.

Auxiliary Verb

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 290. The auxiliary verb is seldom employed; the participle by itself expresses the complete sense of the verb generally. The following are the forms, sometimes used as the auxiliary but generally as the substantive verb.

Present tense

Jāyasī, Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad all have *ah-*, *h-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī: *haṭi* (p. 528), *ahaṭi* (p. 517), *ahau* (p. 435), *hai* (p. 10), *ahai* (p. 33), *ahahi* (p. 147), *āhi* (p. 348), *hahṭ* (p. 151); Tulsī: *ahaṭi* (p. 379), *hahu* (p. 296), *hahṭ* (p. 144), *ahahṭ* (p. 456); Nūr Muhammad: *haṭi* (p. 25), *hasi* (p. 55), *ahasi* (p. 43), *hahu* (p. 32), *hai* (p. 1), *ahai* (p. 2.), *āhi* (p. 5), *āhai* (p. 45).

Jāyasī does not generally use *tatsama* forms, but still at one place he uses *nāsti* (p. 8).

We find three instances of *āch-* verb in Jāyasī: *āchahṭ* (p. 181, p. 585) and *ācha* (p. 245), and *achata* 'remaining' in Tulsīdās (e.g., p. 158).

Past tense

All the three texts have *bha-* forms, Jāyasī in addition has *ah-* and *h-* forms and Tulsī *h-*, *rah-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī: *ahā* (p. 225), *hatē* (p. 150), *hatā* (p. 113), *hata* (p. 120), *huta* (p. 171), *ahē* (p. 342), *ahī* (p. 35), *bhā* (p. 16), *bhasu* (p. 78), *bhai* (p. 78), *bhaē* (p. 79); Tulsī: *bhar* (p. 85), *bhayeu* (p. 324), *hī* (p. 379), *rahī*, *rahē* (p. 146); N. Muhammad: *bhaṭi*

(p. 63), *bhā* (p. 6), *bhai* (p. 9), *bhaeu* (p. 8), *bhaila* (p. 67), *bhaē* (p. 11), *bhaena* (p. 59), *bhai* (p. 19), *bhatna* (p. 59).

NOTE.—Jāyasī uses *āihī* once.

Future tense

All the texts have *hō-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī : *hōēū* (p. 21), *hoihai* (p. 249), *hōihi* (p. 312), *hōhai* (p. 416), *hōhihī* (p. 245); Tulsī : *hōihi* (p. 28); N. Muhammad : *hōihi* (p. 26), *hōba* (p. 55), *hōbai* (p. 58).

For the Imperative and Conjunctive *hō-* forms are used, e.g., *hōai* (J. p. 573), *hōi* (J. p. 348), *hōhu*. (N. p. 32).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 291. The following are the forms of the auxiliary verb.

(a) Present Indicative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st person	hāū	hān
2nd person	hai	hau
3rd person	hai	hai

The dialects of Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur, Bahraich, Barabanki, Gonda and Western Sultanpur all have *h-* forms. S., L., U. and F. agree entirely with Lmp.; B. and G. substitute **hoxiz** for the 1st per. pl. and **has** for 2nd pers. sg.; Br. has 1st pers. **hāw**, **hān**, 2nd pers. **hāwai**, **hāwao** and 3rd pers. **hāwai**, **hāwai**. R. has the forms of Lmp. except 2nd pers. sg. **hasi**, 3rd pers. sg. **aij**, 3rd pl. **ahīz** or **aihihīz**. Fy. and Sl. have *ah-* forms viz., 1st pl. **ahiz**, **ahān**, 2nd sg. or pl. **ahau**, **ahai**, 3rd sg. **ahai** or **aij** and 3rd pl. generally **ahāi**, (**ahīz**, **ahin**). Bgh. has *h-* and *ah-* forms : 1st **ahēū**, **hai**; 2nd **hai**, and **hau**, **ahau**, 3rd **aij**, **ai** and **hai**, **ahēz**. In P. we find *bart-* forms : 1st pl. **barten**, 2nd sg. or pl. **bartai**, **bar**, 3rd sg. **bartai**, 3rd pl. **bartāi** but *ah-* also (e.g., **tai ahāsi** 'thou art', **ahai**

3rd sg.). In A. both **af-** and **bat-** forms are found and in Mirzapur mostly the latter.

(b) Past Indicative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	rafiāũ	rafiān
2nd pers.	rafiāi	rafiāu
3rd pers.	rafiāi	rafiāĩ

All the dialects have **raf-** forms for this tense. Only in the Western portion of Unao and Fatehpur which border on Kanaujī and in Bgh., we find **hat-** forms (masc. pl. all persons **hater**, **hatir** fm., sg., **hataz** masc., **hatir** fm.; the **ha-** of these forms is elided after participles). In Partabgarh the present tense **baten** (1st pl.) is used as an alternative with **rafier**. There are dialectal differences in **raf-** forms. S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp., only R. has **rafisi** for 2nd sg. B. and G. have 1st pl. **rafin**, 2nd sg. **rafis**; G. Fy. and Sl. have 3rd sg. **rafiaz** (masc.) and **rafir** fm. while Sl. and A. as well as Mirzapur have 3rd pl. as **rafien** or **rafin**. Sl. 1st pl. is **rafiāwāz** and 2nd sg. or pl. **rafjaz**. In Bgh. the **raf-** forms are also used: **rafieũ** **rafien**, **rafiaz** **rafieu**, **rafiaz** **rafien**.

(c) Future Indicative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	hoifiāũ	hoibaz , horib
2nd pers.	horiz , hoifiāi	hoifiāu
3rd pers.	horiz	hoifiāĩ

All the dialects have **hor-** forms, only in West U. we have **hoifiāĩ**. But there is a difference with regard to the forms containing **-fi-** or **-b-**. In Lmp. and in S., L., U., F. and Bgh. we have **-b-** only in 1st pl., In B., Br., R. and G. also **-b-** form is found only in the 1st pers. pl.: B. **hoibāi**, **horib**, Br. **horibāi**, R. **horib**, G. **horib**. In Fy., Sl., P., A. and Mirzapur **-b-** forms replace **-fi-** forms in the 2nd person also: Fy.

1st **horbai**, 2nd **horbjaz**, P., A., M. 1st and 2nd **horb**, **horbox**. In 3rd pers. sg. R., Sl. and P. have **hore**. Bgh. 1st. **horeũ**, **horbai**; 2nd **hoifles**, **horwaz**; 3rd **horiz**, **hõiflãĩ**.

(d) Imperative (Present)

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
2nd	hor	horu
2nd	rãflu	rãflu

All the dialects have the forms **ho-** and **rãfl-**, the former emphasises the momentary character of action while the latter the continuity of the same. Such dialects as do not use a singular, *viz.*, Eastern, substitute **rãflaz** for **rãflu**.

(e) Future Imperative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
2nd	horez	horeu
2nd	rãfler	rãfleu

This future Imperative is used to denote distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative. Of the two forms **hor-** lays emphasis on the momentary character of the action and **rãfl-** on the continuity of the same, *e.g.*, **tum khartĩ rãfleu** 'you continue eating' while **tum khartĩ horeu** 'you be eating'. All the dialects possess this mood. Some dialects modify their terminations as shown below :

G. 2nd per sg. **horis**, **rãflis**, Sl. and P. pl. **horjaz** **rãfljaz**, Bgh. **hwars** sg., **hwazu** pl.

(f) Past Conditional

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st	hortiũ	horten , horitĩ
2nd	hortĩ	hortiu
3rd	hortĩ	hortĩr

All the dialects have **hor-** forms. S and L. agree with Lmp., U. and F. have 1st **horteũ**, **horter**, 2nd **horter**,

horteu, 3rd **hort**, **horter**; B. agrees with Lmp. while R. and Br. have 1st **horteũ**, **horit**, 2nd **horter**, **hortur**, 3rd **hort** (**hortai**), **hortẽr**. G. 1st **horit**, 2nd sg. (**tvãĩ**) **hortis**, pl. (**tũr**) **hortiu**, 3rd **hort**, **hortĩr**. Fy. 1st **horit**, 2nd **horteu**, 3rd sg. **hort**, pl. **hortẽr**. Sl., P. and A. agree with Fy. except in 2nd per. where **hortjar** is found.

C. ORIGIN

§ 292. The auxiliary verb of Awadhi is based on the forms of Skt. \sqrt{as} - 'to be', $\sqrt{bhũ}$ - 'to become', \sqrt{vrt} - 'to exist', \sqrt{rah} ¹- 'to depart, separate' and $\sqrt{ã-kṣē}$ ²- 'to abide'.

The auxiliary, used generally as the copula in a sentence, has almost the same place in speech as a pronoun. It is in very common use but occupies an unimportant position semantically. So we find a great variety of forms. Most of the forms are based on \sqrt{as} -. There are two sorts of forms of this: (1) those which retain the initial *a*- as *a*- or *ã*- and (2) those which have lost it. The texts appear to have a preference for the retention of the initial vowel. Most of the forms of either variety are fresh forms, only a few cases go back to ancient forms, e.g. *ãhi* < *asti*³ through *atthi*, *ãthi*, but *ahahi* is a fresh formation, taking *ah*- as the root, also *hate* with *hat*- as the root. Even in early Indo-Aryan \sqrt{as} - was substituted by $\sqrt{bhũ}$ - for the Future and the Conditional. We find the same in Awadhi. Besides, the past tense in Awadhi has recourse either to $\sqrt{bhũ}$ - or to \sqrt{rah} -. Both the *hũ*- and *bh*- forms are attested by Early Awadhi: beside *huta* < *bhũta*, we find *bhã* which is decidedly a later formation. Modern Awadhi has discarded $\sqrt{bhũ}$ - for the past tense and has almost universally substituted \sqrt{rah} -. \sqrt{vrt} - is not attested

¹ Turner: *Nepali Dictionary* (p. 531) under *rahnu*.

² *Ibid* (p. 191) under *chanu*, also see B.S.O.S. Vol. V, Part I (p. 137).

³ Chatterji derives it from **asati*.

by Early Awadhi; its use in Modern Awadhi is restricted to one district. But it is found in Bhōjpurī quite regularly, cf. Awadhi **baṛṭai**, Bhōj. **baṛṭaj**. *āch-* appears to have been infrequently used in Early Awadhi, but it is entirely absent in Modern Awadhi.

Tenses

§ 293. In Awadhi we find the Indicative mood, the Imperative mood and the Conditional. The Indicative merely expresses the action—past, present and future. The Imperative denotes order in the case of the second person and permission or approval in the case of others. This is with reference to the present (immediate future) or to the Future (distant future). The Conditional refers to the Past where the condition has not been satisfied. Thus there result six tenses in Awadhi; these are known as simple.

Besides the above, Awadhi makes periphrastic tenses by combining the Participles with the forms of the Auxiliary Verb—six with the Imperfect Participle and six with the Perfect Participle. In effect there are eighteen tenses, viz. :—

A. Simple Tenses

1. Present Indicative.
2. Past Indicative.
3. Future Indicative.
4. Imperative.
5. Future Imperative.
6. Conditional.

B. Periphrastic Tenses

(a) *With the Imperfect Participle*

7. Present Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Present Indicative of the Auxiliary Verb.
8. Past Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Past Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.
9. Future Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Future Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

10. Imperfect Imperative—Imp. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

11. Future Imperfect Imperative—Imp. Part. and Fut. Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

12. Imperfect Conditional—Imp. Part. and Conditional of the Auxiliary Verb.

(b) *With the Perfect Participle*

13. Present Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Pres. Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

14. Past Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Past Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

15. Future Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Future Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

16. Perfect Imperative—Per. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

17. Future Perfect Imperative—Per. Part. and Fut. Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

18. Perfect Conditional—Per. Part. and Conditional of the Auxiliary Verb.

In Early Awadhi one does not find the same abundance of the use of periphrastic tenses as in Modern Awadhi. In Nūr Muhammad we find more instances of periphrastic tenses than in Jāyasī or Tulsīdās but even his practice is far from Modern Awadhi.

In Modern Awadhi the terminations of the various tenses are shown below and applied to **derkhab** 'to see' (root **derkh-**) for illustration. Where a distinction between the transitive and intransitive is made, forms of **marab** 'to die' (root **mar-**) have been put in.

Participles

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 294. (a) In the texts we find *-ata* as the most general form of the Imperfect Participle used with both the numbers and all the persons, e.g.,

J. *nimikha na lāga karata ohi* 'creating, He did not take a second' (p. 4), *satta kahata rājā jiu jūū* '(my) life may end, O king, (by) telling the truth' (p. 150);

T. *rāu avadhapura cahata sidhāē* 'the king wants to go to Ayōdhyā' (p. 145), *karata manōratha bahu mana mākhi* 'entertaining many longings in his heart' (p. 359);

N. *citavata dṛṣṭi pāra hoi jāī* '(on) seeing, the vision goes across' (p. 8), *uḥata karējā sō nita dhūā* 'smoke always arises from (my) heart (lit. liver)' (p. 155).

(b) J. and T. change *-ata* to *-ati* for the feminine, e.g., *haū jānati haū* 'I know' (J. p. 508), *lāgati avadhi bhayāvani bhāri* 'Ayōdhyā appears extremely terrifying' (T. p. 189), *sirāti na rāti* 'the night does not end' (T. p. 217). In periphrastic passive formations, however, the distinction of gender is sometimes absent, e.g., *(sādhumahimā) sō mō sana kahi jāta na kaisē* 'that (greatness of the good people) is not described by me, in a manner' (T. p. 4), *prīti na sō kahi jāta* 'that affection is not described' (T. p. 195).

(c) A few instances of the passive participle in *ita*, *-iata* have been noticed in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās: J. *jōga jōri vaha pāita bhōgū* 'that enjoyment is obtained by concentrating on yōga' (p. 229); T. *girā aratha jala bīci sama, kahiata bhinna na bhinna* 'word and meaning, like waves of water, are said to be different but are not so' (p. 33), similarly *pūjiata* 'is worshipped' (p. 13), *sarāhiata* 'are admired' (p. 233), *dēkhiata* 'are seen' (p. 331, p. 409).

(d) This participle is freely used to denote the Present Indicative in the Rāmāyan and less frequently in the Indrāvati without the help of any auxiliary. In the Rāmāyan and Padmāvat, its use with the forms of the auxiliary verb is very rare (see §§ 314 and 316). In the Indrāvati the auxiliary is in greater use but still the Imperfect Participle without the auxiliary is found considerably. There does not appear to be any distinction of sense between the real Present

Indicative (based on the Ancient Present) and that indicated by this participle.

NOTE.—Note 2 under § 296 is applicable to Early Awadhi also, e.g., *auru jo bhūlē āvatahi* 'others who have forgotten (the path) while coming (lit. during the coming)' (J. p. 16).

§ 295. The following forms of the Perfect Participle are found in Early Awadhi texts :

(a) in *-ā*, (b) in *-ē*, (c) in *-ī*, (d) in *-etū*, (e) in *-iū*, (f) in *-inha*, (g) in *-esi*, *-isi*, (h) in *-ehu*, *-eu*, (i) in *-ihu*, (j) in *-enhi*, *-inhi*, *-ena*, *-eni*, *-ina*, (k) in *-ī*, (l) in *-eu*, (m) in *-ehi*, (n) in *-ala*, *-ila*.

Of these the first three forms (a), (b) and (c) are used both as adjective and as verb; as adjective (a) qualifies a masc. sg. noun, (b) a masculine pl. noun and (c) qualifies a fm. sg. or pl. As verb, these forms are used irrespective of person. If the root is transitive, the participle used agrees with the number and gender of the object, and if the root is intransitive, it generally agrees with the number and gender of the subject. For instance :

Jāyasī : *taba lagi rānī suā chapāvā* 'the queen concealed the parrot till . . .' (p. 89), *rānī sunā* 'the queen heard' (p. 109), *ehi jhūṭhī māyā mana bhūlā* 'in this false māyā (my) mind has wandered' (p. 113), *hama na dēkha* 'I did not see' (p. 431); *tehi ghara dui dīpaka ūjiārē, pantha dēi kahā dai sāvārē* 'in that house the Creator prepared the two bright lamps to show (lit. give) the Path' (p. 25), *bhā bihāna pañḍita saba āē* 'it became morning and all the learned men came' (p. 81), *ohi satī maṭ pāi jaba karanī, ugharī jībha kathā kabi baranī* 'when I obtained the capacity from him, my tongue became unsealed and the poet (I) narrated the story' (p. 26), *jīva tumha bhāi* 'you became life' (p. 568).

Tulsīdās : *satī marata hari sana baru māgā* 'Satī while dying asked for a boon from Hari' (p. 32), *sō phalu bhālī*

bhāti hama pāvā 'well have I obtained the fruit of that' (p. 51), *tadapi malina mana bōdhu na āvā* 'even then understanding did not come to my defiled mind' (p. 51), *gaē mātu pah̄ rāmu gosāl̄* 'Lord Rāma went to (his) mother' (p. 177), *dīnhi asīsa lāi ura līnhē, bhūsana basana nichāvari kīnhē* '(she) gave blessings, embraced him closely and showered ornaments and clothes (on the servants) as gifts' (p. 177), *maṭ puni nija guru sana sunī kathā so sūkara khēta* 'I, however, heard that story from my teacher at Sūkara-khēta' (p. 18), *dukha daṃṣatiht umā harasānī* 'Uma became pleased (but) the couple (her parents) got sorrow' (p. 33).

Nūr Muhammad : *ēka rāta sapanā maṭ dēkhā* 'one night I saw a dream' (p. 4), *jākō tuma sapanē mō dēkhā* 'whom you saw in dream' (p. 75), *uṭhā cakḥi disa tē vāvailā* 'lamentation rose up from all the four quarters' (p. 3), *hama nā rahē karabalā ṭhāl̄* 'I was not in Karbalā' (p. 3), *eka disa bōdhē turai birājat* 'on one side the tied horses looked beautiful' (p. 9), *garha para carhī kamānat durajana dēkhi dērāya* 'the wicked on seeing the strung bows on the fort, got frightened' (p. 8), *jaga sō patijhārī ritu gāi* 'the autumn season went away from the world' (p. 52).

NOTE 1.—The final -ā, -ē, -ī is sometimes found short, particularly for metre, e.g., J. *dīnha, kīnha* (p. 2), *lāga* (p. 4), *bhai* (p. 78), *gai* (p. 19); T. *baīṭha, kīnha līnha, bhae* (p. 63), *bhai, gai, līnhi*; N. *kīnha* (p. 1). Verbs of very general occurrence have shorter forms; *bhā, bhē, gā, gē* are found in all the three texts; of. 297 (z). In Jāyasī on p. 583, *baīṭhu haṭ, baīṭhu* (sg.) has been used with a pl. auxiliary, it ought to have been *baīṭha*.

NOTE 2.—Transitive roots used intransitively are treated of as intransitive. In one case in Jāyasī (*padumāvati hāsā* 'Padmāvatī laughed', p. 429) the masc. form of the participle has been used with a feminine noun, possibly for rhyming or it might be an instance of *bhāve prayoga*. In Nūr Muhammad, however, there are many instances where the masculine form is found instead of the expected feminine.

NOTE 3.—In Jāyasi and Tulsiḍās the use of the uninflected forms (a), (b), and (c) is found in abundance for indicating the past tense, but in Nūr Muhammad it is much less. He uses the inflected forms generally.

Forms (d) in -eṭi and (e) in -iṭi are used with a 1st person sg. subject, (d) with masculine nouns and (e) with feminine. Sometimes, however, even when the subject is masculine, the form of the participle is feminine in order to conform with an object in the feminine gender (*sō suni samujhi sahiti saba sūlā* 'I (Bharata) heard and understood all that, and put up with the torture' (T. p. 259). For instance :

J. *āeṭi ehi hāṭā* 'I (Brāhmaṇa) came to this market' (p. 121), *āiṭi ehi sāthā* 'I (a female friend of Padmāvati) came with her' (p. 103). In one instance (*jāgi uṭheṭi*¹ 'I (Padmāvati) got up from sleep', p. 439), form (d) is found with a feminine subject.

T. *anucita bacana kaheṭi agyātā* 'Not knowing you, I (Parushurāma) have uttered improper words' (p. 121), *dēkhiṭa khōja lōka tihā nāhē* 'I (Śūrpaṇakhā) have searched throughout, but (a man suitable to me) does not exist in the three worlds' (p. 300).

In one instance (*aba ura rākhehu jō hama kaheṭi* 'keep in your mind what we have said', p. 37), form (d)—the nasalisation being absent due to rhyme—is found with a subject in the plural number.

N. Here no instances of form (e) have been found; even with fem. subjects the masculine form (d) is used : *āhō yaha nita barajēṭi jōgī* 'O Yogin, I have prohibited you on this account'—the female gardener speaking to the Prince, (p. 43); *sumireṭi sirajanahārahē jaba dēkheṭi asa rūpa* 'I

¹ We should, however, note that J. and N. were written originally in Persian characters which did not distinguish between e and i and hence these mistakes might be due to the scribes in Devanāgarī characters.

remembered the Creator when I saw such beauty'—the Yogin speaking (p. 19).

Form (*f*) in *-inha* is found only in Tulsīdās and has been used with fem. subject of the 1st person plural, e.g., *hama saba.....bhainha dhanya* 'all of us (women) became blessed' (p. 244). From this a corresponding masculine form in *-enha* can be deduced which would correspond with Modern Awadhī *-eu* (§ 297).

Form (*g*) in *-esi* is found in all the three texts in transitive verbs, while that in *-isi* is found only in Tulsīdās where it always goes with a feminine noun in the 3rd pers. singular. The *-esi* form in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās is found with 3rd sing. or 2nd sing., while in Nūr Muhammad only with the 3rd pers. For instance :

J. (*lā*) *abakū na samputa khōlesi* ' (thou Padmāvatī) has not yet opened the socket' (p. 551); (*suā*) *kahesi calatū jan lahi tana pākhā* ' (the parrot) said : I should go away while I have wings in my body' (p. 107).

T. (*madana*) *marana thāni mana racesi upāi* ' (Cupid) made up his mind to die and contrived means' (p. 41), (*kaikēyī*) *māresi mōht kuṭhāū* ' (Kaikēyī) hit me at a bad point' (p. 169).

(*mantharā*) *kahesi kathā sata savati kai* ' (Mantharā) narrated hundreds of stories of co-wives' (p. 164); *būrha bhayasi* ' (thou) hast grown old' (p. 393).

NOTE.—In Tulsīdās this form of the participle always implies a contempt for its subject.

N. *gagana ki sōbhā kīnhesi tārā* ' (the Creator) made the stars, an ornament of the sky' (p. 1).

Forms (*h*) in *-ehu* (*-eu*) and (*i*) in *-ihu* are used with the 2nd pers. plur., (*h*) in the masculine and (*i*) in the feminine. *-eu* is found very seldom in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās while it is frequently found in Nūr Muhammad. The fem. form is not found in Nūr Muhammad. For instance :

J. *hatiā dui jo caḍhāehu kādhai* 'the two murders that you have borne on your shoulder' (p. 470), *āeu milai calehu mili sūā* 'O parrot, you came to meet and have moved away after the meeting' (p. 404), *jō gaihu kālhi dēo kara bārī* 'that you went to the deity's garden yesterday' (p. 442), *pūji manāihu bahuta bināfi* 'after having adored him, you coaxed him by many prayers' (p. 442).

T. *muni asa kṣpā na kinhehu kāū* 'O sage, never did you show such a favour before' (p. 90), *ḍahaki ḍahaki paricehu saba kāhū* 'you have become hardened by overcoming every one' (p. 62), *(tumha) kinhihu prasna jagata hita lāgi* '(you) have put the question for the sake of the world's good' (p. 53), *rahihu baurānī* 'you were mad' (p. 64).

N. *kō dhana jā kō nāma sunāyehu* 'O lady, he whose name you have uttered (lit. made me hear)' (p. 49), *jō jōgi kaha samujheu ājū* 'if you understood the Yogi today' (p. 75).

NOTE.—On p. 25, in the Rāmāyan an instance occurs (*kinhahu prasna* 'you have put the question') where the termination *-ahu* appears for *-ehu* and is obviously a misprint.

Forms (j) and (k) are used with a subject in the 3rd pers. plur.; of these (k) in *-ī* is used only with a feminine subject and generally when the verb is intransitive, while (j) is found with the masculine generally and with the feminine when the verb is transitive. *-enhi* is found in Jāyāsī, *-enhi* and *-inhi* in Tulsīdās without any distinction and *-ena*, *-eni* and *-ina* (fm.) in Nūr Muhammad. There is only one instance in Tulsīdās where *-eni* is found (*raheni tahā* 'there they lived', p. 90 of the 1915 edition), but this reading has been discarded in the later edition. For instance:

J. *chāḍenhi lōga kuṭāba saba kōū* 'all left their people and family' (p. 263), *dharī tira saba kamcuki sārī* 'on the bank (the women) put their sārīs and bodices' (p. 99),

jāi pāli para thādhi bhaī ' (the women) went and stood on the bank ' (p. 95).

T. *daccha-sutanha upadēsinihi jāi* ' (he—respectful plural) went and advised the sons of Dakṣa ' (p. 38), *jehi ripu chaya soi racenhi upāu* ' they contrived means by which the enemy might be destroyed ' (p. 75), *br̥nda br̥nda mili caī logāi* ' the women started in groups ' (p. 85).

N. *sumirena indrāvati kara nāi* ' they remembered the name of Indrāvati ' (p. 26), *bahula amī adharana para diheni sindhu mō prāna* ' many men abandoned their lives for the sake of the nectar-lips ' (p. 49), *samujhāina saba sakhī sayāni* ' all the wise friends advised (her) ' (p. 75), *bhai na bilamba sakhī saba āi* ' there was no delay, all the friends came ' (p. 52).

NOTE. -ī is sometimes shortened to -i for the sake of metre, e.g., J. *caī*, (p. 415), T. *caī* (p. 28).

Form (l) in -eu is found in all the three texts with the 3rd person singular subject, e.g., Jāyasi: *jō gā tahā bhulōneu sōi* ' whoever went there lost (the way) ' (p. 153), *naeu* ' became subdued ' (p. 19); Tulsī: *nārada jāneu nāma pratāpū* ' Nārada came to realise the powerful effect of the Name ' (p. 16), *ratha samēta rabi thākeu* ' the sun stayed with his chariot ' (p. 86); Nūr Muhammad: *jā kaha karatā darasa dekhāeu* ' to whom the Creator showed the path ' (p. 2), *jagata bhaeu adhiyāra* ' the universe became dark ' (p. 3).

Form (m) in -ehi is found with the 2nd pers. sing. and only in Tulsīdās, e.g., *rē saṭha sunehi subhāu na mōrā* ' O knave, thou hast not heard about my nature ' (p. 116).

In one case -ē is found (*jānē nahī marama saṭha mōrā* ' O knave thou did not know my secret ' p. 344).

Only a few instances of form (n) are found in Nūr Muhammad and obviously they are borrowed from Bihārī, e.g., *tāpala rahai* ' remains heated ' (p. 58), *gaila sakhī tahā bahila bayārā* ' the friend went, there the breeze blew ' (p. 161).

Similarly Braj forms and Bhōjapuri forms are found occasionally in Tulsīdās as loan-words.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 296. The Imperfect Participle in Lakhīmpuri has three forms, (a) in **-Ati**, (b) in **-iti** and (c) in **-Atir**. Form (b) is used with the 1st pers. pl. in both the genders, e.g., **ham derkhitī hai** 'we (masc. or fem.) are seeing' and (c) in **-Atir** with the fem. pl. of the 2nd and 3rd pers., e.g., **tum dekhatir hau** 'you (females) are seeing', **ui dekhatir haĩ** 'they (females) are seeing'. For all other cases, i.e., singular in both genders and plural masculine in the 2nd and 3rd pers. the form (a) in **-Ati** is used.

(a) The final **-i** of forms (a) and (b) is found in Sitapur, Lucknow (western and southern) and in parts of Unao only, in other districts it is absent.

The use of the form (c) in **-Atir** is extended to 1st pers. pl. also in Unao and other places bordering on Kanaufī area, e.g., **ham derkhit hai** 'we (men) see', **ham dekhatir han** 'we (women) see'. In parts of Kheri district bordering on Hardoi, (b) is found ending in **-iatī** (**jaīatī**, **caīīatī**, **khaīatī**, etc.). In Parabanki and parts of Sultanpur, form (b) in **-it** is not used, the (a) form has taken its place. The dialects of Bahraich and Sultanpur as well as parts of Fyzabad distinguish the gender in the Imperfect Participle in the 3rd person sg. and pl., e.g., **derkhat hai** (masc.), **derkhatī hai** (fem.), **derkhat haĩ** (masc.), **derkhatī haĩ** (fem.).

NOTE 1.—Of the forms of the auxiliary, present tense **hai** and past tense **raīhai** (and their corresponding forms in the dialects) are used with **-itī** or **-iatī** forms of the 1st pers. plural.

NOTE 2.—The Imperfect Participle is sometimes used as a verbal noun also, e.g., Lmp. **hamareṛ kharṭī mo dundu nō macaror** 'do not make a noise while I am eating (lit. in my eating)'. It emphasises the imperfection of the act.

§ 297. The Perfect Participle in Lakhimpurī has the following forms:—

- (a) in **-ar**, *e.g.*, **derkhar** 'seen', **paṛṣar** 'read', **marar** 'died', **gawar** 'went.'
 (b) in **-ex**, *e.g.*, **derkher**, **paṛṣer**, **marex**, **gaex**
 (c) in **-ir**, *e.g.*, **derkhir**, **paṛṣhir**, **marir**, **gair**
 (d) in **-eū**, *e.g.*, **derkheū**, **paṛṣeū**, **mareū**, **gaeū**
 (e) in **-iū**, *e.g.*, **marīū**, **gaiū**
 (f) in **-en**, *e.g.*, **derkhen**, **paṛṣen**, **maren**, **gaen**
 (g) in **-isī**, *e.g.*, **derkhisī**, **paṛṣisī**
 (h) in **-eu**, *e.g.*, **derkheu**, **paṛṣheu**, **mareu**, **gaeu**
 (i) in **-in**, *e.g.*, **marin**, **gain**
 (j) in **-inī**, *e.g.*, **derkhinī**, **paṛṣinī**
 (k) in **-īr**, *e.g.*, **marīr**, **gair**

As regards the use of these forms, the dialects show a difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. Forms (a) and (c) are used to qualify a subject in the singular number of masc. and fem. gender respectively, when the verb is either intransitive by itself or bears an intransitive or passive sense, *e.g.*, **mai gawar haū** 'I have gone' (masc.), **maigair haū** 'I have gone' (fem.), but **maiderkhar haū** 'I am one who has been seen' (masc.), **mai derkhir haū** 'I am one who has been seen' (fem.), **mai paṛṣar** (or **paṛṣir**) **haū** 'I am read—literate' (masc. or fem.). Similarly in the plural, forms (b) and (c) are used, *e.g.*, **ham gaex han** 'we have gone' (masc.), **ham gair han** 'we have gone' (fem.), **ham derkher han** 'we are those who have been seen' (masc.), **ham derkhir han** 'we are those who have been seen' (fem.). In the same manner they are used with the subjects in the 2nd and 3rd person.

In the case of transitive verbs form (b) in **-ex** is used with the subject of any number and person (except 3rd plur.) and gender, *e.g.*, **mai derkher haū**, **tui derkher hai**, **ur** or **war derkher hai**, **ham derkher han**, **tum derkher hau**. Here it always bears an active sense. Forms (d) in

-eũ and **(e)** in **-iũ** are used with 1st pers. sg. **mai** only, **(d)** with both genders when the verb is transitive and with masculine when the verb is intransitive, *e.g.*, **mai derkheũ** 'I (masc. or fem.) have seen', **mai gaeũ** 'I went' (masc.) and **(e)** in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, *e.g.*, **mai gaiũ** 'I went' (fem.). Form **(f)** in **-en** is used when the subject is in 1st pers. pl., irrespective of the gender, and the verb is either transitive or intransitive, *e.g.*, **ham derkhen hai** 'we have seen', **ham gajen hai** 'we have gone'. Form **(g)** is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is either in 2nd pers. sg. or in 3rd pers. sg., *e.g.*, **tui derkhisĩ hai** 'thou hast seen', **ux** or **wax derkhisĩ hai** 'he or she has seen'.

Forms **(h)** in **-eu** and **(i)** in **-in** are used when the subject is in the 2nd person plural, **(h)** in both genders with a transitive verb and in masc. gender with an intransitive verb, *e.g.*, **tum derkheu hai** 'you have seen' (masc. or fem.), **tum gaeu hai** 'you have gone' (masc.) and **(i)** in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, *e.g.*, **tum gaiu hai** 'you have gone' (fem.). Form **(j)** in **-inĩ** is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is in the 3rd pers. plur. irrespective of gender, *e.g.*, **ui derkhiniĩ hai** 'they have seen' (masc. or fem.). Form **(k)** is used with 3rd pers. plur. fem. only, when the verb is intransitive and is used independently without an auxiliary, *e.g.*, **ui gaitĩ** 'they went', but **ui gaitĩ haĩ** 'they have gone'.

NOTE 1.—With forms **(d)** to **(j)**, the auxiliary **hai** (present) and **raĩhai** (past)—and their corresponding forms in the district dialects (*e.g.*, **bar**, **bartai**) are used and not other forms of the present or past, *e.g.*, **mai derkheũ hai** and not **mai derkheũ haũ**.

The dialects of the districts show considerable divergence with regard to the use of the forms of the perfect participle. Forms **(a)** and **(c)** are used, irrespective of the verb being transitive or intransitive, in all persons and

numbers, in all the dialects except Lmp. and S. In the Eastern dialects, sometimes, the distinction of gender also is not observed, *e.g.*, Fy. **ham derkhar raſien** 'we had seen', Sl. **ham derkhar aſir** 'we have seen', B. **ham derkhar hai** 'we have seen', L. **ham kharwar** 'we ate', U. **ham dekharwar raſiai** 'we had shown', Sl. **tūz derkhar raſjar** 'you keep seeing', U. **tum kaiser batarwar** 'how did you tell?', P. **aſir kaſar** 'the Aſir said', G. **ardſir raxt bhar** 'midnight came', **meſrarur calar gai** 'the woman went away', B. **rajar balarwar** 'the king called', U. **sā:p karṭi kharwar raſiai** 'the serpent had bitten', **war dharir raſasi** 'she had put', Sl. **waj derkhar raſōz** 'they had seen', U. **un khabari parir** 'they got the news', **carriu bſarir jarnez narir parwar** 'the four brothers could not know'. Form (b) is used with the plural when the verb is intransitive and with 1st sg. and 2nd sg. where they exist (western and central dialects), with 1st pl. and 2nd pl. in all the dialects and also with 3rd pl. even in the case of transitive verbs in the Eastern dialects, *e.g.*, Br. **mai derkhar horū** 'if I may have seen', R. **tui derkher hai** 'thou hast seen', Sl. **ham derkher aſir** 'we have seen', Sl. **tūz derkher horteu** 'had you seen', Fy. **waj derkher raſai** 'they had seen'.

This form appears as nasalised in the extreme East, *e.g.*, A. **hamar bſarj arjēz** 'our brothers have come'. Form (d) in **-eū** (Br. **-eŵ**) and Form (e) in **-iū** are used in Western and Central dialects like Lmp., in the Eastern dialects they are rare and do not maintain a distinction of transitive and intransitive, (d) being used as the masculine and (e) as feminine. Forms (f) in **-en** and (j) in **-inṭi** (**-in**) are used both with the 1st plural and the 3rd plural, the form in **-un** also is found on the Kanaujī borders of Sitapur and Unao, *e.g.*, B. **ham larin** 'we brought', **ham gain** 'we went' S. **ham jhothari qarriṇi** 'we thrashed him', F. **ham lauti arun** 'we came back', Sl. **waj derkhen** 'they saw', P.

waj derkhen hai 'they have seen', U. **wai kaṭaruni** 'they got (it) cut', M. or **arjen lu kaṭen** 'they came and said', or **jari largen** 'they started to go', **dui beṭawar raṭen** 'there were two sons'. Form (g) in **-isi** is found as **-esi** (es) in parts of Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur and in R., B. and P. On the borders of Kanaujī it is also found as **-osi**. In P. and other Eastern dialects it is found with intransitive verbs also, e.g., G. **twaĩ maris** 'thou died', **twaĩ kharj largis** 'thou began to eat', P. **derkhes raṭai** 'had seen', U. (Kanaujī border) **dirnfosi** 'gave' **kirnfosi** 'did'. Forms (h) in **-eu** and (i) in **-iu** are found used in all the dialects, with this difference that the Eastern dialects use (h) with masculine subject and (i) with feminine subjects, irrespective of the verbs being transitive or intransitive, e.g., P. **tūx horteu** (masc.) and **tūx hortiu** (fem.) 'had you been'. Form (k) is used with 1st. pl. (fm.) and 2nd pl. (fm.) also in the case of intransitive verbs in U. and F., e.g., **ham marĩ** 'we died', **ham gaĩ** 'we went'.

(x) Such intransitive roots as contain a long syllable (e.g., **larg** 'to appear', **baith-** 'to sit', **sarmar-** 'to be ashamed'), generally elide the terminations **-ar** and **-er** and substitute **-i** for **-iṛ** (fm. sg.). In the Eastern dialects this **-i** also does not appear sometimes, e.g., **largar larg**, **baither baith**, **largir largi**, **baithir baithi**. A specimen from Unao gives **paithi**, **largi** as masc. pl. where **-i** should represent **-e**.

(y) Roots in **-ar**, however, before accepting the above change have the augment **-n-** between the root and the terminations, e.g., **sarmarnar sarmarn**, **sarmarnir sarmarni**.

Monosyllabic roots ending in **-ar** (e.g., **ar-** 'to come', **lar** 'to bring') neither insert **-n-** nor have the shorter forms by eliding the terminations.

(z) **jar** 'to go', **hor** 'to become', **der** 'to give', **lex** 'to take' and **kar** 'to do' have their perfect participle forms with **ga-**, **bha-**, **diṭ-**, **liṭ-** and **kiṭ-** respectively. In the

case of **kar-** both are optionally used (*e.g.*, **kāreū** or **kīfleū**). **ga** and **bhā** have shorter forms also, **gawar gar**, **gaer ger**, **gaix gai**, **bhāwar bhār**, **bhāer bher**, **bhāix bhāi**.

NOTE 2.—For the insertion of **-w-** see below § 341 (d). In the Central dialects and in south L., U. and F., we find the **-n**, **-nñ** forms of the Perfect Part. of **kar-**, **der-**, **ler-** (**kirn**, **kirnñ**, **dirn**, **dirnñ**, **lirn**, **lirnñ**).

C. ORIGIN

§ 298. The Imperfect participle is based on the ancient present participle (*satr*) in **-anta**. There are three forms in Modern Awadhi, **-at**, **-atī** and **-itī** (**iātī**). The Eastern form in **-atī** and the Western in **-atix** are mere feminine forms. The fm. form **-atī** is attested by the Rāmāyan. What is the basis of the masc. **-atī** form? It is found in some dialects of Western Hindi also. This goes back, most probably, to the Māgadhī and Ardha Māgadhī Nom. sg. in **-ē**, as opposed to **-ō** of the Western Prakrits. The **-ē** develops into **ex**, **i**, **-ī** and then loses ground. It appears that the **i** (**ī**) had already disappeared in the dialects represented by Jāyasī, Tulsidās and Nūr Muhammad. The final **-a** in the participle is merely orthographic and not of actual speech. Another possible derivation is from the loc. sg. (*e.g.*, *dēkhantē*) of the participle, but in view of the fact that the Nom. sg. form is at the basis of the Western Hindi participle, this derivation appears improbable.

(a) The **-itī** (**-iātī**) participle is based on the passive form of the ancient present participle (*paṭhānta*).

§ 299. The Perfect participle is based on the ancient passive past participle (*kta*), sg. masc. in **-ā** on Nom. sg. **-ao**, sg. fm. in **-ī** on Nom. sg. fm. in **-ī-** and pl. or obl. on the ancient plural in **-aē** or on the obl. in **-aē**. The other forms are inflected according to person, gender and number. What are these affixes? Eastern Hindi shares this principle of affixation with the Eastern Mod. IA languages. Three suggestions have been made to derive these affixes, viz.,

(1) the pronominal forms, (2) the terminations of the present tense and (3) the forms of the auxiliary verb. As far as Awadhi is concerned the last suggestion suits it the best as shown below :—

The affix for the 1st pers. sg. is (d) -*eū* and (e) -*iū* (fm.) This can be either the pronoun *haū* as the enclitic, or the termination -*aū* of the present or the auxiliary *haū*, e.g., *dēkhē -aū* or *haū* may become *dēkheū* and *dēkhī-aū* or *haū dēkhīū*. The affix for the 1st pers. pl. is (f) -*en*; the form in the eastern dialects is -*in*. This, however, cannot be derived either from the pronoun *ham* or from the termination of the present tense (which as shown below § 303 is a passive form), but only from the auxiliary *han* (*dēkhē -han dēkhen*, later *dēkhin*, by the interchange of *e* : *i*). The affix for the 2nd sg. is generally (g) -*isī*, -*esi* which can go back only to the auxiliary *hasi*.¹ This was later extended in use to the 3rd sg. as well. The affix for the 2nd pl. is (h) -*eu* -masc. or (i) -*iu* fm. which goes back to the auxiliary *hau*, *hahu*, but can as well be derived from the termination of the present -*ahu*, *au*. The 3rd pers. fm. form (k) in -*ī* has merely nasalisation, to distinguish it from the singular. It is not peculiar to the 3rd pers. but used with the 1st and 2nd pers. also. The 3rd pl. masc. affix (i) -*inī*, *en* (E. Aw. -*enhi*, -*inhi*, -*ena*, -*eni*, -*ina*) is derived by Hoernle (p. 346) from *nhi* (< *nti*) but the nasal in such a position does not survive; the -*nhi* is not attested at all. The Prakrit, Apabhramśa (see Pischel, p. 323 and *Bhavisayatta Kahā* G.O.S., p. 24) as well as E. Awadhi attest only -*hī*.

It is only in Sindhi, Sīnā, Bengali and Gypsy that -*n*- is found in the 3rd pl. present. But is it a development of -*nt*? Neither does the pronoun nor the auxiliary appear to be at the source. The obl. pl. of the nouns and

¹ Bloch (Survivance de Skr. *āsīt* en Indian Moderne—BSL. XXXIII Fas. I, pp. 55-56) derives this from the ancient auxiliary *āsīt* > *āsi* which is also a good explanation.

pronouns ends in *-an* (E. Aw. *-anha*, *-anhi* etc.). Can that have something to do with this form of the participle? ¹ E. Awadhi affix (1) *-eu* has the direct case of the noun, while (m) *-ehi* can be derived from the participle plus *ahi*, *asi*. The (n) *-la* forms are loan-words from the neighbouring Bihārī dialects and go back to *-illa* suffix of Middle Indo-Aryan. ²

§ 300. That the auxiliary is again being incorporated into the participles is fully corroborated by modern Awadhi. For instance: Lmp. **kañāṛ jartī hau** appears in regular speech as **kañāṛ jartiu** 'where are you going?', F. and Bgh. **kherltir tīṛ** 'were playing' for **kherltir hatīṛ**, **tum kañāṛ ger tjoṛ** 'where had you been?' for **tum kañāṛ ger hatjoṛ**, **biarī ke khwarj kar gar ten** 'I had been in search of marriage' for **gar haten**, **war bart joṛ kuāṛ mar kañatiu tiu** 'that thing which you were saying in the well' for **kañatiu hatiu**. Similar examples have been found in Western Hindi also in abundance.

Present Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 301. The following are the terminations:

	sg.	pl.
1st person	<i>-aū, -ō</i>	(<i>-ahī</i>)
2nd person	<i>-asi</i>	<i>-ahu</i>
3rd person	<i>-ahi, -ai, -u</i>	<i>-ahī, -aī</i>

1st sg. *-aū* is the termination in all the three texts, *-ō* being found only in a few instances in Nūr Muhammad. For instance:

Jāyasī: *dui māraga dēkhaū ehi hāṭā* 'I see two paths in this market' (p. 124), *sēva karaū tehi ṭhāū* 'I serve at her place' (p. 131).

Tulsī: *tātē mat tohī barajātū rājā* 'O king, therefore, I forbid you' (p. 73), *āju saṭhahi haṭhi māraū ṭhī* 'to-day I shall forcibly kill the scoundrel' (p. 393).

¹ See Chatterji, p. 936.

² Ibid, § 426.

Nūr Muhammad : *kahatū na pōthī khelatū khēlā* 'I do not write (lit. say) a book, but I play a game' (p. 4), *sadā karēja sarōnita piyaū* 'I always drink the blood of the heart' (p. 78), *baranō rājā kī phulavāri* 'I describe the king's garden' (p. 8).

1st pl.—No instances of 1st pl. active forms are available either in Tulsīdās or Nūr Muhammad, only in Jāyasī we have three instances, viz., *jaū re jiaht mili keli karahū* 'if we live, let us sport together' (p. 570), *marahū to* 'if die then' (p. 570), *calahu mahēsa dekhahū eka gharī* 'let us go, Mahēsa, and see for a moment' (p. 579). In Tulsīdās in *kahahu kahihi kē kīnhi bhalāi* 'tell me, whom shall we mention as having done good (to us)' (p. 288), *kahihi* at the first instance appears as an active form, but it is really passive, standing for *kahia*.

2nd sg.—For instance :

Jāyasī : *kahasi paṁkhi khādhuka mānāvā* 'sayest (thou) that man is an eater of birds' (p. 126), *naina jo dēkhasi pūchasi kāhā* 'why dost thou ask what thou see-est' (p. 468);

Tulsī : *saṁkara bimukha jiāvasi mōhī* 'thou keepest me alive when Śankara is displeased (with me)' (p. 30).

NOTE.—In one instance, viz., *chatrabandhu taī bipra bolāi, ghālai liē sahita samudāi* 'O wretched Kṣatriya, thou killest the Brāhmaṇas after having invited them all' (p. 78), *-ai* appears as the termination of 2nd sg.

Nūr Muhammad : *abahī ahasi sarēkhā, jahā cāhasi tahā jāsi* 'now thou art young, thou goest wherever thou wantest' (p. 43).

2nd pl.—Only in Tulsīdās there are a few instances of this form being used as Present, otherwise it is found as Imperative or Conjunctive. Tulsī, for instance, *cāhahu sunai rāma guna gūṛhā* 'You want to hear the great (secret) qualities of Rāma' (p. 25).

3rd sg.—*ahi* forms are found in Tulsīdās and Jāyasi only as alternating with *-ai* and *-a* forms, in Nūr Muhammad one finds only *-ai*. For instance :

Jāyasi : *āvahi rōi jāhī kai rōnā* 'weeping he comes and weeping goes' (p. 126), *kīnhesi amī jiai jehi pāi* 'He has created nectar by obtaining which (one) revives' (p. 6), *kō sari mō saī pāvai* 'who can obtain equality with me' (p. 83), *kharaga dāna sari pūja na kōi* 'not one reaches his equality in sword and charity' (p. 67). In one instance, *tahi para bāju rāja ghariārā* 'on that rings the king's bell' (p. 64), the termination appears as *-u*.

Tulsī : the aspirated form is much less in use than the unaspirated one, *nāhina dāru bigarahi paralōkū* 'I have no fear that my other world is spoilt' (p. 239), *urāi abira manahū arunārī* 'the *abira* (the red powder) is in the air and everything appears red' (p. 85), *dagai na sambhu sarāsana kaisē* 'how is it that the bow of Śambhu does not stir' (p. 108), *bahā samīpa surasari suhāvani* 'near by, flows the beautiful Ganges' (p. 58).

Nūr Muhammad : *sukha pāvai mānusa sabai saba kō hōi nibāha* 'man gets happiness, and every one's business goes uninterrupted' (p. 2), *tākō sarana tāki jō āvai* 'he who comes aiming at his refuge' (p. 152).

3rd pl.—*aht* only is found in Jāyasi, *-aht* generally in Tulsī but *-at* also sometimes while *-at* generally in Nūr Muhammad, e.g.,

Jāyasi : *kīnhesi paṁkhi udahī jahā cahahī* 'He created the birds (which) fly where (they) want' (p. 4), *utarahī caḍhahī lōga cahū phērī* 'people get down and get up on all sides' (p. 48).

Tulsī : *basahī nagara sundara nara nārī* 'handsome men and women reside in the city' (p. 59), *parama krōdha mījahī saba hāthā* 'all wring their hands owing to great anger' (p. 365), *manu kupantha pagu dharat na kāū* 'they do not put their heart or foot on a wrong path' (p. 100).

Nūr Muhammad : *eka disa bādhē turai birājaṭ* 'on one side the horses, tied down, look beautiful' (p. 8), *dhana kē rōvata rōvat cērī* 'when the lady weeps, the maid-servants weep' (p. 26), *lēhṭ dhanī nidhanī pachatāhṭ* 'the rich take them while the poor feel sorry' (p. 9).

The forms of this tense are regularly used as Present Indicative in Jāyasī and Tulsī but in Nūr Muhammad the Present Imperfect Indicative is taking its place. As shown above [§ 294 (d)] the Imperfect participle is alternatively used to denote the Present.

The Present Indicative, like Modern Awadhi, is employed to denote the Present Conjunctive by prefixing some word meaning 'if', e.g., *sāta saraga jāū kāgada karaī* 'if the seven heavens, He turns into paper' (J. p. 13), *jō bilōki rījhāi kūari* 'if on seeing, the princess is enamoured' (T. p. 60), *ēka manuṣa bhējē jau jāū* 'If I go when (he) has sent only one man' (N. p. 65).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 302.

Lmp.

	sg.	pl.
1st	- āū (derkhaū)	- iz (derkhir)
2nd	- ai (derkhai)	{ -au (derkhaū) -or (kurawor)
3rd	- ai (derkhai)	- āī (derkhaī)

I pl. U. and West S. -**iai** (**dekhiāi**), Bgh. **-an** (**derkhan**); II sg. Br. -**er** (**derkher**), Bgh. **derkhas**; II pl. East Sl. and P. -**jaz** or -**az** (**derkhjaz** or **derkhar**), Br. and P. -**er** (**derkher**), Bgh. **derkhan** or **derkhab**; III sg. Bgh. **derkhi**.

This tense is no longer used in common speech (except in the case of the substantive verb 'to be') to indicate the Present Indicative, instead the Present Imperfect Indicative is used, e.g., for 'I see' **mai derkhatī haū** is used and not **mai derkhaū**, but for 'I am', **mai haū**. It, however,

survives in songs (*e.g.*, **soiwaui ki jaigau moriz ardsi bñawani jagato keriz rainiz . . . bali jarū** 'are you sleeping or waking, revered Bhavānī, queen of the world, I bow') as the Present Indicative and in stories as the historic present or habitual past, *e.g.*, **mañetazriz rozjū chapian parkar ke bñorjan banarwai** 'the mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily', **ra:jar kaceñori se arjer derkhañ kar kori ke jurtar dñarex** 'the Raja returned from the Court and what does he see—that some one's shoes were there.'

The forms of the Present Indicative are also employed as the Present Conjunctive. The condition is shown by prefixing the sentence by some word meaning 'if', *e.g.*, **jor mai tum kar dhorkhar derū tau kañeu** 'If I deceive you, blame me', **jor uz derkhai tau erku tamarcax marji diñeu** 'if he sees, give him a slap.'

NOTE.—After roots mentioned in 343 (*d*) (**kura**-*etc.*) the termination of the 2nd pl. **-au** is found as **or** (*e.g.*, **kurawor, naror, arox khexor, dñorwor, soiwor**).

C. ORIGIN.

§ 303. The forms of the Present Indicative are based on the ancient Present tense (*laṭ*), only there has been some levelling in MIA.

1st sg.—Skt. **-āmi**, Pkt. **-āmi** gives Marāṭhī **-en**, Bg. **-i**, **-ε**; Gypsy, Gujarati and Hindi have **-v**, **-ā**. Can the labial nasal **-m** become **-v** **-ā** and efface **-i**, thus **-mi** becoming **-ā**? This appears unlikely. It is certain that the plural termination Skt. **-āmaḥ** Pkt. **-āmō** is at the base of the singular. The shifting of the number has to be explained. But we should remember that the 1st person subject is very seldom expressed and that when it was expressed it used to be generally in the plural number. Generally the 1st plural was used in the passive construction, as is clear from the

absence in Awadhi of any active termination (see below). These facts explain the shift.

1st pl.—In Modern Awadhi we find **-iṛ** and sometimes **-iAi**. This goes back to the passive MI. **-īai** (e.g., *paḍhīai*). In Early Awadhi we find one form in **-īhi** which can be traced to the above passive. In Jāyasī we find three forms in **-aḥṛ**. These should be connected with West. Hindi, modern **-ēṛ** (**deṛkhēṛ**). The same termination is found in the 3rd pl. derived from **-anti**. Is it a case of substitution, but why?

2nd sg.—The termination **Ai**, **-eṛ** cannot go back to E. Aw. **-asi** directly; there is only one instance of **-Ai** in E. Aw. One has to assume that side by side with **-asi**, a form in **-aḥi** was in use in Early Awadhi; this is found in the Imperative as an alternative with **-asi** in Tulsī and is attested by Apabhraṃśa (Bhavisayattakahā G.O.S., p., 24).

2nd pl.—Skt. **-atha**, Pkt. **-aḥu**, Ap. **-aḥu**, E. Aw. **-aḥu**, Mod. Aw. **-Au**, **-aṛ**. The **-Au** form is regular from **-aḥu**. The change from Pkt. **-aḥa** to **-aḥu** appears to be on the analogy of 1st pl. **-āmō**. Modern **-aṛ** < **-aḥa**, cf. Marāṭhī **-ā** (Bloch, p. 233). Or the accent on the penultimate syllable might be responsible for the dropping out of the final **-u** of **-aḥu**, the **h** in **-aṛ** is still sometimes heard.

3rd sg.—Skt. **-ati**, Pkt. **-ai**, E. Aw. **-ai** (**-aḥi**), Modern **-Ai**. As shown above (Part I, Chapter II) Awadhi generally retains vowel-combinations, only rarely have they contraction; the final **-i** here is retained after **-a**. The **-aḥi** forms in Early Awadhi further show that there was some emphatic aspiration which also might have been responsible for keeping the vowel-combination here intact. The E. Aw. **-a** form is, in all probability, the past participle used as historic present or habitual past.

3rd pl.—Skt. **-anti**, Pkt. **-anti**, Ap. and E. Aw. **-aḥṛ**, Modern **-ī**. What is this **-h**? It is attested by Apabhraṃśa.

Past Indicative

§ 304. As shown above various forms of the Perfect Participle are used to denote the past tense both in Early and Modern Awadhi. For instance in Lakhimpurī :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-eū (derkheū)	-en (derkhen)
2nd	-er (derkher), -isī (derkhisī)	-eu (derkheu)
3rd	-isī (derkhisī)	-inī (derkhinī)

Bgh. has the following forms :

	masc.	fem.	mas.	fem.
1st	derkhefū	derkhir	derkhen	derkhen
2nd	derkheh	derkhih	derkheh	derkheh
3rd	derkhar	derkhir	derkhen	derkhen

Lakhimpurī maintains a distinction between the transitive and intransitive, as shown by the following forms of **mar-**

1st	masc.	-eū (mAreū), -ar (mArar);	-en (mAren)
	fem.	-iū (mArīū), -ir (mArir)	"
2nd	masc.	-ar (mArar)	-eu (mAreu)
	fem.	-ir (mArir)	-iu (mArīu)
3rd	masc.	-ar (mArar)	-er (mAreer)
		-ir (mArir)	-īr (mArīr)

The dialectal variation has been shown above (§297).

(a) This tense refers to a momentary action which happened in the past, e.g., **jab mai huā se caleū tab tum huāz nariz rāfīau** 'when I started from there, you were not in the place'.

If a continuous action in the past is meant to be indicated, a root indicating continuity is employed, e.g. **mai baiṭfēū** 'I sat', **mai baiṭī rāfēū** 'I remained seated'. The difference between this tense and the Present Perfect Indicative and the Past Perfect Indicative is chiefly this that the effect of the last two lasts after the action while it does not last in the case of this tense. The Past Indicative may, however,

be used to denote an action just completed (for which English uses Present Perfect), e.g., **ur manair jir kar tum purchatī rāṣṭau ari gawar** 'the man about whom you were inquiring has arrived'. Thus, here, the momentary action of 'arriving' is emphasised, not its effect. If the effect were to be emphasised, the Present Perfect would be used.

(b) Used conjunctively this tense refers to a future action, e.g. **jo mai bājār gaeū tau tumṣarīr kharīr ṭapkar lajāiṣṭāū** 'If I go (lit. if I went) to the market, I shall bring mangoes for you'.

NOTE.—In Lmp. in the case of $\sqrt{\text{lar}}$ 'to bring', the terminations of the intransitive (**-ar, -ir** etc.) are found in spite of the root being transitive, e.g. **mai rupajār lariū** 'I (fem.) brought money.' Is it that a root involving motion, i.e. *gatyarthaka*, has the same treatment as the intransitive roots?

Future Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 305. The following are the terminations :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-ihaū, -aba, -abaū abai, abi	-aba, abi, -abā, abai, ibē
2nd	-ihasi, -aba	-ihahu, -aba, -ibī, -abī, -abō
3rd	-ihai, -ihi, -ī, -aba,	-ihahr, (-ihat), -iht, -aba

1st sg.—In Jāyasī we find -ihaū, -aba and -abaū; in Tulsī -ihaū, -aba and -abi while in Nūr Muhammad -aba and -abai. For instance :

Jāyasī : *deihaiū bhuguti dehaiū jāya-mālā* 'I shall give enjoyment and the victory-garland' (p. 403), *ghara kaisai paīṭhaba mat chūchē, kaunu utara dēbatū tinha pūchē* 'empty how shall I enter the house? when they ask, what answer shall I give?' (p. 121).

Tulsī : *tasa kahihaiū hiya hari kē prērē* 'so shall I say, impelled in the heart by Hari' (p. 18), *hari āmba mat kari*

nija māyā 'I shall seduce him away by my deceit' (p. 74), *bhāṣā-baddha karabi maṭ sōi* 'I shall render it in (popular) language' (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad: *karaba maṭ sēvā* 'I shall render service' (p. 32), *anta ēka dina hōbai khēhā* 'ultimately one day, I shall be (turned into) ashes' (p. 35).

1st pl.—Jāyasī -*aba*, -*abi*, Tulsī -*aba*, -*abā*, -*abai* and -*iḃē*, N. Muhammad -*aba*; for instance:

J. *puni sāsura hama gāvanāba kālī* 'then tomorrow, we shall go to our fathers'-in-law' (p. 96), *kaunu utaru pāubi kita mōkhū* 'what answer shall we get, whence will the deliverance be?' (p. 97).

T. *hamahū kahāba aba ṭhakurasohāṭī* 'we also shall now say words flattering to the master' (p. 163), *jīyata na karabi savati sevakāi* 'while I am alive, I shall not serve my rival' (p. 165), *dēbā*, *dekhībāi*, *dekhībē*.

N. *hama kehi kārana karaba sīgārā* 'why shall we adorn ourselves?' (p. 25).

2nd sg.—the instances are found in Tulsidas only:

jaihasi taṭ samēta parivārā 'thou shall go (to hell) with thy family' (p. 76), *tinhaṭ milē taṭ hōba punītā* 'on meeting them, thou shall be purified' (p. 337).

2nd pl.—J. -*ihahu* and -*aba*, T. -*ihahu* (*iahu*), -*aba* and -*iḃi*, N. -*aba*. For instance:

J. *kā kahihahu jaba dekhiahahu rōhū* 'what will you say when you will see the herring?' (p. 312), *kaisai dhūpa sahāba binu chāhā* 'how will you bear the sun without shade?' (p. 247).

T. *jāba lagi tumha aihahu mohṭ pāhṭ* 'till you come to me' (p. 27), *bhujabala bisva jītaba tumha jāhiā* 'when you will conquer the universe by the might of your arms' (p. 63), *ehi rāja sāja samēta sēvaka jānibī* 'know me to be your servant with all the king's equipment' (p. 140), *ē dārikā paricārīkā kari pālāḥ* 'please protect these daughters, taking

them as your maids' (p. 140), *aparādha chamibō* 'forgive the fault.'

NOTE.—*-ibī*, *-abī* and *-ibō* are used more as imperatives and are honorific.

3rd sg.—J. *-ihī*, *-ī*, *-ihai* and *-aba*, T. *-ihī*, *-ī* and *-aba*, N. *-ihī*, *-ī* and *-ihai*. For instance :

J. *kaisai nīda parihi bhut māhā* 'how will sleep come, on the ground' (p. 247), *milī so kaunahu phēru* 'then that will come together in some way' (p. 396), *bāura karihai kāhi* 'he will make someone mad' (p. 132), *guna auguna bidhi pūchaba* 'the Lord will ask merit and demerit' (p. 15).

T. *tinhaht kathā suni lāgihi phikī* 'to them the story will appear insipid on hearing' (p. 7), *aba na tumhaht māyā niyarāi* 'Māyā will not come near you now' (p. 63), *jehi bana jāi rahaba raghurāi* 'in whichever forest Rāma will go and live' (p. 198).

N. *saba bilāya jāihi eka bārā* 'once all will disappear' (p. 1), *kaisē rahana kalimjara hōi* 'how will abode be (possible) in Kalinjar' (p. 23), *puni tō lai apanē ghara jaihai* 'then will take you and go to his place' (p. 41).

3rd pl.—*ihī* only is found in J., it and others are found in T. ; for instance :

J. *tīnātī tōka jariht tehi lāgi* 'with that all the three worlds will burn up' (p. 457).

T. *sunihahṭ sujāna sarāhi subānī* 'the good people will hear it and admire it in good words' (p. 7), *dekhiahṭ rūpa nāma ādhīnā* '(they) will see the form under the name' (p. 14), *sīya biyāhaba rāma* 'Rāma (honorific pl.) will marry Sītā' (p. 106); *-ihī* (*rākhiht*) is very uncommon.

NOTE 1.—In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad two or three instances of *-gē* futures, e.g., *pāvahugē* (T. pp. 62, 384), *karahīgē* (T. pp. 330, 378), are found but they are borrowed forms.

NOTE 2.—The note under § 306 showing **er + i > jar** does not operate in Early Awadhī, e.g., *deihaũ* (T. p. 28 line 19). Sometimes the **-i** of the termination is elided, e.g., *deihaũ*, *dēhaũ* (J. p. 403).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 306.

Lmp.	sg.	pl.
1st	-iṣṭāũ (dekhiṣṭāũ)	-ibax (dekhibax) -ib (derkhib)
2nd	-iṣṭai (dekhiṣṭai)	-iṣṭau (dekhiṣṭau)
3rd	-ix (derkhir)	-iṣṭāĩ (dekhiṣṭāĩ)

(a) There is a dialectal variation with regard to **-ṣṭ-** or **-b-** forms. Except in the tracts bordering on Kanauj [where **-iṣṭāĩ** (**dekhiṣṭāĩ**) form is found with 1st plural also, e.g., West Unao], the Western dialects, viz., Lmp., S., L., U., F. and Bgh. have **-b-** forms only for the 1st plur. In the Central dialects, viz., B., Br. and R., the **-b-** forms are creeping into the second person also. In the Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P., A., M.) **-b-** forms are found in the 1st and 2nd persons regularly, **-ṣṭ-** forms being found only in the 3rd person.

1st pl.—S., L., U. and F., **-Ab**, **-iber** (**derkhab**, **dekhiber**), Bgh. **derkhib**, **derkhab**, **dekhobai**, Br. and R. **-Ab**, B. **-obai** (**dekhobai**), G. **-Ab** commoner than **-obai**, Fy. **-Ab** or **-obai** and after **-ax** roots **-ub** (**arub**, **batarub**), Sl. **-Ab** (and **-ub** after **-ax** roots only), L. **-Ab**, so also A. and M.

2nd sg.—Br. and R. **-iber**, G. **-ober** (**dekhober**), Bgh. **dekhifes**; 2nd pl.—B., Br. and R. have **-iṣṭau**, so also has Gonda largely and S.W. Sultanpur and Fyzabad, else Fy. **-box**, **-bao**, Sl. **-bjax** P., A., M. **-bax**, **-ibax**, **box**, S.E.G. **-box**.

3rd sg.—R. **-er** (**derkher**), so also Fy., Sl., A., M., P. and S. W. Sl. have **ix** (**derkhir**), Bgh. **derkhir**.

3rd pl.—Br. **-iṣṭer** (**dekhiṣṭer**); Fy., Sl. and other Eastern dialects **-iṣṭāĩ** (**dekhiṣṭāĩ**).

NOTE.—In the case of roots **der** 'to give' and **lex** 'to take', the initial **-i** of **-iṣṭāũ**, **-iṣṭāi**, **-iṣṭāu**, **-iṣṭāĩ**, is combined with **-er**, **er+i** thus resulting in **-jar**, e.g., **djarṣṭāũ**, **djarṣṭāi**, **djarṣṭāu**, **djarṣṭāĩ**.

(b) This tense simply refers to a future action, e.g., **ham miṭhariz khaibar** 'we shall eat sweetmeats'. As compared with this, the Fut. Imperfect Ind. refers to an action which will be in the process of being done (**mai miṭhariz kharṭi hoṣṭāũ** 'I shall be eating sweetmeats' and the Fut. Perfect Indic. to an action which will have been completed (**mai miṭhariz kharer hoṣṭāũ** 'I shall have eaten sweetmeats'). In the case of verbs indicating continuous action, this tense indicates merely the beginning of the action, e.g., **jab tum aṣṭāu tab ṣam paṛṣibar** 'when you come, I shall read', i.e., I shall begin reading after your arrival. The tense can be used conjunctively also (**jo aṣṭāu tau dekhiṣṭāu** 'if you will come, then you will see'). As such it has a little more probability of the action than in the case of the conjunctive sense indicated by the Past tense [vide § 304 (b)].

C. ORIGIN

§ 307. The Future Indicative of Awadhi is based on the ancient future (*lṛt*) and on the *tavya* participle, the *h*-forms going back to the former while *-b-* to the latter. The development of *-sy-*, as *-ss-* and *-s-* > *-h-* appears to be rather rapid, considering that *-s-* is generally retained in Mod. IA. But the sounds in a suffix might have had a different treatment.

All the dialects of Awadhi have the *-b-* form at least in the 1st pl., the more we proceed to the East, the more we find the *-b-* forms in use. These have a great variety; *-ibā*, *-ib*, *ibē*, *-ibai* etc. all of which may not be strictly derivable from *tavya* (*itavya*): *-abba*, *-iabba*; it appears that the dialects after adopting this participle to indicate the future

have developed it individually, so that now in Mirzapur **-box** forms are used with the 1st person and **-ber** with the second person. No dialects of Modern Awadhi use **-b-** forms in the 3rd person, but in Early Awadhi, these are found optionally with all the persons and numbers. The 3rd sg. form in *-ī* should be connected with *-ihī > ii*.

Imperative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 308. The following are the terminations:

	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>-aū, -ō</i>	
2nd	<i>-u, -a, -asi -ahi</i>	<i>-ahu -ō</i>
3rd	<i>-au, -ao, -ai</i>	<i>-ahī</i>

1st sg.—*aū* is found in all the three texts while *-ō* only in Nūr Muhammad. For instance:

J. *haū aba banōbāsa kahā jāū* 'may I now go to an exile into the forest?' (p. 90);

T. *āpu sarisa khōjōū kahā jāī* 'where should I go and seek one like myself' (p. 67);

N. *āpana auguna kāhu sunāvaū* 'how should I speak of my own demerits' (p. 84), *jñāna mandu kimi kahō bakhānō* 'my knowledge is little, how should I describe in detail' (p. 15).

2nd sg.—*-u* forms are found in all the three texts; in Nūr Muhammad in a few cases we have *-a*; *-asi, -ahi* are found only in Tulsīdās. For instance:

J. *mohī yaha lōbha sunāu na māyā* 'do not speak to me of attractions and attachments' (p. 249);

T. *rāma-nāma mani-dīpa dharu* 'put the bejewelled lamp of the name of Rāma' (p. 14), *taba lagi janu kachu kahasi bahōrī* 'till then do not say anything again' (p. 171), *bēgi priyā pariharahi kubēṣū* 'my beloved, leave this ugly appearance soon' (p. 167).

N. *māru na chīra bhāta mō lātā* 'do not strike thy foot in milk and rice' (p. 21), *taja mana cinta barhāva hulāsū* 'leave anxiety and increase gladness' (p. 12).

2nd pl.—all the texts have *-ahu* forms, only in Nūr Muhammad *-ō* forms are found sometimes; for instance:

J. *dhāvana tahā paṭhāvahu, dēhu lākha dasa rōka* 'send messengers there and give an amount of ten lakhs' (p. 223).

T. *māgahu āju juṛāvahu chātī* 'beg (them) to-day and cool your breast (heart)' (p. 166);

N. *hoi dayāla gaurīpati, puravahu kīja hamāra* 'O lord of Gaurī, be compassionate and accomplish my business' (p. 32), *kai kirapā mohi pāra utārō* 'take pity and put me across' (p. 2).

3rd sg.—*au* is found both in Jāyasī and Tulsīdās while *-ai* only is found in Nūr Muhammad; *-ao* is a variant form of *-au* in Jāyasī and *-ai* is sometimes found in Tulsīdās. For instance:

J. *dahū vaha rasa kō pāu ko nāhī* 'whether any one may get that tasty juice or not' (p. 179), *jāi parā jāha pāo na thāhā* 'went and fell (there) where (he) may not obtain the bottom' (p. 525).

T. *kou nṛpa hōu hamahi kā hānī* 'any one may become a king, what have I to lose?' (p. 163), *jārai jōgu subhāu hamārā* 'may fate burn my habit' (p. 163).

N. *kā jānai sukha bhōga bhulānā* 'what may one who has forgotten (himself) in the enjoyment of happiness, know' (p. 11).

3rd pl.—We find only one or two examples in Nūr Muhammad: *guru jana sō yaha binatiya mōrī, kōpa na mānahī bhaūha sikōrī* 'this is our request to the elders, may they not show anger and frown' (p. 4).

NOTE.—The passive imperative is found considerably used in all the texts, particularly with a first person plural subject [see § 347 (c)].

The use of this tense is exactly like that of the Imperative of Sanskrit where 'order' is denoted by a form of the second person and 'permission' is sought by a form of the other two persons.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 309. The forms of the Imperative are the same as of the Present Indicative, but there is a distinction from the latter in the 2nd person singular, *e.g.*, in Lmp. Pres. Ind. **derkhai**, Imperative **derkhu**, Pres. Ind. **jari**, Imperative **jar**. The termination of the 2nd sg. here being **-u** (and zero in the case of **-ar** **-er** **-or** roots) while in the Pres. Ind. it is **-ai** (and **-i** in the case of **-ar**, **-er**, **-or** roots). Besides G. 3rd sg. Imp. is **-au** (**derkhaū**). This difference of the termination warrants a separate treatment of the Imperative.

The Western dialects and B. and G. have **-u** (and zero) like Lmp., R. and Br. have zero (**derkh**, **jar**) in all roots, while the Eastern dialects do not possess a 2nd person singular and hence do not show any difference from the Pres. Indic. Bgh. has **derkhas** sg. and **derkhab** pl. The exact Imperative sense is expressed only in the 2nd person, *e.g.*, **tui jar** 'go', **bhaigau** 'run away'. In other persons it has a permissive sense, *e.g.*, **mai karaū** 'let me do', **ur karaī** 'let him do'.

NOTE.—As shown above (Part I § 160) the Imperative is distinguished from the Present Indic. by a difference in tone also.

C. ORIGIN

§ 310. The Imperative shows a difference from the Present Indicative only in the 2nd pers. sing. and 3rd pers. sg. The 2nd sg. form with zero termination goes back to **-a** (*gaccha* etc.) which lost its pronunciation sometime in late MIA. The **-u** termination which occurs in Sindhī as well (see Bloch p. 238) cannot go back to MIA. **-asu** (*kahasu*), nor can it be said that the ancient **-u** (*kuru*, *śṛṇu*) has survived; we find that Apabhraṃśa has it (*e.g.*, *usaru*, p. 25, Bhavisayatta

kahā G. O. S.). Hoernle (p. 338) sees it as 'perhaps a corruption of -a'! The 3rd sg. -*au* attested by a dialect in Modern Awadhi also as well as by Bhājapurī, goes back regularly to -*atu* (*gacchatu*). Other forms go back to the Present Indicative which began to replace the forms of the Imperative as early as the earliest MIA.

Future Imperative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 311. The use of this tense as shown in § 312 is different from the ordinary Imperative. The following are the terminations :

	sg.	pl.
2nd	- <i>esu</i>	- <i>ehu</i>

For instance :

J. *au mukha saū bacā kahesu parēvā* 'O bird, then thou wilt say words with (thy) mouth' (p. 495), *āehu caḍhi so gagana puni sātā* 'then you will come by climbing up the seven skies' (p. 435);

T. *tinhaṭ dekhāi dihesu tat sītā* 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (p. 337), *karehu so jatana bibēka bicārī* 'you will have recourse to that means after a mature consideration' (p. 27);

N. *nisa mō rākhahu bhōrē āehu, dhirja dharehu jaisō phala pāehu* 'put it at night and then you will come early in the morning, and have consolation with whatever fruit you will get' (p. 17).

NOTE.—As shown under § 312 the terminations of this tense are not found with roots based on the past participle (e.g., *hōehu* and not *bhaehu*)

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 312. This indicates an imperative of a distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative, e.g., **derkhaū** 'see!' **derkheu** 'see—future'. The forms in Lakhimpurī are :

sg.

pl.

2nd person **-er (derkher)** **-eu (derkheu)**

As such they do not appear to differ from the Past Indicative. (cf. § 304). But two points should be noted:— (1) that out of the two forms that we have in Lakhimpurī for the Past Indic. in 2nd pers. sing., viz., **-er** and **-isi**, only one, i.e., in **-er**, is employed for the Future Imperative, the other one in **-isi** is never so used; and (2) with roots that have separate forms for the Present and the Past [§ 297 (z)] the Future Imperative has its terminations after the Present root, e.g., **jar-** Present, **gA-** Past; now **jareu** 'go—Future Imperative', **gAeu** 'went—Past Indicative'. Similarly **horeu** 'be—Future Imperative', **bhAeu** 'were—Past Indicative'.

This difference warrants a separate treatment of this tense. All the dialects possess this tense. They agree in not employing the **-isi** or its corresponding form in **-es**, **-osi** etc. for indicating the Future Imperative and in adding the terminations after the root of the Present where a difference of roots exists. A specimen from Gonda (Balrampur) has two forms in **-isṇ** (**axisṇ**, **kifisṇ**). Standard Hindi expresses the sense of this tense by what appears to be the verbal noun, e.g., **tum derkhnaz** 'you will see'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 313. The Future Imperative is found only with reference to the 2nd pers. sg. and pl. Its sense is connoted by the infinitive in W. Hindi (e.g., **tum jarnaz** 'you will go') and by the forms derivable from the Future Indicative, in Bengālī, Maithilī and Bhōjpurī (Chatterji § 651). Awadhi, however, has special terminations—sg. **er**, **esu**; **isṇ**, pl. **-eu**, **eṣu**. These appear to go back to the **-aya > ē**, conjugation of MIA in the Imperative, examples of which are quoted by Pischel (pp. 331—32).

Past Conditional

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 314. The Imperfect Participle is used to denote this tense and the use is like that in Modern Awadhi (§ 315). The participle is, however, inflected sometimes. The following terminations, thus, after the root, result :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-ateṭi, -atiṭi	
2nd	—	-atehu
3rd	-teu	—

1st sg.—*ateṭi* is found in all the texts, only in Nūr Muhammad *-atiṭi* is sometimes found with a subject in the feminine gender, e.g.,

J. *anu rānī haṭi rahateṭi rādhā* 'O queen! very gladly would I have remained (here)' (p. 405);

T. *jaṭi janateṭi binu bhaṭa bhubi bhāi* 'had I known, brothers, that the Earth is devoid of heroes' (p. 108);

N. *jō maṭ cahateṭi āpana nāṭi* 'if I had wanted my fame' (p. 25), *nā tō cērī hōtiṭi tērī* 'or else, I (fem.) would have become thy servant' (p. 79).

2nd pl.—the forms have been found only in Tulsīdās : *jaṭi tumha avatehu muni kī nāṭi* 'had you come like an ascetic' (p. 120).

3rd sg.—the simple Imperfect participle (masculine or feminine) is used in all the texts but J. in addition has *-teu* forms and N. *-tai*. For instance :

J. *kusala hōta jau janama na hōtā* 'It would have been well, if there had been no birth' (p. 314), *dhāi singha baru khāteu mārī* 'it would have been better, if a lion had attacked and eaten me up' (p. 382);

T. *hōta janama na bharata kō* 'if there had been no birth of Bharata' (p. 284), *jaṭi pai jia na hōti kuṭilāi* 'if there had been no wickedness in the heart' (p. 231);

N. *hōtai mukuta hamāra* 'there would have been my deliverance' (p. 16), *mō mahā tā mukha lēta basērā* 'her face would have resided (for some time) in me' (p. 11), *ātamaḥjā jō hōta eka* 'if there had been a daughter' (p. 16), *mana au prāna doū hara lēti* 'she would have snatched away both life and heart' (p. 18).

NOTE.—The uninflected participle can be used with any person, e.g., *Jāyasī: kai tasi rahati āhi jasa būri* (Padmāvatī says) 'or I would have remained just I was in childhood' (p. 382).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 315. Lmp.

	sg.	pl.
1st	- otiū (dekhotiū)	- oten (dekhoten), - iti (derkhiti)
2nd	- Ati (derkhAti)	- otiu (dekhotiu)
3rd	- Ati (derkhAti)	- etī (dekhotī)

The following are the variations in the districts :

1st sg.—The Western dialects as well as B. agree with Lmp., R. and Br. have **-otū** (**dekhotū**), Bgh. masc. **dekhotjehū**, fem. **dekhotihū**.

1st pl.—the final **-i** of **-iti** is not found in the Eastern dialects except in G., B. has **-otin** for **-oten**, particularly in Eastern tracts ; Bgh. masc. **dekhotjen**, fem. **dekhotin**.

2nd sg.—P., Br. and R. **-oter** (**dekhoter**), G. **-otis** (**dekhotis**), Bgh. masc. **dekhotjesi**, fem. **dekhotisi**.

2nd pl.—**-oteu** (**dekhoteu**) in Fy., G. (except West), P. and Br. ; **otjar** (**dekhotjar**) in Sl., **otur** (**dekhotur**) in R. ; Bgh. masc. **dekhotjēsi**, fem. **dekhotisi**.

3rd sg.—**At** (**derkhAt**) in Br., R., Fy., S., P., G., A. and M. Fy. distinguishes between masc. **-At** and fem. **-Ati** ; Bgh. masc. **dekhotjai**, fem. **dekhotjir**.

3rd pl.—**otēr** (**dekhoter**) in R., **-oter** (**dekhoter**) in G. (except West) ; Fy., Sl. P., A., M., **-oten** (**dekhoten**) or

-ətin (dekhətin). Fy. distinguishes between masc. -əter and fem. -ətīr (dekhəṭīr), Bgh. masc. dekhəṭjen, fem. dekhətin.

(a) This tense denotes (in a conditional or purpose clause) an action which might have taken place in the past but which never did come off, e.g., **jo mai ghar se arṭh bajer caldertiū tau hiār bakhat par paṣuṇjartiū** 'had I started at eight from my house, I would have been here in time', **tum ais karətiū kī ham kar hūa se tarkai ko maukar. miljarti** 'you should have acted in a manner that I should have got an opportunity to slip off from there'.

Compared with the Past Imperfect Conditional (§ 325) and Past Perfect Conditional (§ 331) this tense does not refer to the aspect of the incompleteness or completion of the act, but simply denotes that it did not take place.

C. ORIGIN

§ 316. The Past Conditional in Awadhi, like other Mod. IA. is based on the Imperfect participle. In some forms the enclitic personal terminations, which appear in the past tense also, are found incorporated while in others, they are not used. Awadhi does not present any special feature here.

Present Imperfect Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 317. The following instances have been noted :—

Jāyasī: **haū jānati haū** 'I know' (p. 508), **prāna mukuta aba hōta hai** 'life-breath is becoming free now' (p. 561), **khana eka mahā cāhata haṭ dhāi** 'in a moment, they want to make an attack' (p. 605).

NOTE.—In **aba kasa hāri karasi haṭ hē hari** 'how now, overcome thou sayest (dest), O Hari' (p. 551), the auxiliary has been combined with the Present Indicative form.

Tulsī: **nīti dharma naṭ jānata ahaū** 'I know my duty according to polity' (p. 379), **nisi dinu dēva japata hahu**

jēhī 'O lord, on whom you meditate day and night' (p. 296), *jānati hahu basa nāhu hamārē* 'you know that the lord is in your control' (p. 163), *mānahū mōri karata hahī nindā* 'methinks (they) are speaking ill of me' (p. 316), *kou kaha calana cahata hahī ājū* 'somebody said, they are going to-day' (p. 144), *prasna karata mana sakucata ahaī* 'he is hesitating to ask' (p. 456).

Nūr Muhammad : *rōvata ahaī bircha para, mitra chāri gā pāsa* 'I am lamenting on the tree, the friend has left me' (p. 85), *jehi nisa dina sumirata hai kōū* 'if any one remembers any one, day and night' (p. 75), *mitra jo haī karatāra kē, marata nahī haī sōi* 'those who are friends of God, do not die' (p. 54).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 318. For instance in Lakhimpurī :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatī haū	derkhitī hai or derkhitī han
2nd	derkhatī hai m. derkhatī hau f. dekhōtī hau	
3rd	derkhatī hai m. derkhatī haī f. dekhōtī haī	

(a) This tense refers to an action which is taking place in the Present and has displaced the Pres. Indic. entirely in common speech. The auxiliary is uttered with much less emphasis than the principal verb, and hence appears to have lost ground in several cases. For instance :

Lmp. **tum dekhōtiū nazir hiāz kar hoi gar** 'you do not see what has happened here' where **dekhōtiū** stands for **dekhōtīz hau**; Fatehpur : **abai tum nahi janteo** 'till now you do not know', Gonda : **ham dhoortīz nahi chāzī sakitī** 'I cannot wash *dhoṭī*', **ham sorjhi birahi jani** 'I know simple *Birahā* (songs)', U. **mai nahi lai saktiū** 'I cannot take', Allahabad : **ham kuchh nahi karoten** 'I am doing nothing'. In all these instances the auxiliary has very much modified itself, so that the forms appear as if they were of the Past Conditional.

Past Imperfect Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 319. Instances of this tense are much fewer than those of the Present Imperfect Indicative. For example :

Jāyasī : *sōvata ahā jahā sukha sākā* 'I was sleeping there where (one finds) branches of happiness' (p. 225).

Tulsī : *sundara suta janamata bhāt ōū* 'they also were delivered of handsome sons' (p. 85), *mātha nāi pūchata asa bhayaū* 'having bowed down, he began to ask' (p. 324), *rahē kahāvata parama birāgī* 'he was called a great hermit' (p. 146).

NOTE.—Greaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyana, p. 33) makes a distinction between the Imperfect Participle with $\sqrt{rah-}$ which he calls Imperfect Past and the Imperfect Participle with $\sqrt{bha-}$ which is termed by him as Inceptive Imperfect. But no such distinction appears to be justified. $\sqrt{bha-}$ is combined in exactly the same sense as $\sqrt{rah-}$ and is found so used in Bihārī languages even to-day. The usage in Rāmāyana only shows that both the roots were employed to make the Past Imperfect.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 320. This tense refers to an action which was being done in the past, the imperfection being emphasised, e.g., **mai bājaraī jati rāṣṭaū** 'I was going to the Bazar' indicates that the action of going was continuing. The forms, for instance, in Lmp., are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatī rāṣṭaū	derkhitī rāṣṭaī or derkhitī rāṣṭan
2nd	derkhatī rāṣṭaī	m. derkhatī rāṣṭaū f. dekhōtī rāṣṭaū
3rd	derkhatī rāṣṭaī	m. derkhatī rāṣṭaī f. dekhōtī rāṣṭaī

(a) In Unao and Fatehpur where we have **h-** forms of the auxiliary for the past, they are modified generally, e.g.,

F. **pandaraṣi rupajar kai cirj milat tir** 'the article was obtainable for fifteen rupees', **kheḷotir tīr** '(the girls) were playing', **tum kaṣṭāṛ ger tjoṛ** 'where had you been?', **biaṛṣi ke khwaṛj kar ger ten** 'I had gone in quest of the marriage (of my son)'.

Future Imperfect Indicative

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 321. This refers to an action which will be in the state of duration at some particular time. The forms, for instance, in Lakhimpurī are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatī hoṣṭāū	derkhitī hoibar or derkhatī hoibar
2nd	derkhatī horir	m. derkhatī hoṣṭāu f. dekhōtī hoṣṭāu
3rd	derkhatī horir	m. derkhatī hoṣṭāū f. dekhōtī hoṣṭāū

Imperfect Imperative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 322. One instance of Present Imperfect Conjunctive is found in *calā jāta jāsa hōi baṭōhī* 'as a traveller may be going' (N. p. 3).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 323. This is found only with the **raṣi**-root and emphasises the incompleteness of the action wanted to be done. For instance, Lmp. **tui derkhatī raṣu** '(thou) continue seeing', **tum derkhatī** (fm. **dekhōtī**) **raṣāu** '(you) continue seeing'.

Imperfect Future Imperative

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 324. This also emphasises the incompleteness of the action to be done, but with reference to distant future. For

instance *Lmp.*, **tui derkhatī rāfēz** 'thou wilt continue seeing', **tum derkhatī** (*fm. dekhōtīz*) **rāfēu** 'you will continue seeing'.

Present Imperfect Conditional

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 325. This tense refers to the continuity of an action which did not happen. The forms, for instance, in *Lmp.*, are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatī hortīū	derkhatī hortēn, derkhatī horitī
2nd	derkhatī hortī	m. derkhatī hortiu, f. dekhōtīz hortiu
3rd	derkhatī hortī	m. derkhatī hortīz, f. dekhōtīz hortī

Present Perfect Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 326. The following instances have been noted :—
Jāyasī : *jō hai likhā so jāi na mēṭā* 'what is ordained cannot be falsified' (p. 596), *jahā baiṭhu hahī rāu* 'where the king is sitting' (p. 583).

Tulsī : *taba lagi baiṭha ahaṭi baṭa chāhī* 'till then I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree' (p. 27), *thakita hōhī saba lōga lugāi* 'all men and women become stupefied' (p. 89).

Nūr Muhammad : *hama tuma rākhā hai tehi nāū* 'he has named us and you' (p. 55), *jāni parata rājā sravana, parī na hai yaha bōla* 'it appears that this word has not reached the king's ears' (p. 25), *āe suhāsa banē haī cērē* 'he came and smilingly became a disciple' (p. 2).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 327. The forms in *Lakhīmpurī*, for instance, are:

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkher haũ derkheũ hai	derkher han derkhen hai
2nd	derkher hai derkhisĩ hai	derkher hau
3rd	derkhisĩ hai	derkhini hai
1st	maraz (f. mariz) haũ mareũ (f. mariũ) hai	marez (f. mariz) han maren hai
2nd	maraz (f. mariz) hai marez hai	marez (f. mariz) hau mareu (f. mariu) hai
3rd	maraz (f. mariz) hai	marez (f. mariz) hai

(a) The difference between this tense and the Past Indicative lies in the use. This refers to an action the effect of which lasts up to the present while the Past Indicative refers to an action which has no effect at present, *e.g.*, **mai kuã mō giri gaz haũ** 'I have fallen into the well' *i.e.*, I am still there, while **mai kuã mō giri gaeũ** refers to the momentary action of falling but does not show that I am still there. Compared with the Past Perfect Indicative this tense refers to the recent past while the other to the remote past, *e.g.*, **mai gārwai gawaz haũ** 'I have gone to the village' refers to nearer past than **mai gārwai gawaz raɦaũ** 'I had gone to the village'.

Past Perfect Indicative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 328. The instances are very rare:

Jāyasī: *jaba lagi guru mat ahā na cīnhā* 'as long as I had not recognised my teacher' (p. 540), *aeũ marana mīcu hati likhī* 'I have come to die, death was ordained' (p. 121), *ohī dhanukha bēdhā huta rāhū* 'Rāhu had been pierced by that very bow' (p. 171), *dharotī saraga milē huta dōū* 'the Earth and the sky both were united' (p. 474).

Tulsī: *gaī rahī* 'she had gone', *gaē rahē* 'they had gone', *gaī hī* 'she had gone' (p. 379).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 329. As shown above (§ 297 note 1) the uninflected forms (-**ar**, -**ir**, -**er**) of the Perfect Participle are accompanied by the regular auxiliaries of the various persons and the inflected forms (-**eū**, -**iū**, **iu** etc.) by the 3rd person sg. (**hai** and its equivalents **āhai**, **ba** in the Present Perfect Indicative and **rahai**, **rahar** in the Past Perfect Indicative).

As compared with the Past Indicative, the effect of the action denoted by the Past Perfect Indicative lasts beyond the time when the action took place. Moreover, the Past Indicative refers to nearer past than the Past Perfect Indicative, *e.g.*, of **mai gārwai gajeū** 'I went to the village', and **mai gārwai gawar rāhau** 'I had gone to the village', the latter refers to remote past.

NOTE.—Unlike English Past Perfect (*e.g.*, I had gone) the Awadhi Past Perfect does not require comparison with another past verb.

Future Perfect Indicative

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 330. This tense refers to an action which will be necessarily completed by some particular time in the future, *e.g.*, **jalex tum ham kar bolarwai āihau talex ham roṛṭi khari cukar hoibar** 'I shall have taken my meal before you will come to call me'. It also sometimes is used to denote a possible but uncertain action of the past, *e.g.*, **karīfi kar tum ir kursir par baithar rāhau? hār baithar hoibar** 'did you sit on this chair yesterday?' 'Yes, I may have sat (on it)'.

Perfect Imperative

§ 331. This emphasises the completeness of the action wanted to be done, *e.g.*, **tui derkhar rāhu**, 'you continue in the state of having seen.'

Perfect Future Imperative

§ 332. As compared to the Perfect Imperative this tense refers to distant future, *e.g.*, **tui derkhex raffer** 'thou wilt continue in the state of having seen'.

Past Perfect Conditional

§ 333. This tense refers to a conditional completed action in the past which did not occur, *e.g.*, **jo mai sabai kitarbai parfex hortiū, tau aij cain karti hortiū** 'had I completed reading all the books, I should have been enjoying this day'. The forms in Lakhimpurī, for instance, are:

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhex hortiū	derkhex hoten, derkhen horiti
2nd	derkhex horti	derkhex hotiu
3rd	derkhex horti, derkhisī horti	derkhex hortī:

C. ORIGIN

§ 334. The periphrastic tenses of Awadhi are formed by combining the Imperfect or the Perfect participle with the various tenses of the auxiliary verb and do not present any peculiarity historically. Their use in Early Awadhi is comparatively rare, but with the progress of the language, greater and greater display of these tenses is found.

The Absolutive

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 335. The Absolutive in Early Awadhi ends in *-i*, only about half a dozen instances in Nūr Muhammad show *-a* for *-i*. This *-a* was merely orthographic. The form is generally used without any postposition; wherever a postposition is present, Jāyāsī has *kai*, Tulsī *kai* generally and sometimes *kara* and *kari*, Nūr Muhammad *kai*, *kē*. For instance:

Jāyasī : *augāhi* 'having dived deep' (p. 2), *ṭūṭi* 'having broken' (p. 19), *mili kai* 'having united' (p. 60).

Tulsī : *chāri* 'having left' (p. 88), *jāni*, 'having known' (p. 191), *sudhāri kai* 'having corrected' (p. 301), *jāi kara* 'having gone' (p. 338), *khāi kari* 'having eaten' (p. 399).

Nūr Muhammad : *samujhi* 'having understood' (p. 3), *cuni* 'having picked' (p. 5), *chāra* 'having left' (p. 4), *samhāri kai* 'having arranged' (p. 4), *thira kē* 'attentively' (p. 27).

The use of the absolutive is the same as in Modern Awadhi.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 336. The Absolutive in Lakhīmpurī is formed by adding *-i* to a root ending in a consonant (e.g., *derkhī*, *hāsi*) and *-i* to a root ending in a vowel (e.g., *jari*, *khari*). The form thus arrived at is then used with *ko* or *kai* or *-kaiṣṭār*, e.g., *derkhī ko* 'having seen', *hāsi kai* 'having laughed', *jari ko* 'having gone', *lai kai* 'having taken', *ur sab dīn hāsi kai bart karti hai* 'he always talks after smiling, i.e., after having smiled'.

S., L., U., B., Br., R., G. and P. have the *-i* sound distinctively in this form, F., Fy., Sl., A., M. and Bgh. appear to drop it sometimes after roots ending in a consonant (e.g., F. *niharī kai* 'having seen', Fy. *hās ke* 'having laughed', Sl. *derkh ke* 'having seen', A. *utār kai* 'having brought down', M. *bārt ke* 'having divided') but retain it always after roots ending in a vowel. The *-i* is sometimes pronounced as *-e* and generally *-ja* in the Eastern dialects. The elision of intervocalic *-r-* is witnessed in certain forms of the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects, Lmp. *dḥari*, B. *dḥai* 'having put', Lmp. *bhari*, Sl. *bhai* 'having filled, i.e., full', Lmp. *qarri*, Fy. *qari* 'having thrown' [Compare Chatterji : *Origin and Development of Bengali*, p. 157 (1)]. The postposition employed by the Eastern dialects is *ke* or

kai. **kaiñāz** is restricted to Lmp., S. and B. **kai** is very common.

NOTE.—(1) The absolutive (without the postposition) is used to form compound verbs also (*vide* § 355).

(2) **kar-** 'to do', **der-** 'to give' and **lex-** 'to take' have their absolutive as **kai**, **dai**, **lai** respectively.

C. ORIGIN

§ 337. The Absolutive of Awadhi is based on the OIA. -ya, MIA. -ia, resulting in Awadhi as -i > i̇ > Zero. In certain usages (e.g., in compound verbs where it is compounded with *sakab*, *pāvab*, *milab*, to show ability or capacity to do an action) the absolutive stands for the old infinitive (Skt. -tum, MIA. -ium) and the probability is that in such cases it has been derived from the ancient infinitive -ium, -iā, -i.¹

The Verbal Noun

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 338. The Verbal noun in Early Awadhi has two forms viz., (a) -ana, (b) -aba both of which are found in the texts. The direct sometimes ends in -u; and the oblique from these is found in -anē and -abē. An additional oblique form in -ai is also found.

The use of the verbal noun is the same as in Modern Awadhi. For instance :

Jāyasī : here we have very few instances of the direct form the oblique ends in -ai—*kita āuna puni apanē hāthā* 'how will return be within our power' (p. 96), *tā kara ihai jo khānā piyanā, saba kahā dēi bhuguti au jianā* 'that he gives enjoyment and life to everyone in his meal and drink' (p. 7); *dīnhesi sravana sunai kahā bayanā* 'He gave ears to

¹ Cf. my paper on 'The Verb in the Rāmāyṇa', Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II, p. 235.

hear word' (p. 12), *pūjai jāi sakala saṁsārū* 'the whole world goes to worship' (p. 360).

Tulsī: *karana cahaṭū raghupati guna-gāhā* 'I want to make a narration of the merits of the lord of the Raghus' (p. 7), *calē saṅga himavantu taba pahūcāvana ati hētu* 'then Himālaya started to send them off with great regard' (p. 49), *milaba hamāra bhulāba nija kahahu ta hamahṭ na khōri* 'I shall not be at fault if you mention my meeting or your missing (the way)' (p. 73); *ṭūṭa cāpa nahṭ jurihi risānē* 'the broken bow will never be fit by being angry' (p. 118), *hāsibē jōga hāsē nahṭ khōri* 'it is fit to be laughed at, there is no evil in laughing' (p. 7), *tōrai lāga* 'began to break' (p. 349), *jarai na pāvā* 'could not burn' (p. 471), *calai kara* 'of going' (p. 228).

Nūr Muhammad: *birtha khāba sōiba au jivana, piunā jivanā lōhu ka pīvana* 'eating, sleeping and life are useless, drinking and eating is (merely) drinking blood' (p. 35), *jāgaba mohṭ bairī bhayeu* 'awakening has become an enemy to me' (p. 48); *bāta sunai kahā saravana dīnhā* 'He has given ears to hear' (p. 1); *kahai likhai ūpara cita dīnhā* 'I concentrated my mind on saying and writing' (p. 4).

NOTE. 1.—In Nūr Muhammad one form *roibō* 'weeping' ends in *-ibō* (p. 26).

NOTE. 2.—In Tulsīdās there are a few feminine forms of the verbal noun ending in *-ani*, e.g., *avalōkani bōlani milani prīti parsapara hāsa* 'their manner of looking, speaking, and meeting as well as their mutual affection and laughs' (p. 24).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 339. There are two cases of this—the direct and the oblique. The direct in Lakhimpurī ends in **-Abṭ** (*deṛkhAbṭ* 'seeing'), **-bṭ** (*jaṛbṭ* 'going', *horbṭ* 'becoming'), or **-wAbṭ** (*baṭjaṛwAbṭ* 'striking the musical instrument'). All the dialects have this form in the direct, only R., Br., B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects generally have **-ubṭ** instead of

-wabū (e.g., **rozubū** 'weeping', **luṭarubū** 'squandering'); U. has forms in **-an** (**derkhan**) also. The usage is found in such sentences as: F. **un kar kharbū nirk naṣṣīz laṣṣat** 'eating does not appear good to him', Lmp. **kharbū kar perṭū bṣarabū hai** 'it is not eating, it is merely filling the stomach'.

The oblique in Lmp. ends in **-ai** (**derkhai**), **-i** (**jari**, **hori**), or **-wai** (**ba jarwai**). All the dialects (except portions of Lucknow, Unao, Barabanki and Fatehpur) have this form, only in the Eastern dialects generally **-i** is pronounced as **ja** and sometimes **-e**. In the tracts mentioned above an oblique in **-iber** (**dekhiber**, **jaiber**, **ba jaiber**) is found and on the border line of Kanaujī a form in **-an** (**derkhan**, **jain**, **horn**, **ba jarwan**) is used.

(a) The oblique is used without a postposition to show a purpose, e.g., **meṣṣaruaz qṣūṛai caliz** 'the woman started for the purpose of searching'. It is also used without a postposition to form compound verbs (*vide* § 349). It can take the various postpositions like any other noun, in order to express the various case-relations, e.g., **unkar paṛṣṣai se kar matlabū** 'what business has he with reading', **ham kar kuchū khari kō dezu** 'give me something to eat', **pāniz barsai kō bakhatū arwar** 'the time of raining has arrived', **iu larikar derkhai sunai mō nirk hai** 'this boy is good in seeing and hearing (i.e., to all reports and appearances)', **khari khartir roṛtiz laxox** 'bring loaves for eating'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 340. The Verbal Noun has forms in (a) **-n**, (b) **-b** and in (c) **-ai**. The **-n** forms go back to the suffix **-ana** (*lyuṭ*). Hoernle derives the suffix from **-anīyar** and is supported in his view by Kellogg. I should, however, agree with Beames in deriving it from *lyuṭ*; it sometimes indicates a purpose, a sense which was expressed by the verbal noun

in OIA also, and not by *-anīyar*. The *-b* forms should, like the future, be derived from *-itavya*. The transition of the meaning from 'to be done', for instance, to 'to do' is one more instance of a passive form losing its passive sense and so in effect becoming active.

Forms in *-ai* which are always used in the oblique case appear to be connected with the ancient infinitive of the causative roots, e.g., *karāiun* > *karāitū* > *karai*.¹

The Noun of Agency

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 341. The commonest forms end in *-vāra* (fm. *-vārī*) and *-hāra* (fm. *-hārī*), e.g.,

Tulsī: *rakhavārē* 'protectors', *mēḷana-hāra* 'destroyer', *kōṭi manōja lajāvani-hārē* 'one who puts to shame crores of cupids' (p. 203);

Nūr Muhammad: *niraṣanahāra aghāi* 'the man who looks is satisfied' (p. 8), *phūlanahū tē sōhanavārī* 'more beautiful than the flowers' (p. 8).

Other forms end in *-ana* (fm. *-ani*), e.g., *harana* 'one who captivates', *harani*. These are mostly found in Tulsīdās.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 342. The most general form in all the dialects is in *-aijāz*, *-waijāz* (*dekhaijāz* 'one who sees', *khawaijāz* 'one who eats'). Besides in Lmp. and P. a form in *-anaḥar* (fm. *-anaḥariz* or *anaḥari*) is found sometimes, e.g., *janaḥar* 'one who goes, i.e., is about to go'; fem. *janaḥariz*. The *-er* roots (*der*, *ler*) have a form in *-warl* found in Lmp., S. and B., e.g., *dewarl* 'one who gives', *lewarl* 'one who takes'). A form made by adding *-warlāz* to the oblique of the verbal noun (*-ai*) is reported from R., G. and P., e.g., *bḥaraiwarlāz* 'one who fills', *karāewarlāz*

¹ Prof Chatterji, however, sees phonetic difficulty in this derivation. Grierson thinks this to be derived as the oblique of the absolutive.

'one who does'. This appears to be made on the analogy of standard Hindi **bharneṃ warlax**, **karneṃ warlax**.

The noun of agency has a shade of the future time of the action denoted by it, e.g., **koziṣ saḥīar jawaījāṣ hozi tau bozīai** 'if there be anyone going to the city, let him speak out'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 343. The Noun of Agency has several forms of which **-aijāṣ** is most common in Modern and **-vāra** in Early Awadhi. The **-aijāṣ** forms appear to be connected with the ancient noun of agency in **-tṛ** + the pleonastic affix **-ka**, e.g., *paṭhatṛkaḥ* : *parhai-ṣ* : *parhai-ā* : **paṭṣaijāṣ** [see Hoernle (p. 149) who sees it as *āv* + *aiyā*]. The **-vāra**, **warl** forms are all combinations of the verbal noun with *pālakaḥ* and the **-anaḥīar**, **-anahāra**, **-anihāra** forms are the verbal noun in **-na** + *dhārakaḥ*. Forms in **-ana**, denoting the noun of agency, are *ardha-tatsama* forms, corresponding with *kartari lyuṭ*.

Phonetic Rules for Conjugation

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 344. I have found no instances of the operation of rules (a), (b), (c) under § 345, in Early Awadhi. Other rules are illustrated by the following instances :

(d) Jāyasī : *paṭhavā* (p. 16), *niarā-v-ā* (p. 40).

Tulsī : *cita-v-ā* (p. 28, line 22), *pā-v-ā*, *janā-v-ā* (p. 28, line 20).

Nūr Muhammad : *calā-v-ā*, *pā-v-ā* (p. 2, line 16).

(e) *wa* > *u*, e.g.,

Jāyasī : *bina-uba* (p. 15), *pā-ub*, *āubi* (p. 97).

Tulsī : *pā-uba* (p. 46, line 17), *ā-uba* (p. 74, line 19).

Nūr Muhammad : *pā-uba* (p. 57, line 16).

(f) Jāyasī : *khā-ba* (p. 247), *dē-ba* (p. 76), *hō-ba* (p. 254).

Tulsī : *jā-ba* (p. 57, line 16), *dē-na* (p. 168, line 12),
hō-ba, (p. 67), line 12 ;

Nūr Muhammad : *jā-ba* (p. 57, l. 13) *lā-ba* (p. 31, l. 18),
hō-bai (p. 35, l. 16).

NOTE.—In several instances *-i* appears as *-ya*, *ī* as *-yā* (*jāi* : *jāya*, *jāi* : *jāyā*) and *ē* as *-ye* or *-ya* particularly after vowels (*jagāehi*, *pāyau*).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 345. (a) All roots ending in *-n*, *-r* or *-l* optionally elide initial *-A* or *-o* of the terminations, e.g., *mān-* 'to acquiesce' + *Ati* : *mānAti* or *mānti*, *mān-* + *otir* : *-mānotir* or *māntir*, similarly *carAti* : *carti*, *harAti* : *harli*.

(b) All roots ending in *-i* (e.g., *ji-* 'to live') combine *-i* with *-i* or *-o* of dissyllabic terminations into *ir*, e.g., *ji-* *iṣṭāū* > *jirṣṭāū*, *ji -otir* > *jirtir*, but *ji -ib* > *jiib*, *ji -iti* > *jiiti*.

(c) All roots ending in *-u* (e.g., *chu-* 'to touch') combine *-u* with initial *u-* or *-o-* of the terminations into *ur* (e.g., *chu -u* > *chur*, *chu -otir* > *chutir*).

(d) All roots ending in *-A* (e.g., *kura-* 'to pile', *bṣṭA-* 'became'), *-ar* (e.g., *nar-* 'to pour', *sarmar-* 'to be ashamed'), *-er* (e.g., *kher-* 'to steer'), and *-or* (e.g., *qṣṭor-* 'to carry', *sor-* 'to sleep') add *-w-* between the root and a termination beginning with *ar-* (e.g., *kurawar*, *bṣṭawar*, *narwar*, *sarmarwar*, *kherwar*, *qṣṭorwa*, *sorwar*).

(e) All roots ending in *-A*, *-er* (except *ler*, *dex*) and *-or* (except *hor*), and transitive roots in *-ar* (except *khar*) and *ar* 'to come' add *-w-* before a termination beginning with *A-* (e.g., *kurawatī*, *narwatī*, *arwatī*, *kherwatī*, *qṣṭorwatī*, *sowatī*) or *-o-*, *-wə* then becoming *u* (*kurautir*, *nautir*, *autir*, *kheutir*, *qṣṭoutir*, *soutir*).

(f) All intransitive roots ending in *-ar* (except *ar* 'to come') and *khar* 'to eat', *ler* 'to take', *dex* 'to

give' and **hor** 'to become' elide the initial **h-** or **o-** of the terminations (e.g., **jar -atī** : **jartī**, **jar -otir** : **jartir**, **khartī**, **khartir**, **lertī**, **lertir**, **dertī**, **dertir**, **hortī**, **hortir**).

The Causative

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 346. The Causative in Early Awadhi is generally formed by augmenting **-ā** to the root and then conjugating it like a transitive verb, e.g.,

Jāyasī : *sunāvahī* (p. 16), *milāeū* (p. 397), *cuāvahī* (p. 548);

Tulsī : *sunāvā* (p. 17, last line), *janāvā* (p. 28, l. 20), *sicāvā* (p. 33, l. 12);

Nūr Muhammad : *samujhāvahī* (p. 26, l. 5), *rovāvahī* (p. 26, l. 6), *hakarāyeu* (p. 65, l. 2), *sunāyeu* (p. 65, l. 2).

There are a few instances where the ablaut of the vowel in the first syllable (**a** : **ā**, **i** : **ē**, **u**, **ū** : **ō**) expresses the causative sense, e.g.,

Tulsīdas : *ṭārā* (simple *ṭarā*) (p. 124, l. 14), *mēṭē* (simple *miṭē*) (p. 130, l. 12), *bōrahī* (simple *būrahī*).

In the case of *baiṭhaba*, *baisabā* and *dēkhaba*, **-ār** is augmented, e.g., *baiṭhārē* (T. p. 25, l. 7), *baisārē* (J. p. 193), *dēkharāvā* (J. p. 310), (T. p. 88, l. 16). *dēkhaba* makes the causal in the ordinary way also, e.g., *dēkhāyē* (T. p. 124, l. 20).

I have not come across any example of the double causative, except perhaps *kahāvāvā* 'made to call' (N. p. 25, l. 4), where the simple causative would have done.

NOTE.—The causative of **✓khā-** 'to eat' is *khiā* 'to feed' found in Jāyasī and Nūr Muhammad, e.g., *sabahi khiāvai āpu na khāi* 'He feeds all, but himself does not eat' (J. p. 7).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 347. The causative is formed generally by adding the suffix **-ai** to the simple root and then conjugating it like

any other transitive root in **-ar**, e.g., **hāsab** 'to laugh': **hāsarwab** 'to make one laugh', **deṛkhab** 'to see': **dekharwab** 'to make one see.'

The following verbs, however, form their causative by modifying the vowel, or the vowel and consonant of the root:

(a) lengthening the vowel: **pAsar**: **pAsair**, **ukhar**: **ukhair**, **nikar**: **nikair**, **khīc**: **khīic**; similarly **kaṭ**, **bāḍi**, **mar**, **lad**, **cir**, **buḡh**, **jar**.

(b) changing **i** into **ex** and **u** into **ox**, **phir**: **phexr**, **khul**: **khoxl**, similarly **ruk**, **gfiur**, **jur**.

(c) modifying both the vowel and the consonant:

(1) alternation of **t**, **ṛ** and **r**: **phAṭ**: **phair**, **churṭ**: **choxr**, **juṭ**: **joir**, **phurṭ**: **phoxr**, **ṭurṭ**: **toir**, **burṭ**: **boir**.

(2) alternation of **k** and **c**: **bik**: **bēic**.

In the case of **baith** 'to sit' **air** is added (in the Western and Central dialects) after **ar** to form the causal **baithab**: **baithairab**.

NOTE.—It should be noted that all the roots mentioned above (except **nikar**, **mar**, **ruk**, **rafi**) are sets of passive-active verbs rather than simple-causative.

Sometimes, there are found uses of a double causative. This is restricted to consonantal roots, e.g., **hāsab**: **hāsairwab**, **hāsawairwab**, and is formed by adding **war** to the simple causative.

In the case of a set of simple causative and double causative, the former is generally used in a case where the remote agent actively helps the immediate agent to do the action, e.g., **goparṛ rāimu kə pānir pijarinī** 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water' (i.e., Gopāl actively helped Rāmū—perhaps by giving water); and the double when the remote agent is merely the director of the action through another, e.g., **goparṛ Ambika sḡ rāimu kə pānir**

pijāwarinī 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water by the help of Ambikā'. In effect, thus, in a double causative there are more than two agents.

The double causative is, however, very seldom used as the nice distinction between the two causatives is not generally required.

NOTE.—The idea of the causative in some cases is expressed by quite a different root, e.g., **jarb** 'to go' but **paṭhawāb** 'to cause to go, i.e., to send', **arwāb** 'to come' but **arṇāb** 'to cause to come, i.e., to bring', **raṣṣāb** 'to remain' but **raṣkhāb** 'to keep'.

NOTE.—**khāi** 'to eat' makes its ordinary causative in Western and Central dialects (**khāwar**) but in the Eastern dialects it is found as **khīar**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 348. The suffix *ā* of the Causative goes back to *-ā-p*: *-āv*: *-v* being represented in some forms still in Modern Awadhi by *-w*. In the roots forming their causatives by ablaut, the correspondence with ancient causatives can be seen; Skt. *prasaratī*: *prasārayati*, Aw. **paśarai**: **paśarai**. On the analogy of the ablaut of *a*: *ā*, the ablaut of *i*: *ē*, *ū*: *ō* is also found.

The *-r* is an augment to the suffix *-ā* and is found only in a few roots. It corresponds with *-l* of Western Hindi, and with the *-r* normally found in Sindhi, with the causatives. Its origin is obscure.¹

The Passive

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 349. (a) Early Awadhi attests some roots which are passive in meaning, e.g., *bujhāi* 'is extinguished' (J. p. 375),

¹ See J. A. S. B., 1896 Part I, pp 1—5 where Grierson connects *l*, *r*, *q* etc. to Pkt. suffix *-illa* added to nouns and adjectives; and draws analogy of Skt. *kr—ṇō—ti* etc., which are said to be denominatives by Brugmann.

miṭaḥṭ 'are effaced' (T. p. 3, l. 11), *ugharahṭ* 'are opened up' (T. p. 3, l. 11), *sūjhaḥṭ* 'become visible' (T. p. 3, l. 12). Such roots, though they take the active forms, always express the passive sense.

(b) Some active roots form the passive by augmenting *-ā*, e.g., *samuda sukhāhṭ* 'oceans are dried up' (J. p. 19), *rahē kahāvata parama birāgī* 'he was called a great hermit' (T. p. 146). Denominative verbs come under this class of the passive, e.g.,

Jāyasī : *laṇāneu* 'was ashamed' (p. 179), *juḍāna* 'became cool' (p. 346).

Tulsī : *ḍerānā* 'became afraid' (p. 58, l. 5), *jurānē* 'became cool' (p. 60 l. 20).

Nūr Muhammad : *bhulānē* 'became forgetful' (p. 15, l. 23), *aruḥhānē* 'became entangled' (p. 15, l. 23).

NOTE.—The augment in the case of the Causative also is *-ā* but these denominatives are treated of as intransitive and so add *-n-* between the root and the terminations of the Past tenses. The context also indicates the difference.

(c) Besides the above, Early Awadhi attests some forms of the synthetic passive. The Passive Imperfect Participle has been shown above [§ 294 (c)]. Moreover, we find an impersonal passive present-imperative ending in *-ia*, *-iahi* (*-iai*), *-iē*, *-ījai*, *ījia*, *ījiai*, *-ījē*. Of these *-ia*, *-iai* (*-iahi*), *-ījia* and *-ījiai* are found in Jāyasī, *-ia*, *-iahi*, *iē*, *-ījai* in Tulsī and *-ījē* in Nūr Muhammad. In Nūr Muhammad, however, I have found only two instances of this form (viz. *kījē* 'make', *ṭījē* 'take', p. 27, l. 2).

In Jāyasī and Tulsī there are many more examples. Jāyasī : *jaṃbuka kahā jaṭi caḍhiahi rājā, siṃgha sāji kai caḍhia ta chājā* 'If one were to attack a jackal, O king, it will be best if he attacks after making preparation for (the attack of a) lion' (p. 530), *āju kālhi bhā cāhia* 'it should come about to-day or to-morrow' (p. 442), *kharaga dēkhi pānī hoi ḍhariiai* 'on seeing the sword, one (or you) should

trickle down as water' (p. 536); *bhaleht āe āba māyā kijia*, *pahunāi kahā āesu dījia* 'it is well that you have come, be favourable and order (me to put forward) hospitality' (p. 286), *ghāli kasauḥi dījiai* 'give (her) after putting (him) [on the touchstone]' (p. 610).

Tulsī : *sunia kathā sādara rati mānī* 'let the story be heard with respect and affection' (p. 19), *cahia amiya jaga jurai na chāchī* 'nectar is wanted, but even whey is not available in this world' (p. 7), *jānia bhagati na pūjā* 'neither devotion nor worship is known' (p. 81); *bāyasa paliahi ati anurāgā* 'let the crow be nurtured with great affection' (p. 5), *bēṣa pratāpa pūjiahi tēu* 'they also are worshipped owing to their guise' (p. 6); *gai nisa bahuta sayana āba kijai* 'night has passed sufficiently, let thee sleep' (p. 74). Similarly *kariē*, *hariē* etc.

NOTE.—As shown above these forms of the Passive are sometimes Imperative in sense, and sometimes denote merely the Present tense or the Conjunctive.

(d) Besides the synthetic passive, instances of the analytic passive also are found in Early Awadhi, e.g.,

Jāyasī : *gagana nakhata jasa jāht na ganē* 'so many stars in the sky as cannot be counted' (p. 177), *jau pīsata ghuna jāihi pīsā* 'while grinding barley, the insect also will be ground' (p. 487), *sahi na jāi jōbana kara bhārū* 'the weight of youth cannot be borne' (p. 382).

Tulsī : *bidhi karataba kachu jāi na jānā* 'Fate's action is not known at all' (p. 180), *ārati prīti na sō kahi jāti* 'that agony and affection is not described' (p. 195), *khaga mṛga haya gaya jāht na jōē* 'birds, deer, horses, and elephants are not seen' (p. 219), *barani na jāht mañju dui sālā* 'the two beautiful houses cannot be described' (p. 209); *mohi lakhi parata bharata matu ēhū* 'to me it appears that it is Bharata's opinion' (p. 270), *ehi pāpinihi būjhi kā pāreu* 'what was understood by this sinner?' (p. 175).

Nūr Muhammad : *ḡara sō ʔuttara jāi na dīnhā* 'owing to fear, the answer is not given' (p. 58), *nā tō māwī jāū* 'otherwise, I shall be killed' (p. 58), *sapana na būjhā jāi* 'the dream is not explained' (p. 5).

NOTE.—see § 354 (5) *paraba*.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 350. (a) Some roots are passive in sense by themselves, e.g., **kaṭ-** 'to be cut', **bādh-** 'to be bound', **jar** **lakṭar** **jaldiz nariz ciratī** 'this wood does not split (i.e. is not split) soon', **jur ḡṡarar bṡarai tab caliz** 'let this jar fill (i.e. be filled), then we shall go'. Most of such roots have merely a passive sense, their causative expressing the active, e.g., **kaṭ-** : **karṭ-**. But a few (e.g., **bṡar-**) have an active or passive sense according to the context. For instance, in the above instance it has been used as passive, but in **gopar iu ḡṡarar bṡarai tab caliz** 'let Gopāl fill this jar, then we shall go' it is active.

NOTE.—**caṡ-** 'to want' is used passively in the case of 3rd person singular only, e.g., **rupajar caṡiz** 'money is wanted'.

(b) A passive is formed sometimes by adding the suffix **-ar** to transitive roots and then conjugating them like intransitive roots [for distinction see above § 345 (e) and (f)], e.g., **jur admiz ārdṡar dekhartī hai** 'this man appears (lit. is seen) blind', **tum rāṡar janartiz hau** 'you appear to be (lit. are perceived) widows'. This passive, however, in Awadhi is found with a restricted number of roots only, mostly such as denote perception or knowledge (**sunar** 'to be heard', **aḡṡar** 'to be satiated') but sometimes with a few other roots (**bujhar** 'to become extinguished'). Denominative verbs (formed by adding **ar-**, e.g., **miṡh** 'sweet' : **miṡhar** 'to taste sweet', **loṡ** 'salt' : **lonar** 'to taste saltish', **khṡar** 'sour' : **khṡar** 'to appear sour', **piar** 'yellow' : **piarar** 'to become yellow', **harar**

'green' : **hariaṛb** 'to become green', **laṣṣar** 'wave' : **laṣṣaraṛb** 'to appear full of waves, thence metaphorically, prosperous') come under this passive.

NOTE.—In **bart** 'word' : **batlaṛb** 'to talk a word', there is an addition of **l** before the suffix **-ar-**. In the Central and Eastern dialects **-i-** (**batiaṛb**) or **-u-** (**batuaṛb**) instead of **l** is found.

(c) It should be noted that the suffix **ar** denotes the causative also; but the difference lies in the fact that causatives are transitive and the passive (including the denominative) is intransitive and hence there is difference in conjugation, e.g., **dekharwatī** 'shows' : **dekhartī** 'appears'. Where the form does not show the difference, the context indicates it, e.g., **dekhareū** may mean either 'showed' or 'appeared' according to the context.

(d) The analytic or periphrastic passive is formed in Awadhi with the help of three verbs : **jaṛb** 'to go', **arwab** 'to come' and **paraṛb** 'to fall'. For instance : **ab sab dākur mazreṛ jaṛiṣāṭī** 'now all dacoits killed will go i.e., now all the dacoits will be killed', **jab duxḍḥ piāi mō arwai tab sewaḍḍ jāni paraī** 'when milk drinking in comes then taste knowing falls i.e., when milk is drunk then only its taste may be known'. With **jaṛb** the Perfect Participle (the forms changing according to gender or number as required) is employed, and the agent is put in the instrumental case, if it is meant to be indicated. With **arwab** the oblique case of the verbal noun (followed by a locative postposition) is employed and the agent is put in the genitive. In the case of **paraṛb**, the absolutive (without the postposition) is employed and the agent appears in the dative case.

(e) A sort of impersonal passive is formed from intransitive verbs (and transitive verbs intransitively used) by employing **jaṛb** with the Perfect participle (3rd sg.) and expresses the additional aspect of ability to do an act, e.g., **ui**

sex arwar narix jartī 'he is unable to come', **kar tum sex kharwar narix jartī** 'can't you eat?' This additional aspect of 'ability' is present sometimes in the case of the transitive verb also, *e.g.*, **tum ais durbār hoi geu ki derkher narix jartiu** 'you have become so lean that you cannot be looked at, *i.e.*, the glance turns away from you.'

(f) The active construction is the normal feature of the language. The passive is used only to lay an emphasis either on the object of the active construction or on its attribute (**jar d̥flox̥l phux̥tī janartī hai** 'this drum appears to be broken') or on the action itself (**mai sex cilarwar narix jartī** 'I cannot shout'). The subject occupies a very secondary place and is mostly understood.

C. ORIGIN

§ 351. The suffix of the Passive, *-ya-*, is represented in MIA. as *-ia* and *-ijja*, and in Early Awadhi (see § 349) as *-i-* or *-ij-* found in the passive imperfect participle and in the passive imperative; the *-iahi* (*-iai*), *-iē* go back to passive MIA. *-iai* (*karīai*), the present tense denoting the imperative. In *-ia*, the 3rd sg. termination *-a* is found after the passive root. Similarly *-ijai*, *-iē* go back to MIA. *-ijjai* and in *-ijia* and *ijiai*, a sort of double passive is visible from the form, *e.g.*, Pkt. *dijjīai* 'is given.' In Modern Awadhi, the synthetic passive is found in certain root-forms only and in the Imperfect participle of the 1st pl. Besides *cahī* 'is wanted' is passive.

§ 352. The denominative in *-ā* is passive. The origin of this is the ancient denominative affix *-āya-* (*e.g.*, *vīrāyate* 'acts like a brave person'). This is clearly distinguished in Mod. IA. from the causative which is always transitive. Further, in the past tense, the denominative has the augment *-n* (see § 297), *e.g.*, **sarmarneū** 'I became ashamed'. This *-n-* does not appear in the causative, *e.g.*, **khawareū** 'I fed'; similarly a causative requires *-w-* before

a termination of the imperfect participle (e.g., *sArmarwatī*) 'putting to shame') while a denominative does not (e.g., *sArmartī* 'getting ashamed').

353. The analytic passive is the regular passive of the modern language; occasional instances of it are found in Early Awadhi also. It began with the compounding of verbs like *yā* 'to go' with other verbs (e.g., *vēḍhiuṃ jāi* 'is encompassed', *vilīhiuṃ jāi* 'is painted', *Karpūramāñjarī*, I. 30) and became stereotyped in this sense by and by and ousted the synthetic passive.

Compound Verbs

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 354. The use of compound verbs is not very common in Early Awadhi, but it is still found quite frequently. We have found instances of the following verbs, used with the participles, the verbal noun or the absolutive of the principal verb, as compound verbs. The shades of meanings expressed are the same as in Modern Awadhi.

(1) *uṭhāba*, e.g., *jāgi uṭheṭi asa dēkhata*, *sakhi kahū sapana bicāri* 'seeing thus I woke up. My friend, think out and explain the dream' (J. p. 439), *dalaki uṭheu suni ḥṛdaya kaṭhōrū* 'the hard heart, on hearing, began to break' (T. p. 168).

(2) *cahāba*, e.g., *sunu mati kāja cahasi jau sājā* 'take (my) counsel, if thou desirest to accomplish the business' (J. p. 276), *bhai cāhai asi kathā salōnī* 'the story is going to be so charming' (J. p. 78), *tasa sara sāji jarai caha rājā* 'having prepared such a pyre, the king wants to burn (himself)' (J. p. 457), *nija nayanānhi dēkhā cahaḥ nātha tumhāra biyāhu* 'Lord, (they) wish to see your marriage with their own eyes' (T. p. 42), *jō nahāi caha ehi sara bhāi* 'brothers, whoever wants to bathe in this tank' (T. p. 22), *nātha laṣana pura dēkhana cahaḥ* 'My lord, Lakṣmaṇa wishes to see the town' (T. p. 95), *karu sōi jō cāhasi kīnḥā*

'do what you like to do' (N. p. 68), *āpuhā phēra cinhāvai cakā* '(He) desires to make people know him' (N. p. 6).

(3) *jāba*, e.g., *sunī vei bayana lūji chapi jāhā* '(they) conceal (themselves) becoming ashamed on hearing her words' (J. p. 186), *janu chui gaem pāka baratōrū* 'as if a ripe boil (at the point of the breaking of a hair) got touched' (T. p. 168); *chūfi jāe sumiraku tuma mōhā* 'it will be loosened, should you remember me' (N. p. 4).

(4) *dēba*, e.g., *dārūna sasura na nisarana dāhā* 'the harsh father-in-law will not permit (us) to go out' (J. p. 96), *phiri naht jhūlana dīhī sāhā* 'later, the master will not allow (us) to swing' (J. p. 97), *tinhaht dekhāi dihesu tat Sītā* 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (T. p. 337), *rājat rāja kāja taji dīnhā* 'the king's work was given up by him' (N. p. 11).

(5) *paraba*, e.g., *sūjhi na parata pantha adhiārā* 'the dark path would not have come to be seen' (J. p. 14), *ehi pāpinihi būjhi kā pareū* 'what was it that came to be realised by this sinner' (T. p. 175), *jāni parata rājā sravana parī na hai yaha bōla* 'it appears that this word has not been heard by the King' (N. p. 25). This gives a passive sense.

(6) *pāraba*, e.g., *tumha khēvahu jau khēvai pārāhu* 'if you are able to ply, ply' (J. p. 314), *tumhaht achata kō baranai pārā* 'while you live, who can describe (it)' (T. p. 117), *tabahū barana na pārātū tōhā* 'even then I cannot describe you' (N. p. 2).

(7) *pāvaba*, e.g., *chūfa na pāu mīcu kara bādhā* 'one tied to death cannot be released' (J. p. 394), *kō dēkhāi pāvai vaha nāgū* 'who can be allowed to see that serpent' (J. p. 208), *durlabha sāja sulabha kari pāvā* 'was able to gather easily the requisites difficult to obtain' (T. p. 459), *jarai na pāva dēha birahāgī* 'the body is not allowed to burn in the separation-fire' (T. p. 355).

(8) *rahāba*, e.g., *bēdhi rahā sagarau saṃsārā* 'the whole world remains pierced' (J. p. 177), *rahā lukāi* 'remained in hiding' (T. p. 380).

(9) *rākhāba*, e.g., *kuhū kuhū kai kōila rākhā* 'the cuckoo went on cooing' (J. p. 43), *hōihi soi jo rāma raci rākhā* 'that which Rāma has created, will come about' (T. p. 28).

(10) *lāgaba*, e.g., *lāgī saba mili hērai, būḍi būḍi eka sātha* 'all of them diving together again and again, began to make a search' (J. p. 103), *rāma nāma siva sumirana lāgē* 'Śiva began to remember Rāma's name' (T. p. 31), *kahē lageu pōthī tabai, pāya tapī kara bāha* 'having obtained the arm of the ascetic, (he) began to compose the book' (N. p. 4).

(11) *tēba*, e.g., *khēli tēhu jō khēlahu ājū* 'if you play, do play to-day' (J. p. 96), *daccha liyē muni bōli saba* 'Dakṣa invited all the hermits' (T. p. 31), *ahai ṭhārha mohi ānha bolāi* '(he) is standing there and has called me' (N. p. 4).

(12) *sakaba*, e.g., *chui kō sakai rājā kai bārī* 'who can touch the king's garden' (J. p. 201), *dēkhi na sakahṭ parāi bibhūti* '(they) cannot look (with equanimity) at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), *kita kai sakatū vakhāna tumhārā* 'how can I make a description of yours' (N. p. 2).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 555. Compound verbs are in very common use and express various aspects. The helping verb loses its own meaning and merely helps to express a certain shade of the principal verb. The accent being on the principal verb, the helping word is pronounced with less force and has a tendency to lose its sounds. Four forms of the principal are thus compounded :

(a) the absolutive (§ 336).

(b) the oblique case of the verbal noun (§ 339 a).

(c) the Perfect participle in **-aṛ** (§ 297).

(d) the Imperfect participle in **-Atī, -At** (§ 296).

The absolutive is combined with

(1) **jarb**, **cukab**, **leib** and **qarab** to express definite completeness of an action, *e.g.*, **hamar ghar jar gar** 'my house burnt down', **jab mai khari cukaū** 'when I finish eating', **mai huār ari lerū tau bataraū** 'let me come over there then I shall say' **ur carī gilars parnir piz qarisi** 'he drank up four (whole) tumblers of water'.

Of these **cukab** expresses thoroughness and **qarab** an unexpected nature of the action.

(2) **parab**, **uṭhab**, **baṭhab** to express suddenness or surprise, *e.g.*, **ur pagelar ari mē kuzdī parar** 'that mad man jumped down into the fire', **tum etzer jor se borleu ki larikar jarī uṭhar** 'you spoke so loudly that the child woke up', **atre mē mai kaṭi baṭheū** 'in the meanwhile I spoke up'.

(3) **sakab**, **parwab**, **milab** 'to express ability to do an act, *e.g.*, **mai rupajar lari sakatī haū** 'I can bring money', **mai kai paṭhaū tau karīhaū** 'if I am able to do (it), I shall do it', **mai kar narī kai milar** 'I could not do it'.

NOTE. — **jarb** expresses 'ability' also [see above § 350 (e)].

(4) **kharrb** and **marrab** to express an offence or infliction of an undesirable thing, *e.g.*, **ui kar kutrar karṭī khariṣī** 'a dog has bitten him', **mai das panī ki ciṭhīr likhī marreū** 'I wrote out a letter of ten pages'.

(5) **calab** to express the beginning of an action, *e.g.*, **ur ham kar dekhotai marī calar** 'no sooner did he see me, than he began to beat'.

(6) **derb** to express the intensity of an action, *e.g.*, **morī bāṛī chāṛī deru** 'do leave my arm'.

The oblique case of the verbal noun is combined with

(1) **derb** to express permission, *e.g.*, **mai kar roṭīr khari deru** 'allow me to take my meal'.

(2) **largab** to express inception of an action, *e.g.*, **ab ui hamorex hiār arwai larg baī** 'they have started coming to my place now'.

(3) **caṣṣab** to express near completion of an act, *e.g.*, **bazzar baṣai caṣṣati haĩ** 'it is about twelve o'clock.'

(4) **parwab** to express the indulgence or permission to do an act, *e.g.*, **uz kaṣṣai narir parwar** 'he was not allowed to say'.

The Perfect Participle in **-ar** is combined with

(1) **karab** to denote frequency of an action, *e.g.*, **ham arwar karibar** 'I shall come frequently'.

(2) **caṣṣab** to denote wish, *e.g.*, **ui jarwar caṣṣati haĩ** 'they are desirous of going'.

The Imperfect Participle in **-ati**, **-at** is combined with **raṣṣ-** to express continuity, *e.g.*, **uz paṣṣati raṣṣar, boxlar narir** 'he continued reading (and) did not speak'.

NOTE.—Though the root **-raṣṣ-** is employed as an auxiliary to denote the past tense, it denotes continuity as a compound verb. If it were merely an auxiliary the form in the above instance ought to have been **raṣṣai** and not **raṣṣar**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 356. In OIA. the various aspects and shades of meaning were expressed either by suffixing or prefixing the roots. With the disintegration of the system of conjugation and the levelling of terminations these could no longer serve the purpose. Modern Indo-Aryan has, therefore, adopted a method of compounding two verbs where one expresses the main semanteme while the other expresses the shade or aspect. It is interesting to note that Dravidian has a similar use of compound verbs, on which Chatterji remarks: 'It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches' (p. 1050).

CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS

§ 357. Adverbs of Awadhi are based on nouns (e.g., **JAldir** 'soon'), pronouns (e.g., **JAiser** 'as'), adjectives (e.g., **PAñiler** 'at first') or on ancient adverbs (e.g., **arjū** < *adya* 'to-day') or adverbial expressions (e.g., **tañi kai** : *tasmin kṛtē* 'after that').

PIA. adverbs were mostly formed by suffixes added to pronouns or were merely case-forms of nouns or adjectives (*vide* Whitney : *Sanskrit Gram.*, Chap. XVI). Modern adverbs have either descended from old adverbs or are fresh formations from nouns and adjectives, e.g., *adya* > *ajjō* > **arjū** and **JAldir** < Pers. *jaldī*.

Adverbs of Time

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 358. 'now' : *aba* (J. 10, T. 6), *-hī* (N. 4); 'then' : *taba* (J. 78, T. 6), *+hū* (N. 2), *tabai* (N. p. 4), *tabat* (N. p. 37); 'when?' : *kaba*, *+hū* (J. 346, N. 27); 'when' : *jaba* (J. 40, T. 4, N. 6); 'to-day' : *ājw* (J. 196, T. 165), *āja* (N. 3); 'yesterday or tomorrow' : *kāli*, *kālhi* (J. 96, 271, T. 161), *kālha* (N. 52); 'always' : *miti* (J. 111), *nita* (T. 157), *nitta* (N. 7), *nitu* (N. 59); 'formerly' : *agumona* (J. 537), *agawō* (N. 109), *āgō* (T. 289), *āgela* (N. 85), *pakilā* (N. 13); 'then' : *tahiā* (J. 110, T.); 'when' : (*jahiā* (T.)); 'in the morning' : *bhōra* (J. 271, N. 4), *bhōrē* (N. 17), 'in the evening' : *sājha* (J. 375, N. 14); 'again' : *puni* (T. 5), *bahuri* (T. 4), *bahōri* (T. 162), *phiri* (T. 171), *phira* (N. 38), *phēra* (N. 40), 'immediately' : *turata* (T. 324), 'soon' : *lēgi* (T. 161).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 359. (a) based on nouns : Lmp. uses *sariti* 'moment', e.g., *iz sariti* 'just now', *ui sariti* or *tir sariti*

'then, at that time', **jix sariti** 'when (relative)', **kiṛ sariti** 'when?'. Some dialects use **kṣian** 'moment' or **berijar**, **samau**, **samaj**, or even **term** 'time'; the Eastern dialects generally use **jurn** 'time', *e.g.*, **izURN** 'now', **uxURN** 'then'. Other nouns used adverbially are: **jaldix** 'lit. haste, but hastily, soon', **phurti**: and **caṭkaiṛ** also mean 'haste' but are similarly adverbially used; **etrix dextr mo** 'meanwhile', **dextr se** 'late', **sab din** 'always'.

(b) based on pronouns: Lmp. has **Ab** 'now', **tab** 'then', **jab** 'when (relative)', **kab** 'when?'. The corresponding forms in B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects are **Abɿaj**, **tabɿaj**, **jabɿaj** and **kabɿaj**. G. has **Abṣaj**, **tabṣaj**, **jabṣaj**, **kabṣaj**. Other adverbs of the type are: **Ab kir** or **Ab tir** 'once again', **jalex**: **tallex** 'till then'.

(c) based on adjectives: **paṣiler** 'previously', **arger** 'formerly', **parcher** 'later', Lmp. **etre mo**, Fy. **jatare mo** 'meanwhile'.

(d) based on ancient adverbs: **axju** (**axj**) 'to-day', **kaxṣi** 'yesterday or to-morrow', **paraū** 'day before yesterday or day after to-morrow', **naraū** 'two days before yesterday or two days after to-morrow', **bardi** or **bardi ko** 'afterwards', Lmp. **phir**, Fy. **phin**, **phun**, M. **puni** 'again'; **Agoman** 'formerly—in ancient times', **turto** 'at once', **nit** 'always', **bṣoraṣṣe** 'in the morning', **āṣaū** 'this year', **pair sarl** 'last year'.

NOTE.—Sometimes a play upon tone expresses the idea of 'soon', *e.g.* **axox** 'come!', but **axox** 'come soon!' would have a higher pitch on the last syllable and a lengthening also which would appear as **axoxo**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 360. (a) **sariti**: Ar. *sā'at*, **khan**: *kṣana*, **berijar** < *vēlā* + pleonastic *-ikā*, **samau**: *samayo*, **term**: Eng. *time*,

jurn : *yōni*? (see *Nēpālī Dic. juni*, p. 220). **phurtiz**, **caṭkaiz** and **deir** are nouns used in the language quite generally. Early Awadhi *bahuri*, *bahōri*, *phiri*, *phēra* are absolutive forms of the roots; *sājha* : *sandhyā*, *bhōra* 'morning, dawn'; *bēgi* is derivable from Skt. *vega*.

(b) The forms in **-b** (**Ab** etc.), Early Awadhi **-ba**, appear to be the combinations of the initial pronominal syllables *a-*, *ta-*, *ja-*, *ka-* with *-evva* : *evam* (vide Chatterji, p. 856). **AbzAj**, etc., are fresh formations or possibly the oblique cases in **-hi** resulted as such; **AbfiAj**, etc., have an emphatic **-fi-**. **jalez**, **talez** show the addition of *lahi* > **lez**. Early Awadhi has two forms *jahiā*, *tahiā* (attested by Modern Bhōjpurī) which denote time.

(c) **pafilez**, etc., are the locative cases of *pahila* < *padhilla*, etc.; **etrez**, **etarez** also are locative cases of pronominal adjectives.

(d) **azjū** : *adya*; **karlfi**, **karli**, *kālha* : *kalyē*, the aspiration being emphatic. The ancient words *hyaḥ* and *śvaḥ* have left no trace. *śvaḥ*, however, appears under **paraū** < *paraśvaḥ*. It is interesting to note that **-śv-** has lost trace in Awadhi, possibly after becoming **-h-**; **narāū** is on the analogy of **paraū**. The distinction between past (*hyaḥ*) and future (*śvaḥ*) also has gone out. **bardi** comes from Arabic *bā'd* 'after'. In *phin*, *phun* we find a curious blending of *phiri* and *puni* both of which exist in some dialects. *agumana*, *agamō* and **Agōman** are connected with *agra-*; **turto** and **nit** have correspondents in Early Awadhi *tnrata* and *nitta* (*niti*, *nita*, *nitu*) and should be *ardha-tatsama* forms of *tvaritam* and *nityam*.

Adverbs of Place

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 361. 'here' : *ihā* (J. 104, T. 170, N. 2), 'there' : *uhā* (J. 273, T., N. 69), *tahā* (J. 57, T. 324), *tahā* (J. 97,

T. 343, N. 3), *tahawā* (J. 113, T. 345); 'where' : *jahā* (J. 24, T. 3), *jahā* (J. 80, T. 4, N. 4), *jahawā* (J. 225, T. 345), 'where?' : *kahā* (J. 33, 17), *kahā* (J. 90, T. 342, N. 8), *kahawā* (J. 225, N. 11), 'before, in front' : *āgai* (J. 107), *āgē* (J. 123, T. 324), *āgē* (T. 328, N. 10), *agahura* (T. 167), *āgū* (J. 245), *āgēha* (N. 105), *agāū* (N. 146), *saūha* (J. 296, N. 11), *sauhar* (N. 79), 'behind' : *pāchē* (J. 138, T. 286), *pāchē* (N. 17); 'near' : *niara* (J. 332, N. 14), *niarē* (J.), *niyarē* (N. 13), 'far off' : *dūri* (J. 265, T. 289), *dūrei* (N. 159), *dūrū* (N. 14); 'on this side' : *ita* (T. 173), 'on that side' : *uta* (T. 173), 'on which side?' : *kita* (N. 2), 'inside' : *bhītara* (T. 14, N. 7), 'outside' : *bāhara* (T. 14, N. 7).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 362. (a) based on nouns: Lmp. combines **warr** 'side' with the pronominal adjectives **jir**, **tir**, **ir**, **ui**, **kir** in order to indicate direction, e.g., **ir warr** 'on this side, here'. R. combines **kaĩtir** 'side', e.g., **ker kaĩtir** 'whither?' B. and G. have the combinations of **alāg** or **orr** with the adjectives, e.g., G. **jaunir alāg** 'on which side', **wafī orr** 'thither'. In Fy. and Sl. as well as in parts of Gonda we find some forms where the pronominal adjective and the noun have become incorporated, e.g., **efīar**, **ofīar**, **jesīar**, **kesīar**, B. **akolāg** 'on one side', G. **kañewar** 'whither', **efīawar** 'hither'. In A. and M. similarly we find **eṭhā** 'here', **oṭhā** 'there', **kethā** 'where?'.

(b) based on pronouns or pronominal adjectives: Lmp. has **hiā** 'here', **huā** 'there', **jañā** **tañā** 'where...there', **kañā** 'where?'. In Eastern dialects we have these as well as elongated forms, e.g., Fy. **kañāwar** 'where?'; other dialects agree with Lmp. Besides we have **aisir** 'on this side, hither', **waisir**, **jaisir** **taisir**, **kaisir**; A. has **efīkir** 'hither', **ofīkir** 'thither'.

(c) other adverbs: **bñitar** 'within', G., P., Fy. **bñitar** or **bñitarer**; **barīer** or **bañirir** 'outside', **uprar** 'above', **tarer** or **kharler** or **tarkhaler** 'below',

argex 'before', P. **argēx**; **parcher** (P. **pachwāx**) 'behind', **neirer** or **naḡirceḡ** (B. **laḡirceḡ**) 'near', **durj** (Eastern **dur**) 'far', **palxer** (R. **palxar**) 'beyond', **Anto** 'elsewhere'.

NOTE.—The multiplicative adverbs 'twice', 'thrice', etc., have been shown above under Numerals (§ 231). The idea of a 'second time' is indicated either by **dosarari ko** or by combining the ordinal number with a word expressive of 'time, turn', e.g., **dosarix darĩ**. Similarly **tisarari ko** or **tisarix darĩ**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 363. (a) **warr**, **orr**, **kaĩtir** and **Alāg** are normal words for 'side' in the language, some of these have already coalesced with the qualifying adjectives. In **eṭhāx**, etc., we can see *sthāna* > *ṭhāna* incorporated in the same manner.

(b) **jaḥāx**, etc., of which we find short (*jaḥa*) and long (*jaḥawā*) forms also in Early Awadhi, should be connected with MIA forms in *-ttha* (*ettha* etc.), *-tha* > *-ha* [see Chatterji (p. 858), also *Nep. Dic.* (p. 81 under *kaḥā*)].

(c) **bhiṭar** < *abhyantare*, **baṭier** cf. Skt. *bahiḥ*, **upzār** : *upari* with emphatic elongation of **p**-, **tareḡ** : *talē*, *khālē* cf. Skt. *khallāḥ* 'creek' (*Nep. Dic.* p. 121 under *khālci*); **neirer**, *niara*, *niarē* are connected with *nikāṣe* while **naḡirceḡ** and **laḡirceḡ** may be connected with **laṅghitya* 'that can be crossed, near'. Professor Turner, however, accepts Hoernle's derivation from Persian *naẓdīk* (*Nep. Dic.* p. 334, under *nagic*) to which **naḡik** found in Bgh. and Chattis. is surely related. **durj** : *dūra*; **palxer** may be compared with *pallava* 'extension'. **Anto**, *anata* go back to *anyatra*. Early Awadhi *saṭṭha*, *saṭṭhai* are connected with *saṁmukha* and *ita*, *uta* may be learned words corresponding to Skt. *itah* etc., or connected with *atra*, **itra* etc.

Adverbs of Manner

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 364. Three varieties of forms, in *-imi*, in *-is* and in *-asa* are found in all the texts, as far as pronominal adverbs are concerned :

imi 'in this manner' (J. 323), *jimi* 'in which manner' (J. 326, T. 4), *timi* 'in that manner' (T. 286), *kimi* 'how?' (J. 91, T. 18, N. 8); correspondingly *asa* (J. 11, T. 9), *tasa* (J. 8, T. 18), *jasa* (J. 17, T. 18, N. 2), *kasa* (J. 96, T. 161, N. 3), and *aisē* (T. 289), *aisai* (J. 103), *aisō* (N. 69), *taisē* (N. 100), *jaisē* (J. 66, T. 166), *jaisō* (N. 69), *kaisē* (T. 166, N. 56), *kaisai* (J. 110). Besides in Tulsidas we find *bhāti* or *bidhi* added to pronominal adjectives in order to indicate manner, e.g., *kehi bhāti* 'in which manner?' (p. 162), *ehi bidhi* 'in this manner' (p. 17). Sometimes *nāī* is found similarly added, e.g., *parabata kai nāī* 'like a mountain' (J. 332), *raurihi nāī* 'like yourself' (T. 158). Other adverbs of this class are: *sajaga* 'alert' (T. 166), *nidharaka* 'fearlessly' (T. 173), *bali* 'forcibly' (T. 174), *bariāī* 'forcefully' (T. 326), *bihālā* 'out of sorts' (T. 326); 'how?' *kita* (J. 56), *kittu* (J. 31), *kata* (T. 163).

NOTE.—Adverb of quantity 'a little': *maku* (J. 98), *rañcika* (N. 19).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 365. (a) based on nouns: the Western dialects, R. and P. as well as a part of B. combine a noun indicating manner (Lmp. and S. **tanar**, L., U., F., R., Br. and P. **tanar** or **tarar**, P. **bidhi** also) with some adjective, e.g., Lmp. **ix tanar** 'in this way', **Acxhix tanar** 'well'. Other dialects do not possess adverbs of manner based on nouns.

(b) based on pronominal adjectives: Lmp. **Aiser** 'in this way', **Waiser**, **Jaiser...taiser**, **kaiser**, some dialects (B., G., Br., Sl. and part of P.) have **As**, **WAs**, **JAs...**

tas, kas; others (P., Fy., Sl., A., M.) have **aisen, waisen, jaisen...taisen, kaisen**, or **kasas** or **kasak**.

(c) Other adverbs: **hazlir** 'rapidly', **dfirrez** or **dfirmez** (P. *rugus rugus*) 'slowly', **jfiaṭrə** 'hurryingly', **nifurez** 'bowingly', Fy. **kalez kalez** 'slowly', Lmp. **ewaĩ** 'in this way'.

NOTE.—Adverbs of quantity are based on the adjectives of quantity, pronominal or otherwise, e.g., 'more': **aur**, G. **saigar**, P. **adfiikarr, awar**; 'little': **tani** or **tanik**, Br. **kipc, rāpc**; 'not at all': **birkulzi**, Fy. **berkul**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 366. (a) **tanaz** and **taraz** both go back to Pers. *tarāh*, -n- being a variant of -r-, *bidhi* < *vidhi*, *bhāti* < *bhakti* (Nep. Dic., p. 473) and *nāĩ* < *nyāyēna*.

(b) **As** etc., are based on pronominal adjectives [see § 266 (a)] only in modern language there are fresh suffixes -n and -k in some dialects. For Early Awadhi -mi forms Hoernle (p. 314) and Chatterji (p. 860) suggest a derivation from Apabhraṃśa forms *jemva* etc. (see Pischel § 261).

(c) Other adverbs are either onomatopoeic or *deśi* words (e.g., **jfiaṭrə**), or are based on nouns, with or without prepositions, e.g., **hazlir** 'haste' (Ar.), *bali* : *bala*, *bihālā* : Pers. *bēhāl*. **ewaĩ** may be compared with *ēvamēva* and may be an *ardha-tatsama* form of it.

Miscellaneous Adverbs

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 367. 'Why?': *kāhē, kāhē* (N. 65), 'no (prohibitive)': *jani* (J. 142, T. 4), *jini* (N. 55), 'no, not (denial)': *na* (J. 110, T. 4, N. 2), *nahr* (J. 90, T. 7, N. 4), *nāhē* (J. 112), *nāhina* (T. 163), 'why not?': *kina* (T. 158, N. 77), 'surely': *abasi* (T. 177), 'without': *binu* (J. 222, T. 4), *binā* (N. 14), *bāju* (J. 222), *bihūna* (J. 323).

NOTE.—Adverbs are compounded and used as in Modern Awadhi (§ 368-69). The postpositions for 'upto' are: *lahi* (J. 107), *lagi* (J. 61, T. 115), *laga*, (N. 31), *taĩ*, (J. 97, N. 66).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 368. *karñer* 'why?', *hāz* 'yes', *nariz*, *narñiz*, Sl. *narj*, Fy. and F. *nañiz*, P. *nañin*, R. *narñiz* 'no, not'; *nar* 'not—prohibitive', Eastern *jin*; *sariti* 'perhaps', *tani* 'a little—invitative'.

NOTE.—Adverbs are sometimes compounded, *e.g.*, *jañā*..... *tañā* 'at some places', *jab* . . . *tab* 'sometimes, frequently', *cañai jab* 'whenever', *cañai jañāz* 'wherever', *cañai* . . . *jaiser* 'howsoever'.

§ 369. (a) Comparison of adverbs is expressed in the same manner as of adjectives (§ 225), *e.g.*, Lmp. *mai iu karm tum ser jaldiz kai sakatiū* 'I can do this thing earlier than you'.

(b) Adverbs of time and place can be employed with postpositions *ser* (*sq*) to denote the idea of 'from', with *kar* (*kə*) to denote the idea of 'of' and with *lai*, *lagi* (*lag*), *takp*, *taluk* to denote 'upto', *e.g.*, *Ab ser ais karmu nar kisleu* 'do not do such a thing from now', *kañā kə armu lazeu* 'the mango of which place have you brought?', *kab taluk aiñau* 'upto what time will you come back?', *kañāz tak jaññau* 'up to what place will you go?'.

NOTE.—Where English uses an adverb (*e.g.*, very, much) to modify an adjective, Awadhi employs the ordinary adjective, *e.g.*, Lmp. *iu gāgoraz bañaz garuz hai* 'this jar is very heavy', *jar baññiz bañiz garuz hai* 'this bucket is very heavy', *jañiz acñhiz war meñaruaz hai taiñiz iz sañar me erkañ nariz* 'no lady is so pretty in this town as that one', *ui ardñer māñder haĩ ardñer nirk* 'he is half ill and half well'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 370. *karñer* should be connected with some form of *kim* (possibly *katham*), though the suffix is not clear.

na < *na*; *nahṛ*, *nāhṛ* go back to *na* plus an emphatic enclitic which may be a form of \sqrt{as} - 'to be'. *natthi* is regularly found in MIA and means 'is not'. Professor Turner suggests contamination of Skt. *nahi* (*Nep. Dic.*, p. 337 under *nahṛ*). The derivation of *jani*, *jin* from *yat na* is suggested by Professor Chatterji. *sariti* is connected with Pers. *sāyad*; *tani* may be compared with *tanuka* 'a little'.

NOTE.—The compounding of adverbs or the use does not show any divergence from that of the earlier stages.

CHAPTER VIII

CONJUNCTIONS

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 371. (a) Cumulative—'and' : *au* (J. 101, N. I), *aru* (T. 326), *auru* (J. 149), *aura* (N. 3).

(b) Alternative—'may be' : *baru* (T. 165), *baruka* (T. 176), 'or' : *ki* (T. 166); 'otherwise, or' : *nāh̄r ta* (J. 132, T. 163), *nā tō* (N. 20), *nā tau* (N. 36), *na ta* (T. 346).

(c) Adversative—'but' : *pai* (T. 5), 'even then' : *tadapi* (T. 18), 'though' : *jadapi*.

(d) Subordinative—'if' : *jau* (*jaū*) (J. 29, 20, T. 9, 7, N. 21), *jō* (N. 6), *jōha* (N. 117), *jō* (N. 16), 'if...then' : *jau...tau* (J. 29, T. 11, 165, N. 77); (if)...then : *ta* (T. 165); 'as if' : *janu* (J. 107, T. 18), *jānaū*, *janaū* (J. 204), *manahū* (T. 158), *dahū* (J. 107), *dhaū* (T. 177).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 372. (a) Cumulative—'and' **au**, **Fy. au** or **ao**, e.g., **ui au ham duṛṇau janex bajarrāi jaibar** 'He and I, both persons, will go to the market', **ui aṛex au chin bḥarī baithī ko cal diḥex** 'he came and went away after sitting for a while'. Sometimes a mere **Λ** (**u** or **o** dropped out) stands in rapid speech.

(b) Alternative—'either or' **caḥai...caḥai**, **ki**, e.g., **caḥai hiāx baithau caḥai huāx** 'either sit here or there', **iu ljaṛṣau ki ur** 'will you take this or that?'. The form of **caḥai** is **caṛṣaj** in the Eastern dialects and **caṛṣau** in U. and South L; 'neither...nor' is expressed by **na ... na**, e.g., **na ham iu lexib na ur** 'neither shall I take this nor that'; 'otherwise' is expressed by **naxi tau** (**naxiṛ tau**), e.g., **ham kar rupaja deru naxi tau mazrib** 'give me money or else I shall beat (you)', **ki** 'or', e.g., **ais hai ki naxi** 'is it so or not?'

(c) Adversative—'but' Lmp. **akel** or **lerkin**, Fy. and Sl. **mulaz**, P. **munaz**, G. **mudaz**, B. **bakiz**, e.g., Lmp. **ui haĩ tau amiz akel derti koxi ko nazĩĩ** 'he is rich but he never gives (anything) to anybody'.

(d) Subordinate—'that' **ki** (Eastern dialects generally **ke**), north B. and G. **manez**, e.g., Lmp. **ham kar uz bataxisĩ ki gũru mo corrix hoi gai** 'he told me that a theft had occurred in the village', B. **taun țair dišin manez kartik mo arez tab razm razm sun leriz** 'he turned him away (saying) that come in Kārtik (month), then I shall hear Rām Rām'; 'so that' **jiz maz, jeshi maz**, e.g., **uz paũĩĩ rafiaz jiz maz paũĩĩ na jazi ko paraĩ** 'he lay down in bed so that he may not have to go to school', 'if' **jo**, Sl. **jau**, 'if then' **jo... tau**, 'then' **tau**, **to**, e.g., **jo mai jazu** 'if I go', **jo sori jazu tau jagazi dišeu**, 'if I go to sleep, do wake me up', **tau kar bfiar** 'what happened, then?'; 'as if' **janaũ** or **manaũ** or **dšauũ** e.g., **ais cupriz sardšĩĩn janaũ marĩ ger horĩ** 'he kept so quiet, as if he were already dead.'

C. ORIGIN

§ 373. (a) The cumulative conjunctions in use in Awadhi are connected with Skt. *apara*, in some cases (**au**) the *-ra* has dropped out while in others (*aru*) the *p > v > u* has changed place.

(b) Early Awadhi *baru* goes back to *varaṃ* and *baruka* may be *baru* plus an enclitic *ka*. I should prefer this derivation to that from Pers. *balke*; **ki** < *kiṃ*. **cašĩai** and **cašĩaj** are the Imperative forms of the verb **cašĩab**, **cašĩab** 'to desire'. **tau**, **ta** etc., should be connected with *tataḥ*.

(c) Early Awadhi *tadapi* and *jadapi* are *ardha-tatsama* forms of *tadyapi* and *yadyapi* which also are found in the Rāmāyana. *pai* may be connected with *paraṃ* (see Hoernle: *Gram. of the Gaudian Languages*, § 561)

or may be the absolutive form (*pāi*) of *pāwab* 'to obtain'. *pāi* > *pai* will mean 'having obtained', 'obtaining' and can easily be used in the sense of a conjunction. **Δkel** (cf. Hindi **Δkerlax** 'all alone') is derived from Pkt. *ekkalla* by a metathesis of the vowels (see *Nep. Dic.*, p. 57 under *eklo*). **lekin** and **Δaki:** are from Persian *lēkin* and *bāqī*. The words **mulax**, **mudax** and **munax** are connected together and may have some affinity with *mūla* 'root'. We may compare Beng. *moddā* 'main' which Chatterji derives from Arabic.

(d) The subordinative conjunction **ki** (**ke**) is in all probability a borrowing from Persian idiom in modern language. OIA had *yat* in the beginning of a clause or *iti* at the end, with neither of which can *ki* be connected. This *ki* cannot go back to Skt. *kim* which is interrogative and survives as a conjunction in the sense of alternation. **manex** (on the borders of Nepal) is connected with Nepali **bhane** (*Nep. Dic.*, p. 468) through *mhane*.¹ The word *bhaṇē* 'I say' is found almost similarly used in Pāli also. *jau . . . tau* are connected with *yadā . . . tadā* through *jaō . . . taō*. *janau*, *manau* etc., are forms of *jānab* 'to know' and *mānab* 'to think' in the sense of 'I know, know' and their use may be compared with *jāne* and *manyē* in Sanskrit. *dahū* and *dhaū* may be similarly connected with *dhyāwab* 'to think'. That words in such uses have a rapid modification of syllables is amply illustrated, e.g., **KAJANI** < **kar: jarni:** 'I do not know' in such expressions as **KAJANI KΔBΔ se ari gΔwar:** 'I do not know wherefrom he has come up'.

¹ Prof. Chatterji compares Beng. *mane*—a particle of emphasis or mere indication and derives it from OIA *manāk*.

CHAPTER IX

EMPHATIC FORMS

§ 374. Two varieties of emphatic forms, Inclusive and Restrictive, are obtained by adding terminations to the nouns, postpositions, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. For instance: **harthir arwar** 'the elephant came' but **harthiu arwar** 'the elephant *also* came' and **harthin arwar** 'the elephant *only* came'.

Inclusive Forms

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 375. In Early Awadhi the Inclusive and Restrictive forms are found abundantly. The affix for the Inclusive form is *-hu* (*-u*). The *-hu* forms are very common in Jāyasī while *-u* in Nūr Muhammad; *-u* combined with the previous *-a-* appears as *-o*. Tulsīdās comes between these two. For instance:

(a) Nouns—*janamahu* 'throughout life' (J. p. 23), *sapanehu* 'even in dream' (T. p. 163), *gaurihu* 'Gaurī also' (N. p. 17), *phūlanahū* *lē* 'more than even flowers' (N. p. 8).

(b) Adjectives—*bhaleu* 'the good also' (T. p. 5), *aurau* 'others also' (T. p. 18).

(c) Numerals—*sātau* 'all the seven' (J. p. 3), *cāriu* 'all the four' (J. p. 16), *dou* 'both' (T. p. 169), *tihū* (*pura*) 'in all the three (towns)' (T. p. 171), *chatīsau* 'all the thirty six' (N. p. 16), *cāriu* 'all the four' (N. p. 2), *sātō* 'all the seven' (N. p. 12); *chavō* 'all the six' (J. p. 68), *barahō* 'all the twelve' (J. p. 68).

The idea of indefiniteness of a number is signified in Early Awadhi by adding *-ka*, e.g., *cārika* 'about four' (T. p. 234), *pacāsaka* 'about fifty' (T. p. 200), *kōṭika* 'crores' (T. p. 165), cf. *kachū eka* 'a few' (T. p. 343).

(d) Pronouns—*mōhū* 'to me also' (J. p. 363), *hamahū* 'we also' (J. p. 254), *tēhu* 'they also' (J. p. 19), cf. *tehu* (J. p. 39), *uhau* 'that also', *kaunau* 'somebody' (J. p. 69), cf. *kaunahū* (J. p. 396); *mahū* 'I also' (T. p. 259), *hamahū* 'I also' (T. p. 163), *teu* 'she also' (T. p. 288), *tuhū* 'thou also' (T. p. 170), *tinahū* 'them also' (T. p. 14), *mahū* (N. p. 76), *hamahū* (N. p. 59), *sōū* 'he also' (N. p. 107), *kuchau* 'somewhat' (N. p. 122), *tōhū* 'thou also' (N. p. 59).

(e) No instances of the emphatic forms of the postpositions have been found.

(f) Verbs—Examples of the Inclusive forms of the verb are rare: *muehū* 'dead also' (J. p. 597).

(g) Adverbs—*abahū* 'even now' (J. p. 13), *kabahū* 'ever' (J. p. 346), *katahū*, *katahū* 'anywhere' (J. p. 59); *sācehu* 'truly' (T. p. 11), *kabahū* 'ever' (T. p. 5), *ajahū* 'even now' (T. p. 122), cf. *ajahū* (T. p. 170), *aisehu* 'even so' (T. p. 289); *kabahūa* 'ever' (N. p. 115), *tabahū* 'even then' (N. p. 2), *kahū*, *katahū* 'anywhere' (N. p. 15), *kaisehū* 'some how' (N. p. 14).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 376. The general affix for the Inclusive emphatic form is **-au** after a stem ending in a consonant or **u**, **ur** (the **-u** of the stem changes to **-w** and **-ur** becomes short) and **-u** after one ending in any other vowel (the vowel if long or whispered becomes short).

NOTE.—**-aflu** (instead of **-au**) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a dissyllabic or a long monosyllabic stem ends in a consonant, **-au** and not **-aflu** will be added (**ghar**: **gharau** or **gharāflu**, **pair**: **pairau** never **pairāflu**). For instance:

(a) Nouns—**kitarib** 'book': **kitaribau** 'the book also', **gāru** 'village': **gārwau**, **barruz** 'sand': **baruwau**, **raɾɟar** 'king': **raɾɟau**, **seɾθiɾ** **seɾθiu**, **dʱorɾib** 'washerman': **dʱorɾiu**, **pāɾɾex**: 'a particular caste of Brāhmaṇa': **pāɾɾeu**, **kutɾan** 'to the dogs': **kutɾanau**.

(b) Adjectives—**larl** 'red': **larlau** 'red also', **garuz** 'heavy': **garuwau**, **kariɟar** 'black': **kariɟau**, **nizki** 'good' (fem.): **nizkiu**, **bʱarɾiɾ** 'heavy': **bʱarɾiu**, **piarɾex** 'yellow' (pl.): **piareu**.

(c) Numerals—**erik** 'one': **erikau** 'one also', **nau** 'nine': **nawau** 'all the nine', **barrar** 'twelve': **barrau** 'all the twelve', **sarθi** 'sixty': **sarθiu** 'all the sixty', **asɾiɾ** 'eighty', **asɾiu** 'all the eighty', **nabɾex** 'ninety': **nabɾeu** 'all the ninety'.

NOTE 1.—To add the significance of *indefiniteness* to a number **-an** (-n after a vowel) and **-ak** (-k after a vowel) are added, e.g., **birs** 'twenty', **birsan** 'scores', **pacars** 'fifty', **pacarsan** 'fifties'; **birsak** 'about twenty', **sarθik** 'about sixty'.

NOTE 2.—**dui** 'two' has **duiu** and also **durnau**.

(d) Pronouns—If there are two forms of a pronoun, one shorter than the other (e.g., **koz**, **kaun**), the affix is added to the longer form (**kaun-au**). The personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns add **-aɱuz** (-ɱuz) instead of **au** (-u) as illustrated below:

mai	maɱuz	
ham	ɱamaɱuz	
tui	toɱuz	B. G. Fy. etc. tufiū
tum	tumaɱuz	
uz, war, waɱ	waɱau	B. G. Fy. etc. uɱau
ui	waɱuz	
un	umaɱuz	
iu, ɟar, ɟaɱ	ɟaɱau	B. G. Fy. etc. iɱau
iz	ɟaɱuz	
in	inaɱuz	

(e) **Postpositions**—In Lakhimpur the Inclusive (or Restrictive) affix can be added either to the noun, adjective or pronoun or to the postposition which follows, *e.g.*, **ur gñar ser gar** 'he went from (his) house', **ur gñarau (gñarāñu) se gar** or **ur gñar seu gar** 'he went from the house also'.

The Western dialects and R. and Br. agree with Lmp. in this practice while B. and the Eastern dialects do not; they add the termination only to the noun, adjective, pronoun or adverb, not to the postpositions.

(f) **Verbs**—the regular affix (Inclusive or Restrictive) is added to the participles, verbal noun and absolutive, *e.g.*,

derkhat (derkhatī)	dekhōtau	(imperf. part.)
derkhar	derkhau	(perf. part.)
derkhir	derkhiu	"
derkher	derkheu	"
dekhāb	dekhābau	(Verbal noun)
derkhi	dekhīu	(absolutive)

In the case of the simple conjugated tense-forms the sense of the Inclusive (or Restrictive), however, is expressed in a different way, *e.g.*,

ur derkhai	'he may see'	ur dekhībau karai	'he may see also'
mai derkheū	'I saw'	mai dekhībau kīñeū	'I saw also'
ur derkhir	'he will see'	ur dekhībau kariz	'he will see also'
ham dekhībax	'we shall see'	ham dekhībau karībax	'we shall see also'

In other words, the corresponding forms of **karāb** 'to do' are combined with a form obtained by adding the suffix **-ib** (in some dialects the suffix is **-āb**, **dekhābau**) plus the Inclusive (or Restrictive) termination to the root.

If the tense-form already contains the suffix (*viz.*, the **-b** future) the suffix is not added. The periphrastic tenses and

the compound verbs add the regular termination to the participle or the absolutive as the case may be, *e.g.*, **mai derkhat haũ** 'I am seeing', **mai dekhotaũ haũ** 'I am seeing also', **mai kiflez haũ** 'I have done', also **mai kifieu haũ** 'I have done also', **uz giri paraz** 'he fell down' : **uz giriu paraz** 'he fell down also'.

(g) Adverbs—all adverbs take the regular affix except the following which add **-aũz**:

ab 'now' :	ab-aũz 'even now'
taab 'when'	taab-aũz 'even then'
jaab 'when'	jaab-aũz 'whenever'
kab 'when?'	kab-aũz 'ever'
kaũz 'where?'	kaũz 'nowhere, anywhere'

The aspiration changes place sometimes, *e.g.*, **ab-aũz** or **ab-aũz**. The regular affix is found in such instances as : **jaldiz** 'soon', **jaldiu** 'soon also', **abtiz** 'this time', **abtiu** 'this time also', **taũaũ** 'there also', **upiaũaũ** 'above also', **asau** 'in this way also'. It is found in some dialects with **ab** etc., but then the **b** is lengthened, *e.g.*, **abiaũ** 'even now', **taabiaũ**, **jaabiaũ**, **kabiaũ**.

C. ORIGIN.

§ 377. The Inclusive emphatic affix **-u** (Early Awadhi **-hu**) goes back to *khalu* and has come down to Modern Awadhi through **khlu* > *khu* > *hu* (see Pischel § 148). *khalu* was employed in Sanskrit to give an idea of certainty, assuredness. By and by it appears to have assumed the meaning of inclusion. The **a-** before **-u** in Modern Awadhi should be taken as pleonastic, coming from **-ka**. The aspiration is still present in most of the emphatic pronominal forms and may be sometimes heard in a feeble degree in other forms also. The lengthening of **-u** to **-ũ** can be explained only by the stress due to emphasis. That the stress was on the last syllable appears to be indicated by the disappearance of **-a** of *khalu*. In the case of the verb, the emphatic form in certain

cases is arrived at by putting the verbal noun with emphasis and then combining it with the required conjugated form of **karab**. This device is modern. In adverbial forms the lengthening of a consonant (e.g., **Abīau**) also comes in to indicate emphasis.

NOTE.—The **-an** affix added to Numerals appears to be merely a plural of the numeral, while **-ak**, **-k** comes from **-eka**. The latter is attested by Early Awadhi. The last vowel of the numeral is retained where it exists (e.g., **sarṭhik**) before appending **eka**—**e** going out. In other cases **e > a**.

Restrictive Forms

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 378. The affix for this emphatic form is **-hi** (i) generally and **-na** after a stem ending in **-i**, **-ī**.

For instance:

(a) Nouns—*gharahi mājha* 'in the house itself' (J. p. 232), *chārahī tat* 'with mere earth' (J. p. 5), *gāūhi gāvā* 'in every village' (J. p. 263), *bārahī bārā* 'many a time' (T. p. 18), *māṭina* 'in the very earth' (N. p. 59).

(b) Adjectives—*pahilai* 'at the first' (J. p. 3), *bahutai* 'many a' (J. p. 2), *thōrihi* 'only a little' (T. p. 174), *biralai kōi* 'only a rare person' (N. p. 18), *aurai (tana mana)* 'some other (body and mind)' (N. p. 12).

(c) Numerals—*ēkai* 'one only' (J. p. 29), *ēkahi bāra* 'only at one time' (T. p. 163), *ēkai ēkahi* (N. p. 8).

(d) Pronouns—*tumahī saū* 'with you yourself' (J. p. 247), *ūhai* 'he himself' (J. p. 321), *ihai* 'this only' (J. p. 286), *soi* 'he himself' (J. p. 41), *'sabai* 'everyone' (J. p. 41); *mahī* 'I myself' (T. p. 259), *soi* 'that very' (T. p. 173), *ihai* (T. p. 160), *tei* 'they only' (T. p. 205), *tumhahī* 'you only' (T. p. 226), *hamārehi* 'ours only' (T. p. 201), *tumharihi kṛpā* 'by your own favour' (T. p. 207); *tuhī* 'thysself' (N. p. 76), *tumahī* 'you yourself' (N. p. 76), *ūhai* (N. p. 2), cf. *ūhai* (N. p. 14), *ihai* (N. p. 26).

(f) Verbs—Examples are rare, *jiaht* 'while living' (J. p. 479).

(g) Adverbs—*jaūhi* 'whenever' (J. p. 484), *jabahi* 'whenever' (J. p. 19), *tahiai* 'at that very time' (J. p. 110), *ājuhi* 'to-day only' (J. p. 101), *turataht* 'at once' (T. p. 343), *bēgihi* 'at once, soon' (T. p. 175), *taisehi* 'similarly' (T. p. 9), *dūrihi tē* 'from the very far off' (T. p. 287), *abahi* 'just now' (N. p. 4), *tabat* 'then' (N. p. 37), *dūreha* 'far off' (N. p. 159), *āgeht kērī* 'of former times' (N. p. 100), *thikah* 'just' (N. p. 15).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 379. The affix for this form is **-ai** after a consonantal stem, **-n** after a stem ending in **-i**, **-iz** and **e**, **ex** and **-i** after a stem ending in **-e**, **-ex** or any vowel except **-i** **-iz**. The **e**, **ex** stems, thus, have alternative forms in **-i** and **-n**. The **-u** stems add either **-ai** (**u > w**) or **i**. The long vowel is shortened before the affix.

NOTE.—**-aflex** (**-afiz** in the Eastern dialects) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a dissyllabic or a long mono-syllabic stem ends in a consonant, **-ai** only is added (**gfiar**: **gfiarai** or **gfiaraflex**, **gfiarafiz**, **pair**: **pairai**—never **pairaflex**).

(a) Nouns—**kitarb** 'book': **kitarbai** 'the book itself or only the book', **gāru**: **gārwai** or **gāruī**, **raja**: **rajai**, **serthi** **serthin**, **dfiorbiz** **dfiorbin**, **barruz** **barrui**, **pārxer** **pārxen** or **pārxei**, **kutran** **kutranai**.

(b) Adjectives—**lari** 'red': **larai** 'red only', **karijar** **karijai**, **nirkī** **nirkin**, **bfiariz** **bfiarin**, **garuz** **garuai** or **garui**, **piarex** **piarei** or **piaren**.

(c) Numerals—**erik** 'one': **erikai** 'one only', **barrax** **barrai**, **sarthi** **sarthin**, **asiz** **asin**, **nau** **nawai** or **nauī**, **nabrex** **nabrei**.

NOTE.—**dui** has regular **duin** and also **duex** (Eastern dialects **duiz**).

(d) Pronouns—If a pronoun has two forms, one long and another short, the affix is added to the long one (*e.g.*, **joz JAUNŋ**, restrictive **JAUNui**). The personal and demonstrative pronouns add **-Aŋer** (**-Aŋir**) as shown below :

mai	maŋer	R. B. G. Fy., etc.	maŋir
ham	hamAŋer	"	hamAŋir
tui	toŋer	"	tuhir, tuŋir
tum	tumaŋer		
uz, war, waŋ	waŋai	"	uŋir
ui	waŋer	"	waŋir
un	unaŋer	"	unaŋir
iu, jar, jaŋ	jaŋai	"	jaŋir
ir	jaŋer	"	jaŋir
in	inaŋer	"	inaŋir

(e) Postpositions—See § 376 (e). **gŋar ser gar** 'went from the house', **uz gŋarai (gŋarAŋe) se gar** or **uz gŋar sei gar** 'he went from the house itself or from the house only'. The dialectal difference noted in § 376 (e) is observed here also.

(f) Verbs—see § 376 (f). The following are the instances of the Restrictive forms :

derkhat (derkhatŋ)	dekhətai (imperf. part.)
derkhar	derkhai (perf. part.)
derkhir	derkhin
derkher	derkhen or dekhei
derkhab	dekhəbai (verbal noun)
derkhi	derkhin (absolute)

uz derkhai 'he may see', **uz dekhəbai karai** 'he may see only'; **mai derkheū** 'I saw', **mai dekhəbai kisseū** 'I saw only'; **uz derkhir** 'he will see', **uz dekhəbai karir** 'he will see only'; **ham dekhəbar** 'we shall see', **ham dekhəbai karibar** 'we shall see only'; **mai derkhat haū** 'I am seeing', **mai dekhətai haū** 'I am seeing only'; **mai kissei haū** 'I have done', **mai kissei haū** 'I have

done only'; **uz giri para:** 'he fell down', **uz girin para:** 'he did fall down, he fell down only'.

(g) Adverbs—**ab**, **tab**, **jab** and **kab** add **-aṣṣē:** (**-aṣṣī:** Eastern): **ab aṣṣē:** 'just now', **tab aṣṣē:** 'just then', **jab aṣṣē:** 'just when', **kab aṣṣē:** 'just when?' The aspiration may change place, so that we may have **ab aṣṣē:** or **ab ṣṣaṣṣē:**. The forms **ab ṣṣaṣṣen**, **tab ṣṣaṣṣen**, **jab ṣṣaṣṣen** are double restrictives—as we find **-n** termination super-imposed—but they have no difference in sense from **ab ṣṣaṣṣē:** etc. The forms in Eastern dialects are: **ab aṣṣī:**, **tab aṣṣī:**, **jab aṣṣī:** etc. Here also we sometimes find super-imposed forms **ab aṣṣin**, **tab aṣṣin**, **jab aṣṣin**. Occasionally one comes across forms such as **ab aṣṣina:** or **ab ṣṣaṣṣina:** which are further super-imposed forms but have no difference in sense. The regular **-ai** is found in such forms as **ab ai:**, **kab ai:** etc. and in **jaldin** 'soon', **jaṣṣaṣṣī** 'wherever', **aṣṣei** 'in this very way', etc.

NOTE.—Sometimes a Restrictive form is followed by the ordinary form, both the forms together indicating the Restrictive sense, e.g., **kitarbai jarī:** 'the books were burnt', **kitabain jarī:** 'only the books were burnt', **kitabain kitarbai jarī:** 'only the books were burnt', **ham aṣṣen** 'I came', **ham aṣṣer aṣṣen** 'I only have come', **ham aṣṣen aṣṣen** (double Restrictive) **ham aṣṣen ham aṣṣen** 'only I have come'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 380. The Restrictive emphatic affix **-i** (Early Awadhi **-hi**) is derived from **-eva** > **ē** > **i**, the **-h** in Early Awadhi as well as in some forms of Modern Awadhi may be due to contamination with the particle **hi**. **eva** has possibly a double treatment, one in **evva** which survives as **-b** in the adverbs of time, but another in **ē** (cf. Amg. *em* = *evam*, Pischel § 149) which appears to be at the basis of the affix here.

The **-n** (old *na*) affix should be connected with Pkt. *nam* found in Ardhamāgadhī for *nūnam* (see Pischel § 150). The adverb **ewāĩ** = *evameva* also contains *eva* as **-i**. The **Λ**- before the affix **-i** shows that the affix came after a pleonastic suffix in the stem, *viz.*, *ka*.

Repetition, Reduplication, etc.

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 381. Some grammatical forms are repeated and as such denote the sense of entirety, repeatedness, continuity or intensity.

(a) Nouns, Pronouns and Adjectives—the idea of entirety or plurality is indicated by repeating a noun, pronoun or adjective, *e.g.*, **ham gāru gāru gñurmen** 'I roamed about in many a village', **kutrar kutrar marī ger** 'all that were dogs—all the dogs died', **jox jox arwāi ui kar khari ko deru** 'give meals to all those who come', **hariar hariar partar birn leru** 'pick up all the green leaves'.

(b) Numerals—the repetition here is merely for emphasis or to denote the groups, *e.g.*, **chax chax janex arjer** 'as many as six—quite unexpectedly—have arrived' or 'people have come in sixes.'

(c) Verbs—the Imperfect participle and the absolutive are repeated to indicate the repeated nature, frequency or continuity of an action, *e.g.*, **derkhadirekhacīalex jaru** 'go on, continuing the action of seeing', **parñi parñi ciṭṭhir dñartī rāñar** 'he continued putting away the letters after reading them one after another', **rupajax giri giri parti hai** 'the rupee falls down again and again', **huāz jaxi jaxi karmṇ bigarreu** 'you spoiled the business by going there frequently'.

(d) Adverbs—these are repeated for emphasis, *e.g.*, **jab jab** 'whenever', **jañāz jañāz** 'wherever', **jaiser jaiser** 'as'.

NOTE.—If a form followed by its postposition is to be repeated, the postposition is not repeated, it comes only after the second form, *e.g.*, **gāru mō**, repeated **gāru gāru mō**; **derkhai mō**, repeated **derkhai derkhai mō**.

§ 382. The Echo-words or Expletive words begin in Awadhi with **u : wΛ** and **ur : war**, with the former if the first syllable of the real word is short (**Admir udmir** or **Admir wΛdmir** 'man etc.') and with the latter if it is long (**rorṭir urṭir** 'bread etc.', **kharb warb** 'meal etc.'). **wΛ** instead of **u** is found in a few dialects, *e.g.*, S. and U., while **war** for **ur** is found only when the first syllable of the real word ends in **-ar**. The Echo-word sometimes carries the sense of 'et cet ra' or 'things like that' but more often it is meaningless and appears to give to the speaker only a facility in his current of speech. Generally nouns, adjectives and verbs have the echo-forms.

§ 383. Facility in the current of speech again appears to be at the basis of Reduplication of certain roots. The reduplicated root does not mean anything by itself but its addition to the principal root sometimes does give a shade of intensity of action. In Reduplication, the initial consonant of a root is repeated intact, but the vowel changes. If it is **-Λ, ar** in the principal root, the reduplicated root will have **u, ur**, otherwise the reduplication-vowel is **Λ, ar**. For instance:

bārdṣab : bārdṣab būrdṣab 'to tie completely',
carṭab : carṭab curṭab 'to lick', **hāsab : hāsab hūsab**
 'to laugh', **kai : kai kui** 'having done', **lai : lai lui**
 'having taken', **jirṭab : jirṭab jarṭab** 'to win',
kurḍab : kurḍab karḍab 'to jump', **heirab : heirab**
huirab 'to search', **sori sari** 'having slept'.

NOTE.—In actual use we have not been able to detect any marked distinction between the Echo-words and Reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing.

§ 384. Different from Reduplication are certain forms which go in pairs. Here both the words have independent

meanings, but in combination give an additional idea connoted by both in a general sense, *e.g.*, **hāṛthir** and **ghorṛar** separately mean 'elephants' and 'horses', but when brought together they not only mean 'elephants and horses' but also other high class conveyances or paraphernalia of a king. Similar expressions are: **borl carl** 'companionship', **joṛr toṛr** 'contrivances', **narṛ kurd** 'merriments', **'kherl tamisar** 'shows and spectacles', **rupajar paisar** 'money', **marṛ karṭ** 'slaughter', **derb leṛb** 'to give and to take, *i.e.*, mutual help', **haḡab murṭab** 'to ease oneself and to urinate, *i.e.*, affairs not fit to be mentioned in decent society', **naḡarṛb dhoṛwab** 'to bathe and to wash, *i.e.*, to clean oneself', **karnar phūṛsir** 'secret talk', **kharṛb piab** 'eating and drinking', etc.

C. ORIGIN

§ 385. Repetition of a word is a normal feature in Sanskrit and MIA, *e.g.*, **deṣē, deṣē** 'in every country', **pītvā pītvā** 'having drunk again and again', **yadā yadā** 'whenever'.

Echo-words are found in Mod. IA throughout as well as in Dravidian (see Chatterji, p. 176) and they serve only as a help in the current of speech. Such a thing is not likely to find a place in literary works, however; we have found only one instance in Early Awadhi: *chanda wanda* (*Awadha Bilāsa*, leaf 9b).

Similarly Reduplication is another device taken up for facility in speech and is found in other Mod. IA languages as well (see Chatterji § 775). People do require some such supports (called *takia-e-kalām* in Persian, meaning, literally, 'pillow of speech') and sometimes a whole clause is introduced, *e.g.*, 'isn't it' or 'you know' in English and **mai bart kafiēū** 'I say', **jaṛneu ki nari** 'isn't it', **hū warṛi bḡarir** 'O Yes, brother!' in Awadhi. These devices are restricted strictly to spoken languages, mostly to slang, and do not find place in written language.

CHAPTER X

WORD ORDER

A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 386. Unfortunately no prose works are available. The only prose piece that is found is the arbitration deed said to have been written by Tulsīdās as an arbitrator to settle the dispute about the division of the property of Rājā Tōḍarmal after his death. The language of deeds is generally archaic and formal and so is also of this deed (*Tulsī Granthāvalī*, Part III, pages 36—38). The following sentences show the order:

āgē jē āgya dunahu janē māgā jē āgya bhai sē pramāna mānā dunahu janē likhītaṁ ananda rāma jē ūpara likhā sē sahī 'previously whatever order both the persons wanted (and) which order was put that has been accepted by both the persons . . . written by Anandarāma whatever is written above is correct.'

Here *āgē* adverb is quite in order with modern usage. The precedence of the object (*jē āgya*) before the subject, as well as the putting of the subject (*dunahu janē*) at the end are emphatic in such cases and are similarly found in the modern language as well. The order of words thus does not differ from that found in Modern Awadhi (see below § 388).

§ 387. As in Modern Awadhi so in the old language, the normal order of words is often violated. For instance:

(a) subject coming after the verb, *jabahi caḍhahi puhumī pati, sērasāhi jaga-sūra* 'whenever Shēr Shāh, the hero of the world, the king of the (whole) Earth, attacks' (J. p. 19), *mukuṣa bādhi saba baiṣhā rājā* 'all the kings sat with their crowns on' (J. p. 72), *bōlī apara kahehu sakhi nīkā* 'the other said: friend, (you) have well said' (T. p. 97), *pura pūraba disi gē dou bhāi* 'both the brothers went to the Eastern part of the city' (T. p. 97), *kaha māruta-suta sunahu prabhu* 'the son of the Air-god said: my lord, hear' (T. p. 375); *dīnhā utara mahīpa biyōgī* 'the love-lorn king gave the answer' (N. p. 25), *kahā ratana sō ēka sahēlī* 'a friend said to Ratana' (N. p. 90), *karaba maṭ sēvā* 'I shall do the service' (N. p. 32).

(b) object after the verb, *kīnhesi dharatī saraga patārū* 'He created the Earth, the sky and the nether world' (J. p. 2), *dēkhī sāsū āna anuhārī* 'saw the mothers-in-law much different' (T. p. 245), *sunī siya sapana bharē jala bōcana* 'on hearing Sītā's dream (his) eyes were filled with water (tears)' (T. p. 245), *likhi pāṭī cētā kahā dīnhā* 'she wrote the letter and gave it to Cētā' (N. p. 73), *lakhai na aiguna dēkhai sōbhā* '(he) does not look at (your) evils (and) sees (your) beauty' (N. p. 167).

(c) adjectival epithet after the noun, *pitā hamāra* 'my father' (J. p. 87), *jōbana mōra* 'my youth' (J. p. 87), *dīpa dui* 'two lamps' (J. p. 193), *kou kaha saṅkara cāpa kaṭhōrā* 'some one said that Siva's bow was hard' (T. p. 97), *kānanu kaṭhina bhayaṅkara bhārī* 'the forest is difficult (to pass through), terrifying and huge' (T. p. 181), *muni gyānī* 'the well-versed sages' (T. p. 264), *bōlē bāni sanēha suhāi* '(he) spoke words beautiful owing to affection' (T. p. 277), *hari lei calā parāna hamārā* 'he has taken my life and is gone' (N. p. 25), *auguna bharī sarīra hamārī* 'my body is full of evils' (N. p. 105), *pai tumharī akhiyā matavārī hama kaha khīca surā disa ānat* 'but your bewitching eyes, draw me and bring me towards wine' (N. p. 176).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 388. The Awadhi sentence normally is small; it contains four or five words. Complex ideas are expressed by combining together several sentences by means of conjunctions or adverbial expressions.

The normal order of words is :

Subject, object, verb ; *e.g.*, **mai du:dsi pi:siāũ** 'I shall drink milk'. A sentence may contain only the subject and the verb, *e.g.*, **mai ja:siāũ** 'I shall go'. In connected speech any of the above may be understood, so that, in effect, a sentence may contain either the subject only, or the verb or the object. The adjectival adjuncts normally precede the noun or pronoun that they qualify attributively. Predicatively, however, they come after the noun or pronoun qualified as shown above (§ 224). The adverbial adjuncts generally come immediately before the verb, but adverbs of time and place are found, quite frequently, placed after the subject. Normally the indirect object precedes the direct object.

§ 389. The normal order of words in the language is, however, not rigidly fixed. Except for the postpositions which must follow the noun or pronoun concerned, other parts of speech may have a different order for emphasis and for expression of emotion. The subject may come at the end of a sentence, *e.g.*, **ta hũa te cal di:in ui** 'then he started from there', **ja:dar na lja:ib ham** 'I shall not take more'. The vocative generally precedes the subject (*e.g.*, **ra:niz ham tau pi:ja:se: ba:stut han** 'O Queen, I am very thirsty', **tau la:iki: bo:li: na:si: ra:ja: hiā: na piāu** 'then the girl said: no king! do not drink water here'), but it may follow the subject sometimes (*e.g.*, **ham da:dar tumari: ba:zi: se khariti** 'Father! I live—lit. eat—owing to your good fortune'). The adjectival epithet normally precedes the noun, but for emphasis it may follow it (*e.g.*, **ma:si:ta:ri: ki: ta:na: a:zi: la:zi: gai ja:**

'O Mother, how did this fire come about to catch (the house)', **ui t̥hagaunax sartau daurex caler arwaĩ** 'those seven highway robbers were coming on, running'.

§ 390. The object normally comes between the subject and the verb, but for emphasis or when it is the particular topic of talk, it may come at the beginning (*e.g.*, **sor harr ham erk aurat ko dai dirn** 'that necklace, I gave away to a woman') or at the end (*e.g.*, **tau mai dai qarreu rupajax** 'then I gave away the money', **gorbar bñari kaj diñisi ham kar** 'he gave to me filled with dung'). The direct object may, in similar circumstances, precede the indirect, *e.g.*, **kasin na hori laxo thorraz khari lexir thorraz jahu ko dai deriz** '(she) said: let it be, let me eat a little and give a little to this one also'. The adjectival epithet of the object may be separated thus by the intervention of the verb, *e.g.*, **jax iz kix kharti hai kamari** 'he earns his livelihood by it' where **iz kix** was expected near **kamariz**.

§ 391. Of all the parts of a sentence, the adverbial adjunct has the least fixed place. In the same sentence one adjunct may be after the subject and another before the verb, *e.g.*, **ui marrez gus̥a k̥e roxt̥iz d̥eñarija mo qarri derĩ** 'she, on account of anger, used to throw the bread in the big jar' where **marrez gus̥a k̥e** comes after the subject and **d̥eñarija mo** before the verb; or **choxt̥ bñariz j̥ñat̥io baɣex bñari ko kursiz par baitharris̥i** 'the younger brother, soon, seated the elder brother on a chair' where **j̥ñat̥io** comes after the subject and **kursiz par** before the verb. Sometimes, particularly when the subject is inanimate, the adverb may come even before the subject (*e.g.*, **tau h̥uax baɣax halax macax** 'then there rose up a great uproar') or after the verb (*e.g.*, **gai r̥añai ui warr** '(she) had gone to that side').

§ 392. The verb normally comes at the end of the sentence, but it may precede the subject (*e.g.*, **r̥añu tui**

Instances of the indirect report are, however, sometimes found, though very rarely, *e.g.*, **goparl hari se batariṣi ki saṅkaṭar tumar tṭapkar corarini hai** 'Gopal told Hari that Saṅkaṭā had stolen his mangoes' but **goparl māṣi se kaṣiṣi ki tum hamar tṭapkar corarjeu** 'Gopāl told me that you stole my mangoes'.

§ 394. The subject may be a noun, a pronoun, or an adjective (with the noun understood). As noted above (§ 175) a subject may take a plural number (indicated by the verb being in the plural) to show respect. In connected speech the same subject may be in the singular or the plural in clauses side by side, *e.g.*, **war āgurtḥiz lai kai apaner gṣar gai apariz māṣotarri ko dekhazini jai** 'she took the ring and went home (and) showed (it) to her mother', where **gai** shows a singular subject and **dekhazini** a plural one; **tau ek jaiar ki purijar phiri ghorisṣi, jṣatṭo waiṣi loṭijar gṣūrgṣuṭṭa marri ko rajā ko dihiṣi** 'then she again dissolved a small packet of poison, (and) soon drawing the veil she gave the same cup to the king' where **ghorisṣi** and **dihini** show a difference of number. Such instances are quite frequent in every day speech. Not only this, when subjects are understood, different subjects may be understood in different clauses of the same sentence, *e.g.*, **paṣiler bari banari gai abtimō qarriṣ marri** 'at first (she) explained it away, this time (he) will kill (us) outright', where the subject of **banari gai** is 'the daughter of the demon' and of **qarriṣ marri** 'the demon himself'. The difference of number may be visible in the same sentence, *e.g.*, **mai goṣarri lagari ko pakaren** 'I raised an alarm and caught him' where **mai** (singular) is connected with **pakaren** (plural). The expected verb was **pakareū**. Such wrong grammar, however, is not frequent.

§ 395. If a verb has a subject in different genders, the gender of the nearest subject is taken up by the verb, and the number is plural, *e.g.*, **māṣotarriṣ puri hoī**

rañer jai 'the mother and the son reached (the place)' where **rañer** agrees in gender with **purt** and not with **mañotariz**. Similarly **pañbatiz mañazderu duniya ki cinta ko nikarex** 'Pārvatī and Mahādeva started to look after the world', **kumñar au kumñarini mañiz nikarrai añi** 'the potter and his wife came to dig out earth'.

§ 396. When two pronouns of different persons stand as the subject, the order is 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the verb also agrees with the 1st in preference to the 2nd or 3rd and with the 2nd in preference to the 3rd, e.g., **aroi ham tum khariz** 'Come let us eat', **ham tum bazarrai jaibar** 'You and I shall go to the market', **tum ui pakareu** 'he and you caught'.

§ 397. The subject of a passive or causal clause is put before the subject of the simple clause, e.g., **ur lañkar kuchu galtiz kisiñi** 'that boy committed some mistake'—active, **ui lañka se kuchu galtiz hoi gai** 'some mistake was committed by that boy'—passive, where **ur lañkar** is the subject of the active construction while **ui lañka se** is the agentive phrase in the passive construction; similarly **ram gopal ko painiz piñisñi** '(he) caused Gopāl to drink water through Rām'.

§ 398. In poetry and songs, the normal order of words is found generally disturbed, e.g., **ñataniñ bñar hari kiñ kar gaiñai kiñ kar lai kai narū** 'at this time whom shall I sing about, whose name shall I take'—here **narū** (object) would normally be put before **lai kai**; **karñi narū ui guruz tumñarrez** 'what is the name of your preceptor?'—here **tumñarrez** (adjective) should have preceded **guruz**; **bñitar te nikasñi jasormati martar** 'mother Yaśodā came out from the inner apartments'—here **jasormati martar** (subject) would precede **nikasñi**.

C. ORIGIN

§ 399. 'Like all languages that possess a rich store of inflections, Sanskrit affords a comparatively great freedom as to the order of words in the sentence' (Speijer: *Sanskrit Syntax* § 15). In the Sanskrit word the morphemes were combined with the semanteme so that each word was a unit by itself and carried with it its full significance. Hence the order of words did not matter for the connotation of the meaning. In spite of this we find a certain order generally—subject—object—verb; the attribute precedes the noun, the vocative generally heads the sentence (*ibid*, § 16). We find that this general order has been kept up more or less throughout modern Indo-Aryan [see Bloch: *Langue Marathe*, (p. 268), Chatterji: *Origin and Development of Bengali*, (p. 176)]. Only there is this difference between Sanskrit and modern IA, that in the former the terminations expressed the morphemes of case, number, gender, person, tense etc., while in modern IA some of these are expressed by postpositions or other form-words. Just as the morphemes necessarily accompanied the semanteme then (being incorporated in the word), similarly in Mod. IA they accompany the semanteme (closely following it). Granted this, the word-order is the same. For instance:

Skt. *devadattaḥ* | *kaṭam* | *karoti* |

Hindi *devadatta* | *kaṭarā* | *banārtarhai* |

'Devadatta | mat | makes'.

Here no harm would be done if the words of the Sanskrit sentence change their places as the morphemes are incorporated in the semantemes; but normally the Hindi sentence would keep the order because the morphemes are not manifest. However, as shown above, the order may change sometimes in poetry, or even in prose for emphasis and there the context will be the only indicator of the syntactical relation. Let us take another case:

Skt. *viṭapāt | patrāṇi | kṣaranti |*

Awadhi **birawa se | partar | jharati haĩ |**

'From the tree | leaves | fall off'.

The three elements of the sentence in either languages may be changed without causing any confusion in sense. Or take another sentence :

Skt. *tataḥ | rāmaḥ | sitayā sārḍham | vanam | jagāma*

Awadhi **tau | ra:m | sirtar sangh | ban kar | caler gaez**

'Then | Rām | with Sitā | to the forest | went'.

Here also the sense will not be confused if the order of the various parts of the sentence is changed.

The word-order, thus, in essentials has remained the same in modern IA as in OIA.

FINIS



APPENDICES



APPENDIX I

SPECIMENS OF EARLY AWADHI (UNPUBLISHED) TEXTS

(a) Awadha Bilāsa

(b) Prēma Pragāsa

(c) Gura Anyāsa

(d) Yūsuf Zulekhā

(a) **Awadha Bilāsa**¹

Page 1.

Śrī Gaṇēśāya Namaḥ

*Śrī pustaka Avadha Bilāsa likhyatē
dōhā*

*Bēda ukti anubhava jugati
Jñāna ratana kī khāni
Lāla gupta ehu pragata kie
Audha Bilāsa bakhāni.*

*Audha Bilāsa samudra hai
Sāhu sādhu taṭa jāhi
Ratuna kathā Raghubīra kī
Lāla bahuta tā māhi.*

*Lālu succha traitōka kō
darapona Audhu Bilāsa
Jō jaisahi hoi dēkhihai
Tā kaha taisā bhāsa.*

*Saba hī ruci nahi ēka hai
Kāhū kachū sohāe
Tā tē mai bahu mata racē
Audha Bilāsa banāe.*

*Pragaṭeu Avadha Bilāsa ghanu
Bidyā jñāna apāra
Khulē khajānē lāla kē
Lāla hṛdaya bhaṇḍāra.*

*Rāga raṅga rata Rāma sō
Nau rasa jñāna prakāsa
Jasa prabhutā jaga maha calai
Tau paṭu Avadha Bilāsa.*

¹ Text from a copy (in the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad) of the manuscript described in the Introduction above §6.

Translation

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇēśa

Awadhā Bilāsa begins

The Vēdas, apt sayings, experiences, devices, a mine of precious stones of knowledge, Lāla says, these are hidden, (but) he has made these manifest by having composed the Audha Bilāsa.

The Audha Bilāsa is an ocean, whose (two) ends are *sāhu* (the trading class), and *sādhū* (the religious mendicant class). Gems of the story of Rāma, Lāla says, are abundantly found in it.

The Audha Bilāsa is a bright mirror for (reflecting) the three worlds. Whoever will look in it in whatever mood, he will find it reflecting similarly.

All tastes are not alike ; some like certain things (while others like a different thing). This is why I have included in the Audha Bilāsa, many shades of thought.

The cloud of the Audha Bilāsa has made manifest boundless knowledge and wisdom, and has opened in the storehouse of Lāla's mind, treasures of precious stones (of beautiful thoughts).

Love, sport, devotion to Rāma, the nine sentiments, and the light of knowledge, all those qualities which rule the world, have been cleverly incorporated in the Audha Bilāsa.

Koū kāhu kī bāta suni
Lagē sarāhana tāhi
Avadha Bilāsahi enha paḍhai
Tau kā acaraja āhi.

Bhaktanha kaha haya bhakta eha
Rasikanha kō rasa rūpa
Jñānī kō hai jñāna yaha
Audha Bilāsa anūpa.

Bahuta kathā bahu grantha kī
Ukti anūṭha ananta
Paḍhihai jō sō hōihaya
Kahata Lāla gunavant.

Kāhē kō bahutai cahai
Pōthī bhāra anēku
Saba guna mē kina rākhiyē
Avadha Bilāsahi yēka.

Raghubamsī Raghubamsa jē
Lavakusa bamsa prukāsa
Tinha kē Lāla bisēkha
Paḍhibō Audha Bilāsa.

Pōthī Audha Bilāsa kī
paḍhatahi sunata sohāta
Āe milata hai bahuta tūhā
Lāla bāta para bāta.

Kamalanha jō ruci māni ali
Taji toji āna nevāsa
Lāla rasika jē hōhigē
Paḍhihai Avadha Bilāsa.

P. 2.

Jō eha Avadha Bilāsa kō
Gāvai kari bisrāma
Tā kē hiya maha hōe kē
Sunihai Sītā Rāma.

Some one begins to admire things on hearing from some one else; what wonder if he reads them in the Avadha Bilāsa.

To the devotees, this unparalleled Audha Bilāsa is devotion itself, to the men of feeling, it is an embodiment of sentiments, and to the wise, it is knowledge.

He, who will read numerous stories from various books, and innumerable apt sayings, says Lāla, will become a man of qualities.

But, why should one so much like the burden of numerous volumes of books? Why should not one keep, for all these qualities, the Avadha Bilāsa alone?

Of all those born in the line of Raghu, Lava and Kuśa were luminaries of the line; in the Avadha Bilāsa, Lāla, you will read about them at length.

As you read the book of Audha Bilāsa, or hear it, you begin to like it, for therein you occasionally meet with numerous apt sayings.

As the black bee likes to dwell in the lotus, leaving aside other abodes, similarly those, who are men of feeling, will read the Avadha Bilāsa (leaving aside other compositions).

In the heart of him who sings this Avadha Bilāsa with ease, Sītā and Rāma will sit and hear (the Avadha Bilāsa).

Racana racana mukṭā ratana
Kūda kalā itihāsa
Lāla hēma kutakā racē
Bhūkhana Avadha Bilāsa.

Abhūkhana hai bhagata kō
Rāmadāma guna hīra
Lāla alaṅkṛta dēkhi kai
Rājhata hai Raghubīra.

Grantha grantha para suba karata
Lēta grantha kī chāha
Lāla kōi anabhava
Rāma kṛpā kī bāha.

Rāmāena satakōṭi hai
Rāmahi jānata tāhi
Jō kachu pragatā na gupatahi
Rākhata nāgari nāri.

Jāni bījhi nāhi dharata
Koṭhina aratha kō dauva
Rāma nāma jō jakta maḥa
Grantha calaya saba ṭhaura.

Gūḍha kāvya Jayadēva kabi
Tulasī Sūra bakhāna
Kēsava Bidyāpati bikāṭa
Lāla sarala mana māna.

Bātai saba Brahmāṇḍa kī
Racō Lāla mana āni
Bisva rūpa jē bisvamai
Audha Bilāsahi jāna

Adṛṣṭa bāta apaṣṭita asṛta
Alapa jūāna jehi dēha
Tā kō Audha Bilāsa rasa
Aṭapaṭa lāgahi ēha.

With the pearls and precious stones of beautiful sayings, the *kūḍa* (*kunda* flower?) of art and history, and the gold of *kūṭaka* (probably *kūṭaka* 'tricky compositions' or *kautuka* 'pleasures'), Lāla has prepared this ornament of the Avadha Bilāsa.

This is an ornament for the devotee, being a string of diamonds of the qualities of Rāma. Lāla says, Rāma is pleased to see one decorated with this ornament.

All place one book upon the other (in the matter of authority), and take the shelter of books (in their reasonings), but here is Lāla's practical experience, for Rāma has placed his kind hand upon him.

The Rāmāyaṇa (story of Rāma) is a hundred-crore-fold, only Rāma knows it, as the clever woman gives out something, and always keeps it a secret.

Knowingly and wilfully, I do not compose in it anything hard to understand, so that my book may be popular at all places, like the name of Rāmā.

For poetry difficult to appreciate, Jayadēva, Tulasī and Sūra are well-known; and, Keśava and Vidyāpati are simply prolix, while Lāla is as easy as one would like.

Lāla has commented upon all the subjects of the Universe. Whatever the Universe is, or whatever the Universe is contained of, all that you will find to be identical with the Audha Bilāsa.

To him, who has seen little, read little, and heard little, who has little knowledge in his self the pleasure of reading the Audha Bilāsa seems meaningless.

Pañḍita hai sō jāni hai
Kothā prasaṅga prabīna
Mūrakhu mana maha māni hai
Lāla kahā eha kīna.

Tīratha avadha je avadha hai
Rāma avadha antāra
Taisō bhākhā kī avadhu
Audha Bilāsa apāra.

Dōe dēha hai Avadha kē
Sukṣima thūla prakāsa
Dhāma rūpa asthūla hai
Sukṣima Audha Bilāsa.

Jō eha Avadha Bilāsa kō
Avadhahi jānai kōi
Tā kē sunatahi hōta hai
Avadha gaē phala sōi.

kai kou jānata santa jana
Rāma janāvahi jāhi.

.....

Svāratha paramāratha bisavai
Bānī Lāla prakāsa
sō vai bātai kavana hai
Jō nahi Avadha Bilāsa.

F. 3.

Basīkarana mōhana kṛkhana
Sabodāvana guna nēka
.....mantra saṁsāra maha
Avadha Bilāsa hai ēka.

Paranābhī basi mā hṛdaya
Madhyā kaṇṭhahi māhi
...hara pragaṭa su baikharī
Bānī cāri kahāhi.

He, who is wise, and is clever at stories and discourses, will know its worth ; and, he, who is stupid, will think ' what has Lāla done here ?'

As Avadha is the end of all the holy places, and as Rāma is the end of all the incarnations (of the supreme), so also the endless Audha Bilāsa is the end of the vernacular (compositions).

Avadha has two bodies obviously, *sūkṣma* or the inner, and *sthūla* or the outer, and the shrine is the outer one, while the Audha Bilāsa is the inner one.

Whoever accepts this Avadha Bilāsa with the belief that it is Avadha itself, he reaps the advantages of visiting the holy shrine by only hearing the Avadha Bilāsa.

Either certain saints know this fact, whom Rāma makes aware of it,

The message of Lāla covers both the fields : egoistic, and the altruistic. What are those subjects that are not contained in the Avadha Bilāsa ?

The art of subduing, of alluring and of attracting, all these have many good qualities ; but in the world of master-charms, the Avadha Bilāsa is unique.

Paranābhī dwells in the heart, *madhyā* in the throat, in . . . (?) appears the *baikhari*, these are said to be the four varieties of the speech.

Bhākhā ārahī mānukhī
Baikhārī paramāna
Ārahī kahīē Samsakṛta
Bhākhā mānukha jānu.

Suddha praguṭa laukika bayana
Suni samujhai saba kōi
Kaṭhina subda hai Samsakṛta
Bhākhā kahīē sōi.

Dēsī Prākṛta Samsakṛta
Pārasi yārabi jānu
Jāha jāha jākī Lāla kahi
Bhākhā sabahi jāna.

Ihai jāni bānī bimala
Kahata Lāla sudha buddha
Kaṭhina kābya eha Samsakṛta.
Bhākhā kahiyē suddha.

Gūṛhahi bhalī na prakāsa
Bānī Lāla biyāja.

.....
Navu Bilāsa diṭha guna bhayō
Patita pāra kṛta kāja
Lāla sindhu samsāra maha
Avadha Bilāsa jahāja.

Sai paṇḍita sai sādhu kō
Jē tō saṅga bakhāna
Tā tē Avadha Bilāsa kō
Lāla paṇḍhē hoi jñāna.

Sambata satkṛta sai barakha
Sudī Baisākha sukāla
Lāla Avadha modhi rahi racī
Audha Bilāsa risāla.

Baikharī of human beings has got the following varieties. *ārakhī* (S. *ārṣa*) or of the gods, and *bhākhā* or vernacular. *Ārahī* is otherwise named as *Samśkr̥ta*, and *mānukhī* as *bhākhā*.

Pure and open are the earthly discourses (conducted in *bhākhā*), which everyone understands when he hears them, while *Samśkr̥ta* is full of difficult words. These are called the (two-fold varieties of) language.

Dēśī, *Prākṛta*, *Samśkr̥ta*, *Pārasī*, and *Yārabi*, i.e., the Arabic, know each one (of these) to be a language. Lāla says, wherever whichever (of these) may be in use, that is *Bhākhā*.

Being aware of this fact, Lāla uses, knowingly, the pure dialect (i.e., *bhākhā*). Difficult poetry is composed in the *Samśkr̥ta*, while poetry of easy construction is done in the *bhākhā*.

It is not proper to make the secret manifest through language.

The new *Bilāsa* of substantial worth has proved to be a ship in the ocean of the world, for carrying the fallen across it.

As much as one is said to gain in the company of a hundred wise men, and a hundred saints, the same amount of knowledge he can also gain by reading the *Avadha Bilāsa*.

In the *Sambata* year 1700, in the auspicious bright half of *Baisākha*, staying in *Avadha*, Lāla composed the tasteful *Audha Bilāsa*.

caupāi

*Prathamahi gura Ganapati sira nāvō
Puni Hari Hara Surasafi manāvō.*

*Jau ei kṛpā kaṭākṣanḥa hērē
Tau kachu jñāna hōi jiya mērē.*

*Brahmā Bēda ādi Muhāmāyā
Pranavō tāhi jakta jinḥa jāyā.*

*Sanaka Sanātana Sanayakumārā
Aura Sananda cāri parakārā.*

*Bālaka rūpa rahai Brahmagyānī
Jivanmukta nirāabhimānī.*

*Ādi bhakti jē Śrī Hari pyārī
Bandava tāhi bhagati bistārī.*

*Pranavō Pāratha Prabhu kē saṅgī
Harī samāna bapu rūpa saraṅgī.*

*Bandau cāri mukti haya sōi
Pāvata bhagata avara nahi kōi.*

P. 4.

*Eka satōka sāmīpa sohāi
Eka sājujasārūpa kahāi.*

*Indrādika dēvatā jētē
Mō para kripā karahu saba tētē.*

*Hōhu dayāla dasau dṛgapālā
Graha titha paya tata krama kālā.*

*Cāri khāni kē jē jata prānī
Siddha sādhu mūrakha aru gyānī.*

*Aṇḍaja svēdaja jarāēja jānā
Udbhija khāni e cāri bakhānā.*

*Avadha Bilāsa kathā mana mānī
Baranō tāhi dēhu mohi bānī.*

In the very beginning, I bow to my preceptor, and to Gaṇapati; then, I pray to Hari, Hara, and Sarasvatī; for if these looked at me with kindly glances, some knowledge will grow in my heart.

I bow to Brahmā, and the Vēdas, and the basic Mahāmāyā, who begot the world I bow to Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, and Sanandana, the four sages.

Who knowing the Brahma, live in the guise of boys; who are bondless in this life, and who are free from vanity. Then, I bow to the basic Devotion, Śrī, the spouse of Hari, with considerable devotion.

I bow to Pārtha, the comrade of the Lord, whose body and appearance were similar to those of the Lord. I bow to the four-fold scheme of salvation, which devotees alone get, and none others.

One is Sālōkya, or attaining the same region with the Lord, the other is Sāmīpya, or attaining proximity to the Lord, the third is Sāyujya, or being one with the Lord and the fourth is Sārūpya, or being of the same appearance with the Lord. All the gods including Indra, be ye all kind to me.

Ye, all the ten regents of the directions, planets, *tithas* (*tithis*?), *paya* (?), *krama* (?) and Time, be ye all kind to me. All the creatures of the four-fold creation, *siddhas*, and the mendicant class, the foolish and the wise, I bow to you all.

Aṇḍaja or born initially in the form of egg, *svēdaja* or born of perspiration of the body, *jarāyuja* or born from the womb, and *udbhija* or plants, these are the four main types of creatures. I describe the story of the Avadha Bilāsa in my own way, give me voice (for it).

Nārada Byāsa Basista bakhānā
Pārāsara Sukadēva sayānā.

Bhāradvāja rikhi Bālamika muni
Kasi...pa Bisvāmītra Atri puni.

Gantama Saunaka aura Pulastī
Śaughari Suragura Sukra Agastī.

Durbāsā Bhṛgu Pivana Sulāmā
Inha sabohinha kaha karau pranāmā.

Dhruba Prahlāda bhakti siratājā
Ambarika Rupamaṅgata rājā.

Bali Jaḍa Bharata au Janaka Bidēhi
Bhagati Bibhīkhana Rāma sanēhi.

Baranau Hanūmāna dukha bādhaka
Rāma bhagata sabahi sukha sādhaaka.

Arajuna Udhau Bidura samētā.
Rāmānanda ādi bhae jētā.

Bandau gōpa gōpikā nārī
Banakuñjana Hari saṅga bihārī.

Bidhu Maṅgala Jayadēva sayānā
Candrahāsa Hari kē mana mānā.

Jinha kē hiē Rāma bisrāmā
Tinha kē Lāla karata paranāma.

Paṇḍita jē bakatā kabirāi
Aru jō kathā sunaya muna lāi.

Tinha sō binaya karau kara jōrī
Suni mama grantha dēhu jani bōrī.

Jō kachu cūka mōhi hoi pāri
Tau tumha lījahu tāhi sudhārī.

Jo bigarō parakāja savārāya
Te apanō paralōka sudhārāya.

Nārada, Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, wise Śukadēva, sages Bharadvāja and Vālmiki, Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, and Atri,

Gautama, Śaunaka and Pulastya, Śaubhari, Suragura (Bṛhaspati), Śukra, and Agastya, Durvāsas, Bhṛgu, Pivana (?), and Sudāmā, I bow to these all.

Dhruva and Prahlāda, the crown of the devotees, Ambarīṣa and king Rukmāṅgada, Bali, Jaḍa Bharata, bodyless Janaka, and the devotee Bibhīṣaṇa, the lover of Rāma (I bow to these all).

I appraise the pain-ending Hanumāna, who is a devotee of Rāma, and a means for the attainments of all the comforts. I bow to Arjuna, Uddhava, Vidura, Rāmānanda, and all others who have been devotees.

I bow to the Gopas, and the Gopikā maidens, who roamed in the groves in the company of the Lord. Lāla bows to the Moon, the Mars, the wise Jayadēva, and the Candrahāsa, the pet of Hari, the persons in whose hearts Rāma abides.

To the wise men, the speakers, the great poets, and to those who hear this story attentively, I bow to them all with folded hands, that they may not drown my book when they have heard it.

If I might have committed any mistake, you will correct it, and accept my composition. One who corrects the mistake of another, makes his place secure in the other world.

dōhā.

Gyānī guna suni kō karai
Paṇḍita karaya bicāra.
... Lāla bhalē nahī
Jhagarā karahi ki māru.

P. 147.

caupāī

Yā bidhi rājā rikhihi livāī
Nagara Ajodhyā pahucē āi.
Ulima māsa devasa jaba jānā
Putra iṣṭa taba jagyahi ṭhānā.
Sāgara chhira jahā ārambhā
Gāḍē jāe jagyu kē khambhā.
Badē badē muni rikhi au rājā
Āe jurē jahā baḍo samājā.
Bēda bihita saba bidhi bistārā
Dāna diē kō ganaya apārā.
Kausilyā Kēkaī Sumānī
Bayathē gāṭhi jōri nrīpa rānī.
Sundara jagya bēdi mana mohai
Tāpara agini dēvatā sōhai.
Aura jagya samagrihi sājā
Tē bahutai lē bayathēu rājā.
Pañca ratana habi gabi hai jētā
Pañcāmṛta sāmīdha samētā.
Patra puhupa phala basana anēkā
Patra dhāta gandha bibidhi bibēkā.
Mōṭi mūgā kanaka anūpā
Pañca ratana ēi cuni rūpā.
Tila jau dhāna ghīva guḍa lēi
Khīra supāri hēma draba ēi.

Who would bother himself with the qualities of a wise man? Paṇḍita alone ponders over these . . . it is not good . . . either to quarrel or to make a fuss over it.

P. 147.

Thus, the king, accompanied by the sage, reached the city of Ajodhyā; when he knew the month and the day to be auspicious, he commenced the performance of the sacrifice, *Putresṭi* (for obtaining a male issue).

Where the sea of milk began from, he fixed the pillars of the sacrifice. In that great congregation, all the great saints, sages, and kings assembled.

The king performed all the rituals as commanded by the Vēdas, and he gave alms to such a great extent that none can make a correct estimate of it. The king sat with his queens, Kauśalyā, Kēkayī and Sumānī (Sumitrā), having tied the ends of his garment to the garments of the queens.

The beautiful platform of the sacrifice attracted the mind; Fire-god was beautifully placed over it. The king had collected also the other constituents of the sacrifice in large quantities, and with these, he sat (to perform the sacrifice).

His collection consisted of *pañca-ratana* or the five gems, oblations, *gavya*, i.e., the products of the cow, the *pañcāmṛta* (mixture of milk, sugar, butter, curds and honey), fuel for the sacred fire, leaves, flowers, fruits, various kinds of garments, plates of metals, and many varieties of perfumes.

He collected pearls, coral stones, unique gold, (rubies) and silver, which constitute *pañca-ratna* (five jewels). Black sesamum, barley, paddy, clarified butter, with molasses, milk and areca-nuts, all these constitute the golden ingredients.

*Dūdha ghīva dadhi madhu guḍa lahiē
Amṛta pāca nāma eha kahiē.*

*Gōbara mūtra gaū kē hōi
Dūdha ghīva dadhi gabi kahi sōi.*

*Āvāhana kari kari jo bolāē
Pūjā lēna dēvatā āē.*

*Bājā bajata bibidhi cahu vōrā
Manu pāvasa gājata ghanu ghōrā.*

*Sāthē sāta saekarē rānī
Gāvata gūta kōkilā bānī.*

*Nācata naṣi bhai maga ṭhāḍhi
Dāmini sī damakata duti bāḍhi.*

*Ṭhaura ṭhaura guni jana lie bājā
Gāvata rāga nīrta kari sājā.*

*Bipranha Bēda paḍhē oru gāē
Mānahu Bēda dēha dhari āē.*

*Rājā tahā bhaē Daśāvantā
Muni Basiṣṭa rikhi Śrīngī santā.*

*Aura sabai mumi sākala lēhi
Vai dou hōma tupasa saba dēhī.*

*Jagya raccha caudaha niḥpāpā
Tinha kō jagya bhītara lai thāpā.*

*Brahmā Bisna Rudara tahā sōhai
Indra Kubēra Candramā mōhai.*

*Sūraja Pāvaka au Dṛgapālā
Bidyādhara Gandharba bisālā.*

*Iṣkapāla aru Baruna Ganēsā
Apa āpana disa bayatṭha sudēsā.*

*Puruba Indra Agini aṅganēē
Dacchina Jama nairitu Racha sēē.*

*Pachima Baruna bāēbyau Bāyū
Uttara bayatṭha Kubēra soḥāyū.*

Take milk, clarified butter, curds, honey, and molasses these are called *pañcāmṛta*; and if the mixture consists of the refuse of the cow, its urine, its milk, its clarified butter, and its curds, it is called *gavya*.

The deities who had been invoked, came to accept the offerings. In all the four directions, various kinds of instruments were being played upon, as though in the rainy season, heavy clouds were thundering.

Seven hundred queens together were singing songs in the note of the cuckoo. The nautch-girls, in the course of dancing, paused in the passage and the increased glow of their persons shone like lightning.

At places, skilled masters with the accompaniment of instruments, sing various melodies, that are being supplemented again by dance. The Brāhmaṇas chanted Vedic hymns in such a manner as if the Vēdas themselves had appeared in person.

There happened to be king Dasavanta (Daśaratha) and sages Vasiṣṭha and Śṛṅgī. While these latter performed the sacrifice, other sages took the charge of offering oblations, warming their body.

The fourteen spotless protectors of the sacrifice were brought in and put in position. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra were present there, and Indra, Kubēra and Moon-god attracted the attention.

The Sun-god, the Fire-god, and the rest of the regents of the several directions, and the great Gandharvas, Vidyā-dharas, and the Lords of the (fourteen) worlds, and Varuṇa and Gaṇeś'a, everyone sat in his proper place.

In the east was seated Indra, in the south-east, Fire-god, in the south, Yama, in the south-west, Rakṣas (the demon who is the regent of that direction), in the west, Varuṇa, in the north-west the Wind-god and in the north, Kubēra.

P. 148.

*Īsānē Śaṅkara sukhadāi**Brahmā sarga Sēkha bhua pāi.**E drigapāla nāma dasa āē**Puni navagraha bayaṭhē jahū pāē.**Jehi jehi ṭhanra dēvatā bhākhē**Tāha tāha bipra Bēdavā rākhē.**Joi joi nāma dēvatā hōi**Biprahi nāma dharata gue sōi.**Dēvanha kē ruci kō jo ahārā**Dēta gaē tinha kō byauhārā.**Kēsari candana phūlanha pūjē**Hōhi prasanya kṛtāratha dūjē.**Sīla chamā khaṭa karmanha māhi**Tē sabu brāhmana ṭhala karāhi.**Paḍhai paṭhāvai dei aru lēi**Jagya karai karavāvai jēi.**E khaṭa karma bipra kē hōi**Jāmaha ē khaṭakarami sōi.**Putra sōi jō Bēda bakhānai**Gāetrī japa tapa brata ṭhānai.**Athavā Bisna bhagata jō hōi**Tā brāhmana sama anra nu kōi.**dōhā**Candana phūlai ūkha phala**Khōḷa barai pai māhi.**Lāla bipra puni Bisnabā**Tā sama tula kou nāhi.**caupāi**Hōma karata santuṣṭa hutāsana**Bhaē prasanya jō putra prakāsana.**Dībya rūpa pāvaka adhikāi**Jagya purukha pragaṭē juha āi.*

In the north-east was seated the auspicious Śiva. Brahmā was given the heavens, and S'ēṣa, the earth. These ten regents named (above) came. Then the nine planets sat where they were offered seats.

Wherever I have named deities, at each of those places Brāhmaṇas were seated, who had knowledge of the Vēdas. Whatever were the names of the deities, the same were given to those Brāhmaṇas; whatever food was especially liked by those deities, the same was offered to these.

They were worshipped with saffron, sandalwood-paste, and flowers; they were pleased, and also grateful. Such Brāhmaṇas as performed their six-fold duties with a good disposition and with forbearance, were appointed to serve them.

Studying, teaching, giving (charity) and taking (it), offering of oblations, and helping others in performing sacrifices, these are the six-fold duties of a Brāhmaṇa. One who possesses these qualities is called a *ṣaṭkarmī*.

The same is the son who propounds the Vēdas, who repeats Gāyatrī, and who engages in invocations and penances, or else who is a devotee of Viṣṇu. None is equal to such a Brāhmaṇa.

Although the sandal-tree may bear blossom, and the sugarcane may bring forth fruits, or sugar may burn in water, there is none equal to a Brāhmaṇa who is devoted to Viṣṇu.

When offerings were thrown in the sacred fire, the deity who had the capacity to bestow upon one an issue, was pleased. Sacrifice appeared there with a divine appearance which was accentuated by the fire around him.

Adbhuta rūpa agni maha rājai
Kanaka thāra dou hātha birājai.
Tā maha sundara khīra ahārā
Lēhu lēhu kahi hātha pasārā.
Muni rikhi nṛhi ādara kai lieū
Ubhai bhāgu kari rājahi dieū.
Śisa caḍhāe liē nripu rānī
Dhanya dhanya rikhi kahi muni bānī.
Iṭṭṭana jagyu bhayō jaba jānā
Dīnha dacchinā kari sanamānā.
Bhūmi bhōga bahutai diyo grāmā
Pāe parai saba kē nripa bāmā.
Āju bhaē saba kāja hamārē
Āvata hī rikhi pāe tumhārē.
Bipra kṛpā kari āvahi jākē
Pūrana hōe manōratha tākē.
Jā ghara bipra dharai pagu āi
Tā ghara kīrati hōi baḍāi.
Bipra prasāda Indra bhae lōgā
Bipra prasāda putra dhana bhōgā.

dōhā

Banītā basana sugundhu au
Bhōjana gīta jo pāna
Mandira bājī Lāla kahi
Āṭha bhōga ehi jāna.

P. 230.

dōhā

Dhōṭī bastī navalakā
Gujakara nēṭī jāna
Bhāṭhī sōdhana dēha kē.
E khaṭakarma bakhānī.

His unique appearance shone in the fire; gold-dishes looked pretty in both of his hands, and in those dishes, there was good-looking *khīra* (a preparation of milk). He stretched his hands with the cry, "Take this, take this!"

The sages stood up and accepted it with veneration, and having divided it into two, they offered it to the king. The king and the queens placed it on their forehead and accepted it, and the sages declared, "Blessed are the king and the queens!"

When (the king) knew that the sacrifice was over, he honoured (the Brāhmaṇas) and gave them presents. He gave them many villages to enjoy the blessings of the earth. The queens placed their heads at the feet of all the guests, and said,

"Today, all our desires have been fulfilled, when, sages, your feet came to this place. In whosoever house the Brāhmaṇas kindly come, his desires are fulfilled.

"In whichsoever house the Brāhmaṇas come and place their feet, that house is highly praised (by all). By having pleased the Brāhmaṇas, they have (in the past) become Indra, and by having pleased the Brāhmaṇas they have been blessed with issues and riches."

Maidens, clothes, perfumes, food-stuff, music, drinks, palaces, horses, know these to be the eight-fold blessings, says Lāla.

Dhōtī, bastī, navalakā, gajakara, nēti, and *bhāthī* these are said to be the six processes of bodily purification.

caupāi

Nēti dōri nāsikā pōvai
Dhōti basana nīla mala dhōvai.
Navatī nala phērai ju uṭhāi
Udara mudhya gura tē lakhi pāi.
Bhāthi karai nāka sura aisē
Dhavai sonāra dhātu kaha jaisē.
Aicai ēka ēka svara chāḍai
Ati hī bēgi bēgi hāsi māḍai.
Bastī mūla dvāra jala karakhai
Gajakaranī gaju jyau jala barakhai.

P. 231.

Abu sunu prānāyāma bakhānau
Jōga grantha kē mana mata ānau.
Sādhai sādhu jōga jau kōi
Rahai dēsa jahā dunda na hōi.
Sadā subhaccha rahai tā ṭhaurā
Dharamarāja kaha dhāvana daurā.
Rākhai saṅga ēkaī ēvā
Sārati samujhi karai saba sēvā.
Rahai jāe ēkānta bicārī
Jahā nahī bahutai nara nārī.
Chāḍai saba jaṅjāla samētā
Rahai sumattha suṭhi dvāra sokētā.
Nahi ati nīca nahī ati ūcā
Āsana saina bhūmi kara sūcā.
Prathamahi kusa tāpara mṛga-chālā
Puni kambala ūpara rudramālā.
Ati kōmala sama ruci sukhadāi
Padumāsana baiṭhē mana lāi.

Nṛtī denotes that process in which a rope is passed through the nose; *Dhṛtī* denotes that in which (the outlet for) the filth is washed with a blue cloth; *Navatī* denotes that in which the intestines are moved in the belly—one sees this latter with the aid of a preceptor.

Bhāthī denotes that in which such a sound is produced by the nostrils as is produced by the goldsmith in the course of blowing the metal. The inhalation should be done by one nostril, and the exhalation by the other. This should be repeated in quick succession, and with a laugh.

Bastī denotes that in which water is passed through the anus. *Gajakaranī* denotes that in which water is blown like an elephant. Now I describe the *prāṇāyāma*, hear the same. I now recollect the opinions of the treatises on *yoga*.

When a mendicant performs *yoga*, the land becomes free from strife. In that land, good eatables are always available, and messengers of Dharmarāja are always on tour in that land.

He (the *yōgī*) should keep only one person with him, who may render all sorts of services befitting the requirements of the ascetic. The ascetic should make his abode in a secluded place, which may not be frequented by men or women.

He (*i.e.*, the ascetic) should renounce everything with its train of cares. He should live in a *maṭha* which should have a narrow opening. He should sit and sleep on the ground (which should be) neither at a very high level nor at a very low level.

He should first prepare a bed of Kuśa-grass, thereon he should spread the skin of a deer, and again thereon, he should spread a woollen carpet. He should wear a rosary of Rudrākṣa (probably in the neck). Thus, having prepared a very soft, even and comfortable seat, he should sit in the posture of the lotus (*Padmāsana*), with a centred attention.

Uṭhi baiṭhē ita uta nahi ḍḍolai
Bala nahi karahi bahuta nahi bḍolai.
Kaṭi aru grīva sīsa sama rākhai
Nāsā agra dṛiṣṭi abhilākhai.
Sūchama kachuka rākhī mukha āgē
Dēkhai tāhi palaka nahi lāgē.
Jabu lagi naina sajala bhari hōi
Trāṭika dhyāna kahatu hai sōi.
Agya nāsa racchā kari tana kē
Ṭikā karai kapaṭa taji mana kē.
Jagya dāna japa tapa bratu pūjā
Hōma pāṭha saradādika dūjā.
Jōgu dhyāna au dānahu diē
Nihphala hōhi tilaka binu kiē.
Prānāyāma karai tehī ṭhaurā
Aicai pavana dāhinē vōrā.
Ingulā piṅgalā karai bicārā
Bḍē dāhina nākē dvārā.
Ingālā piṅgalā sukhāmā nārī
Nāsā madhya rahata sukhakārī.
Dakṣina puṭa nāsā svara jōnā
Tāhi piṅgalā kahata sayānā.
Bḍē ilā jāniē sōi
Madhya sukhamanā nārī hōi.
Tinha kē tīni dēvatā gāē
Sūraja Candra Brahma tāha chāē.
Enha kō bhēda gurū sō jānai
Jōtakha saguna sabai pahicānai.
Bhinna bhinna jan kahan banāi
Bātahi bāta grantha baḍhi jāi.
Khoḍase bēra pranau mana māhi
Pūrata japai adhika kachu nāhi.

He should sit with his chest forward. He should not roam here and there. He should not apply excessive physical force (in doing the *prāṇāyāma*). He should not talk much. He should keep his loin, neck, and head in a straight line ; and he should concentrate his vision on the tip of his nose.

Placing some subtle thing in his front, he should constantly gaze, without letting his eyelids fall, till the eyes are moisted. This is called *Trāṭika* meditation.

The tip of the nose protects the body. Having done away with mental deceits, he should place the mark on his forehead. Sacrifices, charity, invocations, penances, fasts, worships, oblations, reading of sacred texts, observing the second day of *Śarada* and other seasons,

Practising of *yōga*, meditations, and giving of alms, all these are fruitless without having made a *tīlaka* (the mark). There he should practise *prāṇāyāma*. He should inhale by the right nostril.

Through the left and the right nostrils, he should respectively meditate on *Īṅgalā*, and *Piṅgalā*. *Īṅgalā*, *Piṅgalā*, and *Sukhamā* (*Suṣumnā*) are the relief-giving veins which are found in the nose.

The sound that is produced in the right nostril is called *Piṅgalā* by the wise ; similarly that produced in the left nostril is called *Ilā*. In the middle is located the *Sukhamanū* (*Suṣumnā*) vein.

They are said to be ruled by three deities respectively ; the sun-god, the moon-god, and *Brahmā* are ruling there. When distinctions between these are known with the help of a preceptor, the sciences of astrology and of omens become known.

If I describe the various aspects (of the *yōga* system), the dimensions of the book will easily increase. (Therefore I am brief here.) He should utter the *praṇava* sixteen times in his heart. Having done this he need not utter it any more.

- Rākhai mūdi pavana nahi jāi*
Causaṣṭhi mantra japai taba tāi.
- P. 232. *Bāe svara chāḷai taba sōi*
Bēra baṭasa mantra japa hōi
Aicai pavana so pūraka kahiē
Rākhai rōki so kumbhaku lahiē
Chāḷai tāhi so rēcuka jāni
Tāsō prānāyāma bakhāni.
Mantra sahita tehi kahata sagarbhā
Binā mantra soi jāni agarbhā.
Rākhai āni prāna bhū māhi
Tṛkṣṭi dhyāna kāla bhau nāhi.
Prānāpāna karai gatirōdhana
Prānāyāma sōi aghaśōdhana
Sanē sanē sādhai ehi bhāṭi
Karu abhyāsa devasa aru rāṭi.
Pūrata tajata rōki jaba dharai
Pañca sāta rasu rasa saba karai.
Jaisē nayā ghōra gaja hōi
Dauraba cāla sikhāvai kōi.
Ēkahi bēra karai huṭha ṭhāni
Sō jōgi rōgi hoe jāni.
Prāna apāna bāyu sama dhārai
Nāsā madhya madhya sañcārai.
Mana aru pavana tṛkṣṭa kari mēlā
Rahai unamanahi dhyāna akēlā.
Jōgi jahā karai niṣa bāsā
Dēkhai purama jōti parakāsā
Anahada sunai jōti mana lāvai
Ajapā japai bahuri nahi āvai.
Kāla karma kī kāḷai phāsī
Sō jōgi kahiē abināsī.

He should keep his mouth closed, so that the breath may not escape, and by that time he should utter the spell (of *prāṇava*) sixty-four times. Then he should leave the breath by the left nostril, covering a time occupied by thirty-two repetitions of the spell.

The process of inhaling is called *pūraka*, that of holding the breath, *kumbhaka*, and that of exhaling, *rēcaka*. These constitute what is known as *prāṇāyāma*.

When the *prāṇāyāma* is accompanied by spells, it is known as *sagarbha*. When it is devoid of spells, it is known as *agarbha*. The ascetic should store up his vitality in the eye-brows. By the meditations of the *tṛkuṣi*, there is no fear of death.

If one controls the movements of *prāṇa* and *apāna* (two of the life-winds) the same is *prāṇāyāma*, which is a purifier of sins. It ought to be gradually practised thus. It should be repeated day and night.

When inhalation, exhalation, and holding of breath are being practised, they ought to be done each five or seven times. They ought to be done slowly, as one (slowly) teaches a rough horse or elephant the art of galloping or trotting.

If one does it in one stretch by force, know the same ascetic to have become sickly. One should hold the life-winds *prāṇa* and *apāna* in equal quantities, and he should cause them to flow in the nose.

Having brought together the mind and the life-winds in the *tṛkuṣi* he should remain in a detached mood, with a centred meditation. Where the ascetic has made his abode, there he sees the dazzling ray of light.

One who hears the *anahada* (S. *anāhata*) sound, and concentrates his mind at the ray of light, and utters the unutterable and does not come back, and who breaks the tie of Kāla and Karma, he should be called an immortal ascetic.

Dina dina mana tana mē bilamāvai
Rākhai rōki rōki jāha dhāvai.
Tana cañcala tau cañcala pavanā
Pavana capala tē mana kō garunā.
Mana kē calē bindama cali jāi
Binda calē bahu buddhi nasāi.
Buddhi gaē hoc sabai bigārā
Nityānitya bibēka bicārā.
Bayaṭhē bāraha aṅgula bāi
Nikasai dasa bhūtarā kō jāi.
Deai dvai aṅgula ṭūṭata sōāsā
Tā tē hōta dēha kō nāsā.
Sōvata calata aṭhārāha jāhī
Causaṭhi dhāvata mithu(na)nha māhī.
Sādhana pavana jōga karu tēi
Rākhai rōki jāna nahi dēi.
Sō jōgi jivai bahu kālā
Dēkhai Lāla jagatu kē khyālā.
Halukā alapa ahāra karāi
Bhūkhahi marai na pēṭa bhurāi.

P. 233.

Ābila lavana khaṭāi chāṭai
Kēvala dūdha bhāta mahā mēṭai.
Jāgata rahai na bahutai sōvai
Baiṭhā rahata nu phiratahi khōvai.
Rākhai bīda jatana kari lēi
Apanē jāna jāna nahi dēi.

dōhā

Kaṭuka kalaha maithuna saena
Trsanā bhōjana sañca
Ghaṭai ghaṭāē Lāla ē
Baḍhai baḍhāē pañca.

He should, day by day, pay his attention to the body, and hold it back when it goes elsewhere. When the body is tremulous, the life-winds will be unsteady, and by the life-winds being unsteady, the mind will be roaming (from one object to another).

By the mind being unsteady, the *bindu* or the seminal fluid begins to move, and by the moving of the seminal fluid, the intellect considerably diminishes. By the vanishing of the intellect, everything goes astray, and especially the power to distinguish between the eternal and ephemeral is lost.

The life-wind diminishes by twelve *añgula* (the thickness of a finger) by remaining seated, when you inhale, it diminishes by ten, and when you break your respiration, each time you lose by two. Therefore, the body perishes.

During sleep and during walk, it diminishes by eighteen, and by sixty-four in the course of running and in the course of sexual union. Therefore, you should perform this kind of *yōga*, i.e., of controlling the life-winds. You should hold them and not let them go.

Such an ascetic lives a long life and sees the movements of the world. He should eat very light food, and that also in a small quantity; neither should he starve, nor should he fill his belly.

He should keep away the acid, the saline and the sour food; he should eat only milk mixed with boiled rice. He should (generally) keep awake, and should not sleep much. He should (generally) remain seated, nor should he lose by loitering. He should preserve the seminal fluid with care, and should not lose it in his knowledge.

Ring-worm, quarrel, sexual union, sleep, desire for eating, and storing these five become less by lessening and increase by increasing.

dōhā

P. 281

Nripa kaha asa āgē bhaē
Dātā yā jaga māhi
Lālu putra ehi bidhi dīē
Tinha mē hamakō āhi.

caupāī

Aurau sunahu (?) jasa jākō
Śiva ausina nāma rahō tākō
Jagyu bahuta kīnhē tehi rājā
Padabi lēhu Indra kē kājā.
Karau na dāna kari dēva kahāvai
Sau jaga bhaē Indrapada pāvai.
Anta jagya rahe karata bhuālā
Bhau tehi dēkhi Indra kaha jnālā.
Līē Bṛhaspati gurahi bolāi
Hamari anta avasthā āi.
Jorē hātha dīna hoe bhākhā
Jau bala hōi kachū tau rākhū.
Suragura kahata calē taha jāi
Jagya karata tehi dēhi ḍigāi.
Rājā dayāvanta suni ata hī
Jīva dayā kachu karata hai tatahī.
Mai kapōta hoi calata hau āgū
Tuma saiyāna pāchu hoi lāgū.
Parihan jāe sarana so daihai
Mārata mōhi bacāe so lai hai.
Taba tai kahu cha bhaccha hamārā
Rājā dēhu na karaba bicārā.

P. 282

Pocchī hōi dōu uṭhi dhāyē
Rājā jagyu karata taha āē.

P. 281.

The king says, "In the past, such generous men have been in this world, that they have given their sons in this manner. What am I amongst them?"

Hear more about him. His fame was . . . His name was Śiva Ausīna. That king performed many sacrifices with the object of attaining the office of Indra.

(He said to himself), "I do not give alms. One who gives alms is called a deity, and by performing a hundred sacrifices, he attains the office of Indra. (The king with this idea commenced the series of sacrifices.) While he was performing the last of the series, Indra saw it, and was inflamed (with rage).

He summoned his preceptor, Bṛhaspati, and said, "The end of my life has arrived." And with joined hands and in a suppliant mood he requested, "If you have any power, do protect me."

The preceptor of the deities said, "Let us go there, and while the king is performing the sacrifice, let us move him (from the path of virtue). I have heard that he is of an extremely kind disposition, and that whenever any being asks him his protection, he is generous to him (in offering the same).

"I am leading you in the guise of a dove, and you follow me in the guise of a hawk. I shall fall before him (when chased by you), and he will offer me his protection, and will save me from death.

"Then you would say, 'This is my food. King, you should hand it over to me, without any hitch.' In the guise of birds, then, they both leapt up, and flew to the place where the king was performing the sacrifice.

Jhapaṭi saiyāna kapōta girāvā
Rājā kē kōchē maha āvā.
Tākō dēkhi dayā jiva āi
Racchā kiyo liyo hiya lāi.
Kahai saiyāna nṛpati taji dēhū
Bhacchu āju pāyo mai dhū.
Eha ahāra pāvai tau karihai
Nā tau pañca jīva hama marihai.
Mārai pañca ēka kī racchā
Eha kaho kauna dharma hai acchā.
Rājā kahai aura saba sajihai
Saranāgata āē nahi taji hai.
Ēka vōra saba dharamahi kijai
Ēka vōra jiva dānahi dījai.
Jiva dayā bahu bhāti bakhānā
Māsa uhāri ēka na jānā.
Diḥha matu jāni saina asu bhākhē
Apanō māsu dēu chi rākhē.
Arē saiyāna bhalō kahi ētō
Dēhau māsu māgu cahai jētō.
Kāheko adhika lēba hama rājā
Dēhu kapōta samāna so kājā.
Rājā mana utasāhu baḍhāvā
Apanī māsu utāri caḍhāvā.
Lāni churā.....jyau chōlē
Rāma Rāma kahi saba tahā tōlē.
Tabu taha garu kapōta hoi baisā
Palarā adhika adhika hoi taisā.
Brahmā Bisna Rudra tahā āē
Dēva danuja muni dēkhana dhāē.
Chīli chāli nṛpa māsu caḍhāvā
Dēkhi dēkhi saba acaraja pāvā.

The hawk pounced upon the dove, and brought it down. The dove fell into the lap of the king. Seeing the plight of the dove, the king felt compassionate. He offered it his protection, and clasped it to his heart.

The hawk says, "King, leave this dove, for only today I have got my food. After I have got it, I will satisfy my hunger; otherwise five lives including mine, will perish.

"You hereby kill five, and save one. Tell me, what good you are doing by saving the dove." The king said, "I will do everything, but I will not leave one who has sought my protection."

"Place at one end (of the scale) all the virtuous deeds you do, and at the other end the saving of one life (and both will weigh equal). Kindness to the creatures has been praised in various terms, none of which are known to the flesh-eaters."

Knowing the king to be firm in his determination, the hawk said, "If you protect this dove, give me your own flesh." The king said, "You have well said, I will give my flesh however much you may ask for."

The hawk said, "Why should I ask for more? Only give me flesh equal to the weight of the dove, and that will do." The king gathered courage and began to weigh his own flesh.

As soon as he took up the knife to take out flesh from his body, every one present there exclaimed, 'Rāma, Rāma!' On the scale, the dove sat, having become abnormally heavy, and the pan of the scale sank and sank, every time becoming heavier and heavier.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra came over there: the deities, the demons, and the sages ran to see (what was going to happen). The king placed his flesh on the pan, having removed it from his bones, and everyone was struck with surprise when he saw it.

Asa kō aura karai kina kīnhā
Yā bidhi tana kāhū nahi dīnhā.
Jā tana sō tana lagē anēkā
Asva goja nara kō karai bibēkā.
Jō tana bahuta tapuni tapi pāyō
Sō tana para tana lagi gavāyō.
Jō tana bahuta jatana kari rākhō
Rāja dēha dwrlabha bhai bhākhō.
Bhūkhana basana aragajā lāgā
Sō tana nṛpa tṛna sama kari tyāgā.
Sundara tana jāsō sukha mānī
Banītā bahuta rahata lapaṭānī.
Gārī dēhi risāe risāi
Kaikai tōhi kavana muti āi.

P. 283

Marō Maithirā duṣṭa kaṭhōrī
Srāpuhi tāhi āguri kari phōrī.
Jinha kē Rāma lagē anabhāē
Tinha apanō paratōka nasāē.
Rāmahi bana enha dīnhā hōi
Aganahi kahana lagē saba kōi.
Srāpahi pasu pañchī siru tarahū
Rōvana marana karai gharabarahū.
Chaṭapaṭāhi jimi jala binu mīnā
Ucharahi mīna hōhi jala hīnā.
Sajjana sukhada mitra rahe kōi
Girē pachāra khāe suni sōi.
Hinahināhi ghōrē dukha karahi
Naina nira bhari bhari giri parahi.
Rāmahi jāta dēkhi pachatāē
Hāhīnha tōri jāyira bahāē.

Who else would do it? Who else has done it? Nowhere has anyone given his body in this fashion, the body with which are attached so many other bodies, like those of horses, elephants, and men—who can count them?

“The body which was obtained after having done many penances, the same body the king spared for another body. The body which you keep with such a great care, and say that it is very difficult to attain the body of a king.

“And the body which was covered with ornaments, and clothes, and which was smeared with perfumed pastes, the same body the king gave away like a blade of grass.

The beautiful body from which numerous maidens derived pleasure, and therefore they clung to it. (Hereafter something seems to have been missed).

They in anger call Kaikēyī by evil names and say, “Kaikēyī, what didst thou think?”

“May extremely wicked Mantharā die!” They curse her by twisting their fingers. They said, “They, whom Rāma was not dear, have lost their heavens.”

Pointing to Agana(?), everyone began to say, “This must be the man who sent Rāma to wilderness.” Animals, birds, stones (‘Sirā’?) and trees, all curse (Kaikēyī), and even the houses wept and lamented.

They were restless like the fish without water, as the fish toss up and down when water (of the tank) diminishes. There were gentlemen who were friends; when they heard the news, they fell aback.

The horses (of the king’s stable) neighed and wept; they filled their eyes with water and fell down. When the elephants saw Rāma going (to the wilderness), they felt their helplessness; they broke the chains away.

Dārahi dhūri sīsa gaja dhūnī

Jiyaba Rāma binu bāta bikūnī.

Kalasā dhojā na dhīraje dharahī

Mahalanha para tē giri giri parahī.

Thaura thaura murachala bhaharānā

Girē kōṭa Rāmahi gae jānā.

Jinha jaha sunē tahā tē daurē

Kau ratha kau paga kau caḍhi ghōrē.

Panthahi rōki rōki rahe ṭhāḍhē

Calana na dēhi mōha ati bāḷhē.

Keu dē kṣyā paraga jau daihan

Māri hamahi āgē taba jāihan.

Keu mahārājahi kahi samujhāi

Rāmahi ajahu phēri lehu jāi.

Parajā pañca Rāma sāga jaihai

Kāpara amala Bharata nṛpa kaihai.

dōhā

Lāla subhaṭa sēvaka kahai

hōē kōu mahārāja.

Hama na johāraba Rāma binu

rājai kīnha akāja.

caupāi

Dāsī dāsa kahai binu Rāmahi

Aba kō aura sabhārai kāmahi.

Guḷhata paḍhata rahe dētū jo lētē

Taji taji kāja calē saba tētē.

Bhicchuka gunī kahai kahā jāiē

Rāma samāna dāni kaha paiē.

Lāgata āju Ajōdhyā kaisī

Sūna masāna bhayāvana jāisī.

They, excessively, threw dust on their heads, and said that it was untrue to think of living without Rāma. The jars and banners could not remain unmoved. From the (tops of the) palaces, they fell down.

At various places the *chawī* came down, and the boundary-walls of the city fell down when they knew that Rāma had gone to wilderness. Whoever heard the news, he ran from the place where he was, either on a chariot or on foot, or again on the horse-back.

They barred the passage, and would not allow Rāma to proceed, so greatly they were feeling (his departure). Some swore, "If you move a pace on, you will first kill us and then go forward."

Some requested the king, "Do bring Rāma back, even today, for the subjects and the gentry will go with Rāma, then, over whom will Bharata reign?"

The holder of the servants said, "Whoever may be the king, we shall not bow down to any one except Rāma. It is the king who has done the mischief."

The maidservants and the servants said, "Without Rāma, who can take the management (of the state) in his hands?"

All those who were (doing any business) either making vessels, or reading, or were giving, or were taking, left their business and went to the spot.

The beggars and artisans said, "Where are we to go now? Where would we find a man as generous as Rāma. Today, Ajodhyā is looking as lonely and as dreadful as the cremation ground."

*Keu kaha rāti dēkhi hama sapanā
Ghara taji taji sabahī calē apanā.*

*Khāna pāna sāhana sudhi bisarī
Paradē rahata nāri sou nisarī.*

P. 284.

*Rājā parē sōca kē sāgara
Rānī sabai bhai dukha āgara.*

*Jñānī ēka Basiṣṭa sayānā
Rāmahi kahū gaē nahi jānā.*

*Sarajū birahini bhai dukha mānā
Rahi gai bahatē nīra jhurānā.*

*Thakē gañja kaṭarā bājārā
Uṭhi gai banika bhai haṭatārā.*

*Sabakē sōca sōga bhae ēhī
Rahihai kavana bhāti Bayadēhī.*

*Sahasanha laccha sakhi mē khēlī.
Kaisē bana Siya rahaba akēlī.*

*Keu kahai Rāma rahana kē nāhī
Sītahi bhalā chāḍī jati jāhī.*

*Barajai sāsū kahai samujhāī
Sītā rahu gharahī jani jāī.*

*Kā jō Rāma pūta bana jaihai
Kusala chēma bēgē phiri aihai.*

*Jāta hai chāḍī bāpa aru maiyā
Tē kā kahahi rahaigē bhaiyā.*

*Dēsa bidēsa jāta hai kēū
Tiyau saṅga phirata kā tēū.*

*Sītā kahati mās sunu bātā
Tiya ko jīva pati kīnha bidhātā*

*Jenha patibrata nēma kari liē
Tē pati binu kaunē bidhi jiē.*

*Sēvā karai sadā rahai saṅgā
Agyā kabahu karai nahi bhaṅgā.*

Some said that they had dreamt in night that every one had left his home (and accompanied Rāma), that he had forgotten eating, drinking and bathing. Even the ladies who were in *purdah*, left *purdah* and came out.

The king was amidst the sea of cares, and all the queens had become abodes of misery. There was one very wise man Vasiṣṭha who did not think that Rāma had gone elsewhere.

The Sarayū became deserted and felt the departure. Her water evaporated while she was flowing. The quarters, the streets, and the markets of the city looked worn and weary. The businessmen had departed and there was a complete strike (*hartāl*) in the city.

Everyone was lamenting, "How would Vaidēhī stay there? She has played amidst thousands of tens of thousands of playmates, how will the same Sītā live there alone?"

Some said, "Rāma is not going to stay there. It would have been better if he had left behind him his wife Sītā." The mother-in-law of Sītā forbade her (from going to the wilderness) and said, "Sītā, stay at home, and do not go (with Rāma)."

"How does it matter if my son, Rāma, goes to the wilderness? He will soon come back safely. He is going (to the wilderness), leaving his father and mother; vainly do they say that he will stay there.

"When somebody goes to a foreign country, does the wife also accompany him to that land?" Sītā says :

"Mother, hear me. For the wife, the Maker has made her husband her very life-spirit.

"A lady who has taken the vow of *pātibrata*, how can she live without the husband? She should always serve him and keep his company, and she should never disobey him.

Pārabatī Lachamī Brahmānī
Piya kē aṅgahi māha samānī.
Pati kē aradha aṅga rahai sōi
Aradhaṅgī kahiyata kinha kōi.
Jajña dāna tīrathaku Purānā
Banītā sāga lai karabu bidhānā.
Rānaprasta gṛhastu āsramā
Banītā hī sō rahata hai dharamā.
Rāma calata Siya calī sabhāgī
Jaisē chāha saṅga hī lāgī.

dōhā

Pr̥tama saṅga banabāsa bhala
Sahaba sīta bhala ghāma
Lāla piyārē piya binā
Indralōka kehi kāma.

.....

Sukula paccha kī pañcamī
Phāguna māsahi jāna
Kiyē payāna Avadha tē
Lāla gamana mana māna.

Pārvatī, Lakṣmī and Brahmāṇī, all are one with the body of their respective lords. They live in the half of the body of their respective lords. Does not everybody call them 'ardhāṅgī' or occupying half the body (of their lord)?

"It is enjoined (by the scriptures) that sacrifices, charity and visits to holy shrines should be done in the company of the wife. *Vānaprastha* and *Gṛhastha* stages of life are maintained with wife."

With the departure of Rāma, Sītā also made her departure as the shadow goes side by side (with the object).

Exile is a blessing (to a lady) when her lord is with her whether it is cold or it is sunny. Lāla says, 'Of what worth (to a lady) is the *Indra-lōka* without her dear lord?'

... ..

Know the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phāguṇa to be the day on which (Rāma), Lāla, made his departure from Avadha, of his own sweet will.

(b) Prema Pragāsa

BY

DHARAṆĪ DĀSA

[Text from a manuscript completed on 21st date of Bhāḍṛ, year 1281 (Fasli), A.D. 1873, by Mahanta Rāmadāsa of Mājhi for Jānakīdāsī alias Baratā kuāra of the same place.]

Srī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ
Śrī pōthī Prēma pragāsa

Prathamahi paramēsvara kō nāmu
Jō saba santa karaḥi bisrāmu.
Alakha akhaṇḍita agama apārā
Jinha kīnhō eha sakala pasārā.
Sakala sriṣṭi kara bhōjan dātā
Juga juga abicala ēka bidhātā.
Sarba karma sō kartā karaī
Bāura nara aurana sira dharaī.
Jō jana tana mana prabhu rāga rātā
Tinha sō bilaga na rahata bidhātā.

bisrāma 1

Bisambhara bisarāvai,
sō nara kūra kujāna
Jo hila sō cita lāvai,
pāvai pada nirbāna.

caupāi

Gura mahimā ati agama apārā
Gura binu būṛi marai savasārā.
Gura binu puni puni āvai jāī
Gura binu bhava jala parai bhulāī.
Gura binu pāpa pūni kara āsā
Gura binu parai kāla kē phāsā.
Gura binu dēi (na) dēvā sēvā
Gura binu milai na mukti kai bhēvā.
Gura binu lōkacārahi lāgā
Gura binu sathasaya bharama na bhāgū.

Translation

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa

The book *Prēma pragāsa* (Light of Love) (begins).

First (let us utter) the name of the Almighty who gives relief to all saints ; He is Invisible, Perfect, Unfathomable (and) Boundless, He is one who has spread over all this (universe). He gives food to the whole creation, in every cycle of time He is Immovable, the Creator, He, the Doer, does all acts (while) the foolish people attribute them to others. The man who dyes himself in the Lord's colour (affection), from him the Creator never remains separate.

bisrāma 1

The man who forgets the Protector of the universe is an idiot and ignorant, (while) he who puts Him in his heart with regard obtains the place of Emancipation.

caupāi

The greatness of the teacher is unfathomable, unbounded ; without the teacher one may get drowned in the world (-ocean). Without the teacher one comes and goes again and again ; without the teacher one gets lost in the waters of existence. Without the teacher one expects sin and merit ; without him one falls in the snare of Death. Without the teacher, one does not offer service to the deities ; without him one does not reach the secrets of Liberation. Without the teacher, one sticks to worldly affairs ; without him doubts and illusions do not go away.

bisrāma 2

*Gura mahimā kō kahi sakē,
 Gura dēvana kō dēva
 Jō gura tattū lakhāiā
 Dharanī sō gura sēva.*

caupāi

*Tuba puni sakala sādhu sira nāvō
 Jākō kriyā abhaya pada pāvō.
 Jō budhivanta santa jaga māhī
 Binatī kareū sakala jana pāhī.
 Āpu ukte nahī ākhara kareū

 Sō ākhara jani hūsa laḍāvahu
 Jō laghu hōē samujhi sudhārahu.
 Mūrakha kē mohi sōca na āvē
 Hasē ki bilakhē jō mana bhāvē.*

bisrāma 3

*Paḍhata gunata sura sādhu jana,
 khaṇḍita lēba merāi.
 Sughara hātha para pāthara,
 mōla bahuta ṭhaharāi.*

astōka

*Pañcavaṣi ca udayē purasya
 śrīpurē madhyē ma tathā
 Jaḥ jānāti caturasthānam
 dharanī tasya namaskrita.*

caupāi

*Harijana sēvaka jahū ke bāsā
 Nāma ṭhāma guna karahi pragāsā.
 Madhya dīpa mājhī asthānā
 Surapura sama kē sarisa nidhīnā.*

bisrāma 2

Who can describe the teacher's greatness ; he is the god of gods, O Dharanī, serve the teacher who has shown the quintessence.

caupāi

Then again I bow my head before all the saints, by their action (favour) I may obtain the place free from fears. Whoever are wise and saintly in the world, to all people I make a prayer. I am not putting down my own ideas in these words Please do not laugh at these words, whatever be deficient, please correct it after understanding (the same). I do not mind the fool ; he may laugh or be displeased, whatever he likes.

bisrāma 3

The gods, saints on reading and pondering over this will put in whatever is deficient; a stone placed on beautiful hands fetches considerable price.

śloka

Dharanī, bow to him who knows the abode of the wise in the middle of Śrīpura town at the entrance of which there is Pañcavaṭī (?).

caupāi

The servant of the people of Hari reveals the name, surroundings and qualities of the place where he resides. In the middle of the Dvīpa, there is a place Mājhi, like the city of gods.

Cārihu vōra saghanı amarāū
Tāla taḍāga kaḥō (-ō ?) kita nāū.
Jahā tahā puhupa bāṭikā lāū
Byāpī kūpa tahā bahuta badhāū.
Dēva (a-) sthala bahu dēkhie tahā
Harikō carucā nisu dina tahā.

bisrāma 4

Bastu kaḥā lagi baranō,
jahālagi hāṭa bikāhi.
Ēka devasa jahā dēkha,
janmo nā bisarē tāhi.

caupāi

Śrīvāstava śrīpati kō dāsā
Karahṭ sahita parivāra nevāsā.
Ṭikaitadāsa tahā tapa-āgara
Kāetha kula mahimā ati sāgara.
Parasrāma suta tinha kaḥā bhaiū
Sujasa bēli jinha basudhā kaiū.
Biṣṇu upāsika ati sura gyānī
Nirmala jasa cahu disā bakhānī.
Patani tāsu birāmā māi
Purabila karanī bahuta kamāi.
Daā dharma diḍha dūnō prānī
Nirmalu jasa cahu disā bakhānī.
Pāca putra bidhi tinha kaḥā daiū
Pañcana māha ujāgira kieū.
Tina kē nāma kahata hau jānī
Bipra bēda mata kaheu bakhānī.
Ṭihakē nāma kaḥō. (-ō) bilagāi
Jātē samujhi parē nara lōi.

Which place can equal it? On all the four sides, there is a thick mango-grove; the tanks and lakes, how shall I give their names. Here and there are flower-gardens planted, many wells and water-reservoirs have been constructed. One sees many temples there wherein people discourse upon Hari, day and night.

bisrāma 4

How far can I describe the articles that sell there in the market; whosoever has seen it even once, will not forget it throughout life.

caupāi

The Śrīvāstavas, slaves of Hari, reside there with their families. There (lived) Tikaita Dāsa, an abode of austerities and an ocean of the greatness of Kayastha family. A son, Paraśu Rāma was born to him, who spread the creeper of good fame on this Earth. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and had knowledge of the gods; his spotless fame was praised in all the four quarters. His wife was mother Birāmā; she had earned considerable merit in previous births. Both the living beings were steadfast in compassion and virtue, their blameless glory went about in all the four directions. The Creator gave them five sons and made them prominent amongst the people. I give their names, (as) the Brāhmaṇa elucidates the doctrine of the Vedas. I mention their names individually, so that the people in general may understand (the same).

bistrāma 5

*Lachirāma vō Chatrapati,
Dharanī Bēnīrāma.
Kulmani sahita pañca jana,
sādhu sāghati bistrāma.*

caupāi

*Dharanī kē mana anubhava bhaiū
Prēma-pragāsa kathā eka ṭhaneū.
Sahijahi jīva upajō anurāgā
Sō antahu tē cihuki janu jāgā.
Utapati kahō kathā kichu āgē
Bhagti bhāva amī untara lāgē.
Saraguniā sarguna lai lāvē
Nirguniā nirgunāhi sunāvē.
Sāmmata satrā sō cali gaiū
Tēraha adhika tāhi para bhaiū.
Śāhajahā chōḍī duniāi
Pasari aurāgajeba dohāi.
Sōca bisāri ātamā jāgī
Dharanī dhoreu bhēkha bairāgi.*

bistrāma 6

*Pukhya pañcamī sukula pacha,
pakha nichatra gura bāra.
Tehi dina kathā arambha bhau
mēhasi nagra majhāra.*

bistrāma 257

*Sāhasa tē sidhi pāiē,
jō mana niścē hōi.
Binu sāhasa Dharanī kahē,
sīdhi na pāvē kōi.*

caupāi

*Barisa devasa ehi bidhi cali gaiū
Mili mantri rājē mata kieū.*

bisrāma 5

Lachirāma and Chatrapati, Dharanī, Bēnīrāma; with Kulamani they were five men (who obtained) relief in the company of saints.

caupāi

Dharanī had an Experience in his mind, the story Prēmapragāsa occurred (in the mind). Naturally love came to the soul, it appeared as if it flared up inside. Now further I describe the genesis of the story, with devotion-nectar within (me). The devotee of the attribute-full (God) brings up the attribute-full while the worshipper of the attributeless talks about the attributeless. The Sāṃvat year 1700 passed off, thirteen years over and above it have elapsed. Shāhjahān gave up worldliness and the call of the protection of Aurangzeb went round. The soul gave up all anguish and became awake, Dharanī put on the guise of a person disaffected from worldly affairs.

bisrāma 6

The fifth day of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, the Puṣya (?) asterism, Thursday; on that day this story was begun in the city of Mēhasi.

bisrāma 257

If there is a determination in the mind, one's wishes are accomplished by means of courage; Dharanī says, no one obtains accomplishment without courage.

caupāi

In this way, days and years passed off; the king and the minister together had counsel.

Kahe rājā aba cētahu rāju
Kuvarahi dēhu tilaka dida rāju.
Rāja kāja aba karī kumārā.
Mai nija nāma japō karatārā.
Tehi dina kī bidhivata jata cīnhā
Sō bidhi sakala sampuraṇa kīnhā.
Brāhmaṇa bōli gharī ṭhaharāi
Apanē hātha tilaka dihu rāi.
Pahilē nripati nripati āpu ca nāvā
Tau puni sako(la) śriṣṭi sira nāvā.

bisrāma 258

Citrasēna mahathā bhavō,
saṅginha māna baḍhāi.
Kuarī bhai paṭarānī,
Dharanī jana guna gāi.
caupāi
Jō jana kathā paḍhē mana lāi
Sumati baḍhē durmati bahi jāi.
Jō jana sunē sravana cita lāi
Tākō kartū Rāma sahāi.
Jō paḍhi ānahi kathā sunāvē
Tākī manasā dēva puḍāvē.
Likhi likhāi jō ānahi dēi
Tiratha barata phala baiṭhē lēi.
Apanē hātha jē kathā utārē
Tākē bāḍhē gyāna apārē.

bisrāma 259

Rasika paḍhē rasa ūpajē,
mūrakha upajē gyāna.
Kādara nara hō sūruā,
jōgi pada nirbāna.
I'ṭhā Prēmu pragāsa sampūrṇa.

The king says : ' Now look to the kingdom, give coronation to the Prince, give him kingship. The Prince will now perform the king's duties, I shall mutter the name of my Creator.' Whatever ceremonies were recognised for the day, they were all fulfilled. Having called the Brāhmaṇa and settled the auspicious moment, the king coronated (the Prince) with his own hand. The king made the (new) king bow first to himself and then to the whole creation.

bīsrāma 258

Citrasēna became the Lord, honouring his companions, the princess became the coronated queen ; Dharaṇī says the people sang praises.

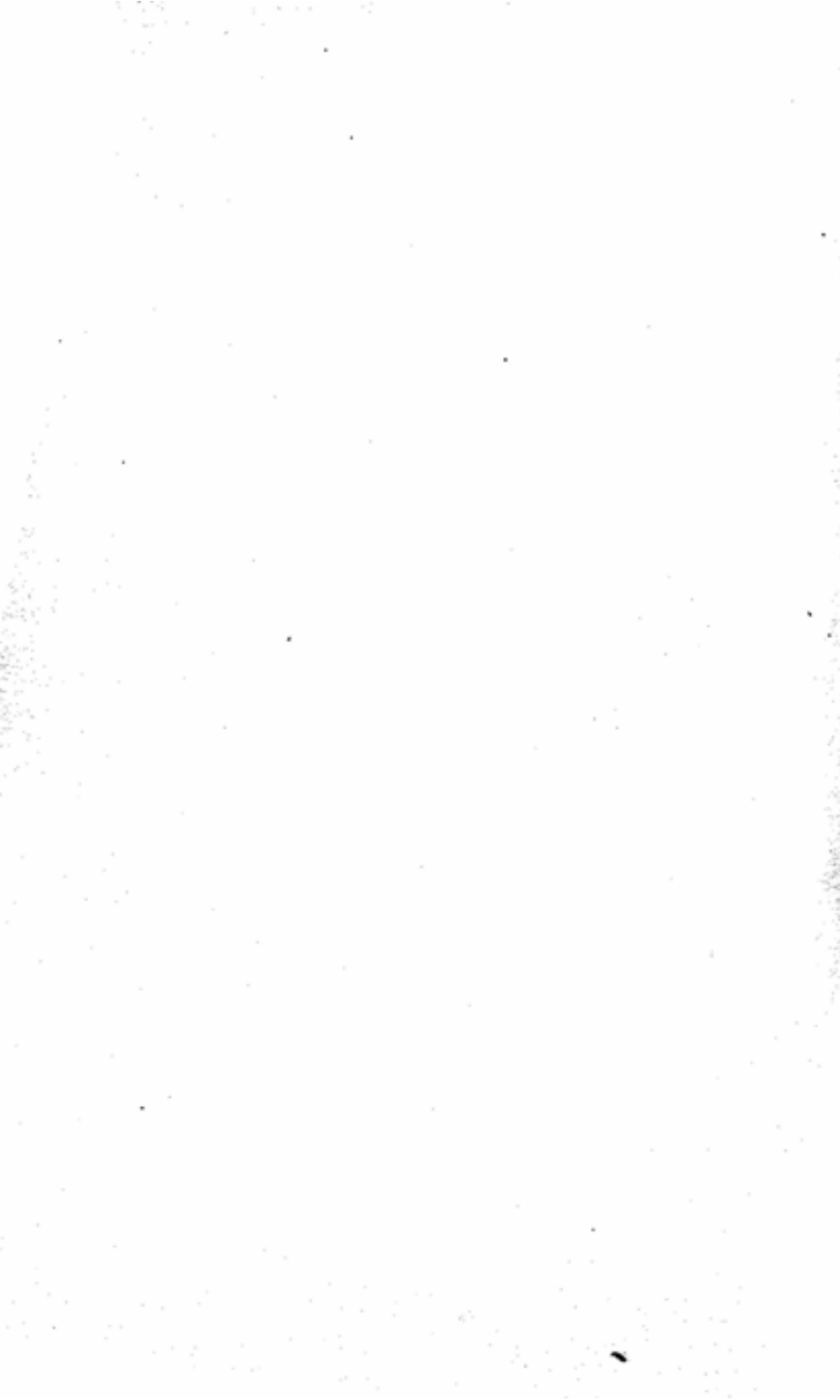
caupāi

Whosoever mindfully reads the story, his good understanding increases and evil understanding flows away. The man who with his heart hears it, is helped by the Creator, Rāma. He who, after reading it, recites it to another, the God fulfills his aspiration. He who writes it out and hands it over to another obtains the fruit of (visiting) sacred places and of (keeping) vows. He who copies the story in his own writing, his knowledge increases limitlessly.

bīsrāma 259

If the man of tastes reads it, he derives pleasure. The fools derive knowledge, the timid become brave and the *yōgī* obtains Emancipation.

The book Light of Love (is) completed.



(c) Gura Anyāsa

BY

ŚIVA NĀRĀYAṆA

[Text collated from two manuscripts:—

MS. A mentions no date of writing but as colophon it has the date of transfer to Rāmsēvak Rām Mahant in the year 1307.

MS. B completed in 1290, Jēṭha, dark fortnight, 14th date, Friday; given to Bābā Saburī Dāsa; written by Ājōra Rāma.]

Santasarana

ṣantapaṭi jī sahāe

*Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsa arambha hōta
santabacana pramāna.*

dōhā

*Karatā sabha guna kāra kā
Gunakārana bhaubhāra,
Sriṣṭi-savārana cāriphala
Cālacalana bevahāra.*

*Caracā tākī jō sunai
Caurāsī sō bāca,
Gura bina sō nahi pāvai
Bina gura milata na sāca.*

caupāi

*Gura Anyāsa kahata jaba ānī
Taba gati mukuti hōta hai prānī.
Gura kē sabada pāi hoe santā
Bina gura sabada na pāvata antā.
Gura kē kripā te pari kichu bījhi
Bhau anusāra pantha paru sūjhī.
Kripā kīnha taba ādi kumārī
Kaṇṭhē baisi gyāna deti bhārī.
Gyāna hōta taba agama apārā
Taba Anyāsa kathā anusārā.
Sammata satraha sai ekānabē hōī
(E)gārāha sai sana paitālisa sōī.
Agahana māsa paccha ujiārā
Tithi tirōdasī sukra se bārā.*

Translation

Refuge of the saints

May the Lord of saints help

The Book of Word, Gura Anyāsa, begins ; the Saint's word is authority.

Dōhā

The Creator of all qualitative things, the cause of qualities, the genesis (?) of existence, the decorator of the creation, the (bestower of) four fruits and the dispenser of worldly affairs ; one who hears discourse about him escapes the eighty-four (lacs of existences ?) ; without the teacher He cannot be obtained, without him none can obtain the Truth.

Caupāi

When Gura Anyāsa is recited, the living being gets deliverance. By obtaining the teacher's words, one becomes a saint ; without the teacher's word one does not reach the goal. By the teacher's favour something is comprehended, the path according to existence becomes visible. Then the primeval maid took compassion and sitting in the throat bestows weighty knowledge. Then unfathomable, unbounded knowledge comes and the *Anyāsa* story is begun. There was the samvat year 1791 and the Fasli year 1145. The month (was) Agahana, the bright half, the 13th date and Friday.

Tehi dina niramaya kathā punītā
Gura Anyāsa kathā sabha hītā.
Sāha Mahammada Dillī sulatānā
Kāsī chatra Āgarē hai thānā.

dōhā

Tehi samai mō Sīvanarāena
Baṅgadēsa calī āu
Kaṇṭhē baisi Sarōsati
Kathā Anyāsa banāu.

caupāi

Janmabhūmī hai kanauji dēsā
Karma basī sē Baṅga parabēsā.
Tīratha p. raāga subā jē hōī
Tehi kē amala Gājīpura sōī.
Gājīpura sarakāra kahāvē
Sube pariāga amala sei pāvē.
Jaharābāde paraganā āhī
Asakarana tappā tehi māhī.
Sē asathāna Cādavāra kahāvē
Sīvanarāena janma tahā pāvai.
Janma pāi bhau gura kē māā
Taba Anyāsa asa kathā banāā.

dōhā

Āsapāsa Cādavāra mahā
Gājīpura sarakāra
Bunda Naravanī kahata subha
Bāgharāe kē bāra.

caupāi

Dukhaharana nāma sē gurū kahāvē
Barē bhāga sē darasana pāvē.

On that day the *Gura Anyāsa* story, sacred and beneficial to all, was composed. Shāh Muḥammad was the Sultān of Delhi. Āgare (Agra?) is the place in the region of Kāśī.

dōhā

At that time Śiva Nārāyaṇa came away to Baṅga country (Bengal), Goddess Sarasvatī sat in (my) throat and I composed the Anyāsa story.

caupāi

The birthplace is Kananj country, by the force of deeds I entered the Baṅga country. The sacred place Prayāg is the Sūbā (province), under it is Gāzīpur. Gāzīpur is known as Sarkār, it obtains orders from the Prayāg province. There is a *parganā*, Jaharābad, in it there is a *Tappā* (named) Asakarana. Its place is called Cā davār, there Śiva Nārāyaṇa was born. Having been born, he obtained the loving pity of the teacher and then he composed the Anyāsa story.

dōhā

All around Cādavār there is the Sarkār of Gāzīpur; the people of this place, the descendants of Bāgharāi, are called Naravanī (Rajputs).

caupāi

The teacher (of Śiva Nārāyaṇa) is known Dukhaharāṇa by name, by great luck one obtains his sight.

dōhā

*Tinha kē carana ke cita dharē
Bhau Sīvanarāena dāsa
Dukhaharana nāma kē sumiratē
pāvata niscala bāsa.*

caupāi

*Gura kē nāma hiā mahā rākhī
Ehi bica santa sabhai kehu bhākhī.
Gura kē sabada hiā mahā gaeū
Sīvanarāena cali tahā bhaeū.
Cali phiri kē dēkhata sāvasārā
Jānata ghaṭa ghaṭa gurū piārā.
Eka dina santa sabhā mahā gaeū
Caracā sabada hōta tahā rahaeū.
Caracā sunata bahuta sukha pāī
Sīvanarāena suni mana lāī.
Sunata sunata mora mana patiāī
Dibbi gyāna taba cita mahā pāī.
Gura kē caracā sunata punītā
Santo kahota gura nāma le nītā.
Sē suni sravana bahuta sukha pāī
Sunē dhyāna kari ante na jāī.
Kahata ki gurū bisna sama jānā
Jānahu amsa ēka nahī ānā.
Gura kē sumirata bisna sahāī
Binu gura dāā bisna na pāī.
Jaba gura dāā karata mana māhī
Taba sikha siddha hōta chana māhī.*

dōhā

*Jē pāā gura sabada tē
Sē kichu likhā banāe
Paṇḍita jana sē mīnati
Bhulā māpha kari pāe.*

ḍōhā

By meditating upon his feet, Śiva Nārāyaṇa became his slave; as soon as he remembers the name of Dukhaḥaraṇa, he obtains permanent abode.

caupāi

Keeping the teacher's name in the heart, in the meantime speaking to all the saints, with the teacher's words in the heart, Śiva Nārāyaṇa moved away from the place. He wanders about and sees the world, he knows that the teacher is dear to every body. One day he went to the assembly of the saints, there discourses on the Word were going on. On hearing the discourses Śiva Nārāyaṇa felt very happy and took it to heart. Hearing again and again my mind came to have faith and then in the heart I obtained supreme (godly) knowledge. The teacher's sacred discourse is heard and the saints always utter the teacher's name and talk of it. On hearing it the ears feel very happy; on hearing meditation does not cease. It is said that the teacher should be taken as Viṣṇu, take him to be His part, nothing else. On remembering the teacher, one is helped by Viṣṇu, without the teacher's compassion one cannot have Viṣṇu. When the teacher becomes compassionate, the pupil in a moment becomes a *siddha* (perfect).

ḍōhā

Whatever I obtained from the teacher's words, that I have composed and written down; I pray to the learned: 'may I obtain pardon for my mistakes'?

Sunata se sivanarāena
Kahata se gurū hamāra
Paṇḍita jana sē mīnati
Būjhaba ehī bicāra.

Jē paṛhē se to agama gati
Sunē mukuti kai rāha
Ura antara suni kē dhurē
Bhau jala pāu nibāha.

Phēri na āvata jagata sē
Pāvata nihacala bāsa
Kahata santa mana jāni kē
Sivanarāena dāsa.

Sabhai khōje na mili sokē
Nahi pāē keu bāsa
Pāeu sivanarāena
Chūṭi avari kī āsa.

Niraṅkāra kā bhāva asa
Calata dharē sabha aṅga
Sē nau barakha sunna mahā
Kē hoe nāri anaṅga.

Jata andhī sama kandha hui
Bhāga bibhāgi bicāri
Sē tahā hīna adhīna hoe
Jaba kahi baisata hāri.

Jōga jāpa jaha tahā karai
Jahā tahā mārata khāe
Kahi dēkhata parvāna nahī
Kahī rahai bhāṭakā khāe.

Nāma marana savasāra mahā
Kahi kahi bācata āe
Gura pratāpa tē Sivanarāena
sāḍhu saṅghoti mahā pāe.

Śiva Nārāyaṇa hears, my teacher speaks, my prayer to the learned is : 'keep this point into consideration.' Whosoever reads obtains the path to the Unfathomable, one who hears comes on the path of deliverance, one who keeps it in heart, after hearing it, is relieved of the waters of existence. He never returns to the world, he obtains the permanent abode. The slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa says so, having read the thoughts of the saints. Everyone is searching but none obtains, none gets the abode. Śiva Nārāyaṇa has got it and has given up the hope of other things.

The feeling of the Formless is such that one moves about endowed with all the limbs. (He remains) (?) in an empty space for nine years or has women and Love. The world (?) is as if blind, considering all matters. When it becomes defeated it sits quite humble and subdued. (People) practise *yōga* and mutter prayers at some places, at some other places they kill and eat. For this (latter) there is no authority ; at places they suffer delusion. (People) come and loudly declare that in this world there is Name and Death. (This teaching) Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtained in the company of saints, by the grace of the teacher.

Ghara chāē adhiāra bhau
Ujiārē saba pāe
Nēkī badī ke kārānē
Sabha ghaṭa rahā chapāe.

Baṅga rūpa rēkhā nahī
Karata jagata ūjiāra
Sata gura milai to pāiē
Bina guru pāu na pāra.

Sē guna aparāmpāra hai
Sivanarāena dāsa
Disī nihārē tāhi kaha
Pāvata niscala bāsa.

Nau nāma bhau ēka tē
Dasō nāma kē hātha
Sivanarāena tōharē
Sadā rahō mai māth.

Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsa (gyāna dīpaka) sampurana bhaila.

Santa bacana paravāna, sabada kahē so māna.

Santa pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra,

Caupāi aṭṭhāisa sau bāvana (2852)

Dōhā ēka sau sarasaṭhi (167)

Isloka 12.

The house being covered became dark, everyone obtains (Him) in light, (the soul) is enveloped in a body due to deeds, good and bad. He has no colour, no form, no lines (but) gives light to the universe ; one can obtain Him if one has a good teacher, without a teacher, one cannot find any clue. That teacher's qualities are unfathomable, slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtains permanent abode, having been seen by Him by a glance. From One, came about nine names, Śiva Nārāyaṇa says : " O tenth name, may my forehead be always in thy hand."

The Book of Word, *Gura Anyāsa* (the Lamp of Knowledge) became complete.

The words of the saints are authoritative ;
one should obey what is stated in the Saint's words.

The saints (are) across, across, across, across, across, across.

(In this book there are) 2852 caupāis,

167 dōhās

and

12 ślōkas.

(d) Yūsuf Zulēkhā¹

P. 10

Hijarī sana bāraha sai bācū
Baraneu pēma kathā yaha sēcā.
Aṭṭhāraha sai sattāisā
Sambata Bikrama Sēna narēsū.
Sattraha sai bāraha puna Sākā
Sattraha sai navvē isā kā.
Sattāvana barakh bilē āāvū
Taba upajeu yaha kathā ka cāvū.
Sāta divasa māha kathā samāpata
Durmata nāma raheu so samlatu.
Kieu tarana kō tēja umañkā
Sāthī kiyē chāḍa sabhu sañkā.
Bāḷ ansa uṭha kē jaga māhī
Bharenha devasa aba kucha rasa nāhī.
Banā janama kō gōrakha dhandhā
Abahū na samujhai yaha mona andhā.
Bāra bayasa ava tarana sohāvā
Gayau bīta lisara pana āvā.

P. 11

Tēja nagārā kūca kū
karahu so citta sābhāra.
Agama pantha sāthī nahī
Kehi bidhi utaraba pāra.
Biradha bayasa māha kīnha bicārā
Kehi bidhi hōi mōra udhārā.
Kahatū tau tanta kathā ali sēcā
Jo Qurāna mā sunā o bēcā.

¹Text taken from the manuscript described in the Introduction § 6.

Translation

Page 10

When Hijarī year 1200 was read, I described this true love-story. Then it was the 1827th year of King Bikrama Sēna, and 1712th of the Sakas, and 1790th of the Christ. When fifty-seven years of my life had passed, I entertained the idea of telling this story. The story was completed in seven days. The name of the Sambata was 'durmata.' I indulged in the excesses of youth and leaving aside all cares, I made companions. Having arisen in this world from the left-side (of the supreme?) I have completed my days, and now nothing substantial remains. The snare of Gōrakha is completed, and still my blind mind does not understand. The childhood and the youth have passed and third part of my life has arrived.

Page 11

Loud is the sound of the drum of departure,
my mind, note it carefully.
The way is unknown, and I have no company,
how will I complete it?

This thought came to me in old age ; in what manner shall I be redeemed ?

That is why I tell this most beautiful story, which I have already heard and read in the Qurān.

Sabha bhākhā māha kathā sohāī
Baranaū bhāti bhāti guruvāī.
Abarī au Arabī sura bānī
Pārasī au Turakī Nasarānī.
Bhākhā māha kāhū nahi bhākhā
Mōrē ansa daiu likhi rākhā.
Sū aba kathā kahaū cita lāī
Jehī tē mōkha mukti hoi jāī.
Yūsufa nabī mudita jaga āvā
Tārana gana māha canda sohāvā.
Jakhā lahi (ra) hā siddha avatārā
Sabha māha rūpa dīnha ujīārā.
Kathā anūpa jagata māha sōī.
Prēma bhagati sata dharama samōī.

Yūsufa nabī anūpa jaga
Parghāṭa bhē sansāra,
Jākī kathā so tanta aba
Baraneū tēja kartāra.

Jō yaha kathā sunai cita lāī
Nāsai pāpa punya adhikāī.

P. 12.
Bājhini sunai so santati pāvai
Aggita niripa mācha kara āvai.
Nirdhana hōe hōe dhana āgara
Nirguna sunai hōe guna sāgara.
Dukhī sunai tau sukha adhikāī
Bandī sunē mōkha hoi jāī.
Bichurāi dāī so dēya milāī
Kōgī sunai rōga hari jāī.
Nirdāī kaha dāyā āvai
Jōgī sunai jōga adhikāī.

This beautiful story has been said in all the languages :
and in various laudable ways :

in Ibarī (Hebrew), Arabī (Arabic), Suryānī (Syriac),
Pārasī (Persian), Turkī (Turkish), and Nasarānī
(Christian).

But this has not been anywhere said in the vernacular,
and the same was left by the Maker to me as my share
of the work,

therefore, I tell the story with all sincerity,
so that I may attain salvation and deliverance.
The prophet Yūsuf came to this earth joyfully,
as though he was the beautiful moon amidst the stars.
As far as there have been incarnations of seers,
the Maker gave him the most shining appearance.
The same story is unique in this world
which is rich in love, devotion and true religion.
Of all the prophets who graced this world
Yūsuf has not been equalled.

Now I describe his mystic (?) story
with the help of the Maker's powers alone.
Whoever hears this story attentively,
he destroys his sins, and adds to his virtuous deeds.

Page 12

A barren lady who hears it, gets an issue
who is respected by the kings (?).
If the hearer is a pennyless beggar, he becomes rich,
and if he is a man of no good, he becomes a man of
qualities.
If a miserable man hears it, his share of happiness
increases,
and if a man in bondage hears it, he is set free.
It brings them together, whom fate has separated,
and if a sick man hears it, the sickness disappears.
If the hearer is merciless, he takes pity.
And if an ascetic hears it, his powers of *yōga* increase.

Kaisatū bipata gāḍha jō hōi
Sunē kathā bidhi ḍārai khōi.
Sunai satī dina dina sata bāḍhai
Birahī biraha ḍinha dukh ḍāḍhai.
Pēmī sunai pēma adhikāvai
Paṇḍita sunai mahā rasa pāvai.

Jo koi sunai paḍhai likhōi
Hōi siddha saṁsāra
Bansa sutana sukh pāvai
Dēya asis Nisāra.

Kathā anūpa ihai jaga māhī
Dūsara kathā so yahi sāgha nāhī.
Nabī lāgi yaha kathā sohāi
Saraga lōka tē Daiu paṭhāi.
Ēka dausa Jībaraila jo āē
Hasana Husēna ko dukkha sunāē.
Mārinha tinha bairī nirdāi
Pānī būda na ḍinha kasāi.

P. 13.

Sunī kai marana nabī dukha mānā
Rōē lāga dukhita hoe prānā.
Taba Jībaraila kathā yaha lāē
Ānī aratha sabha bāci sunāē.
Jō imāma kaha ummata mārinha
Yūsufa bandha kūpa māha ḍārinha.
Kathā satta aba kahañi sohāi
Jehi bidhi saraga lōka tē āi.
Cūk hōi tau lēhu sabhārī
Suddha asuddha so likheu bicārī.

However great may be the distress,
 if one hears this story, the Maker reduces his distress to
 nothing.

If a lady devoted to her lord, hears it, her devotion
 increases day by day.
 and if the hearer is away from his beloved, he sets
 fire to his pangs of separation.

If a lover hears it, his love increases,
 And, if a wise man hears it, he finds great pleasure in it.

Whoever hears, reads, or writes it,
 he becomes a seer in this world,
 his family and his sons get repose,
 so blesses Nisāra.

This story is singular in this world,
 no other story can vie with it.
 For the sake of the Prophet,
 the Maker sent this beautiful story from the heavens.
 One day, Jibrāil came,
 and told the miseries of Hasan and Husain.
 Their merciless enemies had killed them,
 those butchers did not give them a drop of water.

Page 13

The Prophet was aggrieved to by the news of their death,
 he began to weep, and his heart sank.
 Then Jibrāil brought this story,
 and having brought it, he explained its significance.
 How they killed the followers of Imām
 and how they imprisoned Yūsuf in a blind well.
 The same true and beautiful story, I now say,
 and also, how it came to this earth from the heavens.
 If I commit any mistake, correct it.
 I have written it after having considered the right
 and the wrong.

*Baranau kathā anūpa abu
Prēma bhari au sāca
Mōkha mukata gati pāvahi
Jōrē sunā au bāca.*

*Kanaā nagara jo Nūha basāvā
Tahā nabī Ya'qūba sohāvā.*

*Jaga māha lahā siddha avatārā
Pūjai tāhi sakala sansārā.*

*Lauta nabī kai sutā sohāi
So biyāha Isahāqa ke āi.*

*Bhē Isahāqa ke dui suta saṅgā
Eka udara dui rabi sasi raṅgā.*

*Ēka Aisa Ya'qūba so dūjā
Tapa japa bidyā kōu na pūjā.*

*Mahā siddha tā kaha bidhi kīnhā
Isrāūla nāma tiuha dīnhā.*

*Upajē Śāma dēsa dou bhāi
Rahē Kanaāna Ya'qūba sohāi.*

P. 14.

*Bhējē tāhi so alakha sādēsā
Lāvai nigāma pantha sabha dēsā.*

*Nica ūca kaha mārāga tāvai
Ōkara mūha saba bhēda batāvai.*

*Karai tapasyā raina dinā
Tapa japa nēta au nēma
Jibaraūla āvahi tahā
Āna baḍhāvaī pēma.*

*Sāta istiri sughara sohāi
Bārāha putra daī adhikāi.*

P. 331.

*So puni kathā ahāi bistārā
Kahāū kathā Yūsufa kara sārā.*

I now describe the unique story,
 which is full of love, and is most true.
 He attains salvation and deliverance,
 who hears and reads it.

In the city of Kanaā (Canaan), which was founded
 by Nūha,

there lived the good prophet Ya'qūba.
 He was in this world, the incarnation of a seer,
 he was worshipped as a god by the whole world.
 The prophet had a daughter, Lūt by name,
 she came to Ishāq in marriage.
 Ishāq was blessed with twin-sons,
 (as though) the sun and the moon were born together.
 One was Aisa and the other was Ya'qūb,
 and none could vie with them in the matter of medita-
 tion, invocation, or knowledge.

The Maker made them great seers,
 and Isrāil was the man who gave them names.
 Both the brothers were born in the country of Šāma
 (Syria)
 and Ya'qūb remained well in Kanaā (Canaan).

Page 14

The Lord used to send through him (Ya'qūb) the divine
 message. He brought the whole country to the divine
 path. He brought the high and low to the right path.
 His mouth emitted all the mysteries. All day and night
 he indulged in meditation, and invocation, and followed
 a regular course of life. Jibrāil used to visit his place,
 and whenever he reached there, he would accentuate
 the divine love. (Ya'qūb had married) seven beautiful
 wives, who gave birth to twelve sons.

Page 331

That story is, again, a long one,
 I tell the essence of the story of Yūsuf.

Dasaē barasa āe jamarājū
Yūsufa nabī prāna kē kājū.
Kahā alakha jō agyā kīnhā
Cahatī parāna tōra mat līnhā.
Yūsufa kahā jō agyā hōī
Sō sabha lēū sīsa para sōī.
Dēkhi lēū mat darasa Zulēkhā
Taba hama (?) karahu jō āvai lēkhā.
Taba jamarāja kahā yaha bātā
Agyā nātha lakhau mukha rātā.
Aba tuma tajahu pēma vahi kērā
Karahu pema jō karahi nibērā.
Bahuta bhātī binatī kai hārā
Pāvā na Zulēkhā rūpa tihārā.

Yūsufa cahā bahuta
Lakhai Zulēkhā rūpa
Pai Jamrāja na mānā
Agyā alakha anūpa.
Jaba lahi āī Zulēkhā pāsā
Taba lahi phūla gayau nija bāsā.
Āī nāra jō piu kē tīrā
Dēkhai parā jō sūna sarīrā.
Puni nihāri Yūsufa kaha dēkhā
Raheu na rūpa raṅga nahi rēkhā.
Mūdē nayena khulaī aba nāhī
Bayena harē mukha bōluta nāhī.

P. 332

Hātha pātū mukha saravana nāsā
Saba tana harata kiē jasa māsā.
Sūna sarīra parā bina jūū
Gā fhaga māri dēkhi mukha pūū.

In the tenth year, Death (Jamarāja) came for the life
of prophet Yūsuf.
He announced the will of God, and said, "I want to
• take your life."
Yūsuf said, "Whatever may be your command I will
obey it.

Only I want first a glimpse of Zülēkhā,
Then you may do whatever is proper."

Then, Jamarāja said,

"Accept the Lord's will with a brave face.

Now, leave the affection of that lady, and engage in
the love that offers salvation."

Yūsuf requested for a glimpse of Zülēkhā in various
terms,

but 'could not see your face, Zülēkhā.' Yūsuf earnestly
tried to see the face of Zülēkhā,

but Jamarāja did not allow him,

for such was the firm command of the Lord.

Before Zülēkhā came to his side the smell of the flower
had departed from the flower (i.e., the life-spirit had
departed from the body).

When the lady came to the side of her lord, she looked
at the dead body; she again closely saw Yūsuf and
found there neither the beauty, nor the charming
complexion, nor again the beautiful lines on the face.

The eyes were closed; they would not open.

The voice had departed, the mouth would not speak.

Page 332

The hands, the feet, the ears and the nose, the whole
body was as if mere flesh.

The empty body lay there life-less.

She was thunderstruck to see the face of her lord.

Dhasaka āhi hie māhi samānā
Gaeu chāra jasa dēha te prānā.
Murachi rahī nāra jasa phirī
Raheū na cēta hareu jaba sirī.
Nāri dēkhi piu kara tana sūnā
Binā parāna sabha piṇḍa bihūnā.

Kaun haṁsa saravara hateu
Kehi disa gayeu parāi
Jehi bina sūna sarīra bhai
Kāhū na kahā so hāi.

Parī Zulēkhā hoi bina jīū
Bahuri na dēkhā āpana pīū.
Taba nahalāi sāja sabha kīnhā
Laikai saṭupi chāra kaha dīnhā.

Chāra milāi so chāra urāvā
Thātī saṭupi lōka paha āvā.

Jō jākara tehi saṭupā sōi
Sāthī saṅgha rahā nahi kōi.

Tina dausa dukha raheū apārā
Rahī Zulēkhā nathī bekarārā.

Piū kōpa kucha jānata nāhī
Rahī so nāri sūkhi paṭa māhī.

Tisarē dausa bhōra hoi gaeū
Taba puni cētu Zulēkhā bhaeū.

P. 333.

Dēkhā khōli naena cahū ōrā
Kahā ke āja bhaeu kasa bhōrā.
Piū jāgata taba mōhī jagāvai
Āja saṅghī kahū diṣṭa na āvai.
Aba mat āja bhōra kai jāgī
Gaeu piū kasa agasara bhāgī.
Piū kara mukha nahi dēkhaū ājū
Mohī taja kabahū karata na kājū.

Shock violently struck her heart and it seemed as
though the life had also departed from her body.

As she turned, she swooned ;
she lay unconscious, and the radiance of her face
departed.

The lady saw the body of her lord lying lifeless.

Without life, the whole body lay empty.

" Which goose was in this lake, and to what direction
has it flown away, without whom the body is empty ?
Alas, no one tells me that."

Zulēkhā fell unconscious, and did not see her lord again.

They washed the dead body of Yūsuf,
and they adorned it well.

Then they delivered it to the earth.

They mixed that structure of dust with the dust.

And having thus returned the pledge
they came back.

They handed it back to one whose it was
and no companion accompanied him.

For three days, Zulēkhā was extremely pained,
and she could not be made to understand (the real
state of things).

She did not know the reason of her lord's displeasure,
and she withered away within doors.

The third day in the morning

Zulēkhā was restored to consciousness.

Page 333

She opened her eyes and saw about her,
and said, " Of what type is today's morning?
When my lord got up, he would wake me up,
but today, my mate does not come before my eyes.

Today I got up very early,
still, how is it that my lord has left all alone ?

Today, I do not see the face of my lord,
he would never do anything without me.

Jaba laga rahañ sēja para
Kantha na chārahi mōhñ.
Aba rōja āja kahā gaeu
Lāla so mōhi bichōhi.

Kahā sañghī vai suraga sidhārē
Tumakā biraha āgi māha jārē.
Suni yaha bāta so khāi pachārā
Phira phira sīsa bhūmi para mārā.
Jahā so pīu hōi nihicintā
Tahā lai calahu juhā mora mintā.
Cañ sāghai sāgha biākula nārī
Jahā kantha sūnē sō nārā.
Tehi kē dehara jāi sira nāvā
Pirathama kēsa tōri chitarāvā.
Chitarāesi mōtina kē hārā
Jūrā fūka fūka kai dārā.
Bāra khasōñi tōri natha dārā
Abharana tōri bhūsahē sīgārā.
Cūrī phōri sīsa taba phōrā
Chāra milāi dīnha vahi cūrā.

P. 334

Parī dhēra para chāra nāvahi
Bipata bipata mukha bayena sunāvai.
Nayena kāñhi dō linhesi
dīnhesi dhēra para dāri.
Jehi naenani pīu tōhi lakheñ
dēkhañ kāhi nihāri.
Kahā kantha tuma kahavā gaeñ
Naena baēna mukh sūna sabha bhaeñ
Gāta gulāba dēkhi murojhāi
Sō tana chāra līnha aba khāi.

So long as I would remain in bed,
my lord would not leave me.
But, where has my King, my love, now gone,
having left me here?"

Her companions said that he had gone to the next world,
having scorched you in the fire of separation.
When she heard this news, she fell aback.
She would strike her head against the earth, again and
again, and say,
"Wherever may that care-free lord of mine be,
Take me to that place, where my friend is."
Along with her, the sorrowful maidens went
where the dead body of her lord lay.
On the threshold of the tomb she placed her forehead,
and first of all she let her hair loose,
and she scattered the necklaces of pearls,
and then broke her braid of hair into pieces.
She tore the hair and broke the nose-ring,
and having broken her ornaments, she undid her toilet.
Having broken her bracelets, she broke her head
And threw those pieces of bracelets in the dust.

Page 334

She lay on the tomb and scattered dust
and cried, "I am in distress, I am in distress!"
She took out both her eyes,
And threw them over the tomb and said,
"These eyes with which, my lord, I looked at you,
whom should I now look with them?
What, my lord, where have you gone?
All your eyes and your mouth are lifeless.
Seeing the beauty of your body, roses drooped,
but now the same body is being eaten away by the earth.

Jehi mukha bōlahu amrita bānī
Amrita bōla vai kahā herānī.
Nita mō para tuma karata jo dāyā
Kasa aba lā'la bhaeu nīramāyā.
Maī pāpina tumha saṅgha na lāgī
Ahaū karam kī sadā abhāgī.
Mōhi chārī kita kīnha sidhārī
Naena ōṭa nā karata piyārī.
Jaba jamarāja parāna toru līnhā
Nīṭhura lā'la mōhi khabari na dīnhā.
Maī jama tē asa karatī nihōra
Lēhu lā'la sāgha prāna so mōrā.
Ēkahu chana nā mōhi bisārehu
Calata bāra kasa mōhi na pukārehu.

Naena ōṭa kahū hōta raheu
Mōhi tē agyā lēhu
Aisē gaenha bidēsa kaha
Mōra na khōju karēhu.

P. 335

Cālisa barasa jo jōga kamāvā
Taba prītama maī tuma kā pāvā.
Daraba aratha sabha dīheū luṭāi
Jōbana rūpu anūpa gāvāi.
Kīnha dayā taba alakha gosāi
Dīnhā rūpa soī sukha māhī.
Taba mahimā maī tōra na jānī
Nisa dina rahiū hīe abhimānī.
Sō aba kantha kahā tohi pāyatū
Carana lāi sira tōhi manavō.
Tumha nita karahu mōra manuhārī
Maī nā koratū kucha kāna tumhārī.

Your mouth would emit words like nectar,
 but where have now those nectar-like words gone?
 You would always love me,
 then, how is it, my lord, that you have become pitiless?
 I, sinner, did not accompany you (to the next world)
 I have always been unfortunate.
 Leaving me alone, where have you gone?
 You would never let me be away from your sight.
 When Death (Jamrāja) took away your life,
 cruel lord, you did not inform me, for otherwise
 I should have strongly urged him
 that he should have taken my life also along with your
 life, my lord.
 You never forgot me for a moment,
 why did you not call me when you were departing (for
 the next world)?
 Whenever you would go anywhere beyond the range
 of my sight, you would always take my permission.
 But this time you went to a foreign land in a singular
 fashion, for you did not even care for me.

Page 335

When I had practised *yōga* for full forty years,
 my dear, then it was that I got you.
 When I had squandered all my fortunes,
 and wasted my youth and beauty unequalled,
 then it was that the Unseen took pity
 and bestowed on me that beauty (of yours), amongst
 rejoicing.
 Then I did not know your virtues,
 and all day and night, I was haughty.
 Now, my dear, where should I get you
 that I may make you agreeable, by placing my head at
 your feet.
 You would always beseech me,
 but I would never lend my ear's to your request.

Kā aba karahū manāvō kaisē
Binatī karahū kīnha tumha jaisē.

Tumha sāl mat cērī tōrī
Kā aba karahū āetī mati thōrī.

Nīta sarīra rākheū tore caranā
Kā aba karahū dū kara karanā.

Sāta barasa bāda rākheū
Lāeu dōkha na mōhi

Auguna mōra chapāeu
Kaheu na kachu tuma mōhi.

Sāta barasa rākheū lāda māhī
Mana māha rōsa kiheu kucha nāhī.

P. 336

Calata bāra torā rūpa na dekhētī
Bacana na sunēu na naena bisēkheū.

Sō lā'lana taji rahē abhāgī
Gāē lā'la mat sōi na jāgī.

Jaba tōhikā bāhara baharāi
Bairini nīda kahā tē āi.

Dekheū jāgi mādira torā sūnā
Nagara kōṭa ghara bhaeu bihūnā.

Āehu phūla chārī phulavārī
Kāṭa raheū bāga mā chārī.

Gāeu kantha sō bēgi so bhāgā
Pāchē raheu kalaṅka so lāgā.

Dēhu utara mōhi kantha sohāi
Phāṭai bhumī aba jāyū samāi.

Yaha kalaṅka aba dēhu miṭāi
Uṭhi kai lā'la tēhu sāgha lāi.

Aisā ratana milā jaga,
Chāra samāneu āi

Dhrika jīvana jō lā'la bina
Jaga mā jiyata rahāi.

What should I do now? How should I now make
you agreeable?

I now request you as you had previously done.

You are my lord, and I am your bond-maid,
what should I do now? I have little understanding.

Ever did I lay my body at your feet,
what should I do now against the will of the Lord?

I kept you in captivity for full seven years,
but you did not blame me.

You would screen my evil doings,
and never chide me for them.

I kept you in captivity for seven years,
still you did not at all take it ill.

Page 336

At the time of your departure, I did not see your face,
nor did I hear your voice, nor did I see your eyes.

However, you forsook this unfortunate woman,
my lord, you went, and I did not wake up.

That sleep of mine which sent you out,
whence did that enemy sleep come?

When I woke up, I found thy temple lonely,
and the walls of the city, the dwelling, and all else
deserted.

Flower, you came here, leaving the flower-bed ;

I was a thorn scattered in the garden.

The Lord (the flower) disappeared immediately
while I, a dark spot, lagged behind.

Answer me, my beautiful lord,
may the earth split and I go inside it !

Wipe off this blemish upon me,
and get up and take me with you, my Love.

I got such a gem in this world,
but ultimately that was mixed with the dust ;
Cursed be the life that even without the lord
continues to exist in this world.

Yaha gharā bāra so dēsa tumhārā
 Bhaeu sūna sabha jaga adhiyārā.
 Kouna batāihi bhēda karāma thā
 Bhūlē kauna dekhāehi panthā.
 Kō tuma bina yuha pahāra uṭhāihi
 Nēma dharama dina dina adhikāt.

P. 337

Aba tumha asa jaga upajē nāhī
 Kauna so karī dukhī parachāhī.
 Tumha samāna jaga phērī na āi
 Kō asa rūpa gyāna budhi pāi.
 Nibharama nīda raheu piu sōi
 Nāri sovatī cētā nā kōi.
 Tumhu nihacintu bhaeu pin jāi
 Sōca hamāra tajeu sukhadāi.
 Sahī tōka hai yaha sansārā
 Tumha bina kōu na ahai hamārā.
 Kehikā dēkhī mana hulāsē piū
 Tirakha bujhāi piyāsē jiū.
 Vahai basantu vahi pāvasa
 vahai phūla phala sōi
 Sabha apanē ritu dēkhaba,
 tumhar na dēkhī kōi
 Vahai mādira ū saravara tirā
 Karahi dhumāra sadā jehi tirā.
 Vahai phūla phūlai cahū ōrā
 Vahi cāfuka rāga khañjana mōrā.
 Vahai pavana jō phira phira ācoe
 Vahai dausa vahi raini dekhāvae.
 Eka na tumha jehi bina sansārā
 Hoigā tina bhauana adhiyārā.

This household and this country of yours,
all, are deserted, and the world looks gloomy.
Who will now tell (the world) the secrets of Providence,
and who will now guide (it) when it has forgotten the
right path.
Who will now, without you, raise this mountain
(of duties),
And who will without you lead a regular course of life
day by day ?

Page 337

Now none will be born in this world like you.
And, who will now give shelter to the suffering?
None will again come to this world, who like you,
will get such a good knowledge and understanding.
You were sleeping soundly ;
nobody awakened the wife who was asleep.
You have grown careless since you went
and you have forgotten my reposeful memory.
This world is the real world,
but in your absence, nobody is mine.
Whose sight, my dear, will gladden my heart now
that may quench a thirsty man's thirst ?
Spring is the same, and the same the Rainy season,
the same are the blossoms, and the same the fruits,
all will appear in their respective seasons,
but none will see you.
The same is temple, the same the bank of the lake
on whose banks we played naughtily.
The same flowers even now blossom on all sides
the same is the colour of the cātaka and the peacock
The same wind blows again and again,
the same days and the same nights even now appear
You alone are not here, for which reason this world
and in fact all the three worlds look dark and dreary

Vahi taravara vahi lāta sohāvana
Bhāvai na eka binā mana bhāvana.

P. 338

Eka dina hateu sobhāga sohāvā
Jehi dina tōhi kāha Nāyaka lai āvā.

Bhai dhūma sabha Misira ke dēsā
Uṭhi dhāvā sabha raṅka narēsā.

Paṭhaeu Nīla karai aśanānā
Nara narēsa sabha dēkhi lobhānā.

Eka dina āja so dekhetū,
sō mukha chāra chipāna,
Kā bhā rūpa anūpa vaha
jehi sansāra lobhāna.

Sapanē dēkhi bimōhetū tōhī
Upajā biraha tēja lakhi tōhī.

Āihū Misira kantha tōhi lāgi
Kahetū ki kā gūna kīnha abhāgi.

Pēma hamāra sāca bidhi kīnhā
Pāhana sarūpa so hamakā kīnhā.

Jaba prītama hamasē mukha mōrā
Jivana bhaeu darasa lakhi tōrā.

Cālisa barasa jōga mā kīnhā
Suni kai nātū sabhai kucha dīnhā.

Jaba torā nāu sunāvai kōi
Pāvai lākha dētū jō hōi.

Bisa barasa rahetū darasa adhārā
Bisa barasa suni nāma sabhārā.

P. 339.

Aba torā darasa harā bhuṭ māhī
Nātū tumhāra sunaba aba nāhī.

Dēkhetū (na?) darasa sunahū nahī nātū
Kehi ke adhāra rahatū yahi ṭhātū.

The same are the trees, the same the beautiful creepers
but none attracts me without the charming one.

Page 338

One day I was blessed with good fortune, the day on
which Nāyak (God?) brought you (to me). There was
rejoicing all over the country of Misira (Egypt). Everyone,
whether a beggar in the street, or a king ran (to see you).
They sent you to bathe in the Nile, and everyone,
whether a layman or a king was pleased to see you.

And another day I find today, when the same face of
yours is covered with dust. What has become of that
singular beauty of yours which had enchanted the
whole world?

When I saw you in a dream, I was at once in love with
you,

and when I actually saw you, I was under the pangs
of your separation.

For your sake, my lord, I came to Misira (i.e., Egypt)
and said, "For what reason have I been unfortunate?"

The Maker proved my love to be sincere,

He made me hard like stone.

When, dear, you turned your face from me,

my life would come back when I saw you.

I spent forty years of my life in *yōga*,

and when I heard your name I gave my all.

Whenever anyone would utter your name before me
he got from me a lakh, or whatever there was with me.

For twenty years I lived on your looks, and for another
twenty years I lived on the sound of your name.

Page 339

Now, your looks have been covered by dust, and also I
shall not hear your name now. Now, neither I have your
glimpses nor do I hear your name. On whom should I
depend for the purpose of staying here (in this world)?

*Nā piu bōla sunāvahu
 nā aba darasana dēhu.
 Karahu dayā pata rākhau
 Yaha jiu āpana lēhu.*

*Aba pati rahai jo jāi prānā
 Dhirika jīva tuma bina jahā mānā.*

*Jivana bhalā jaba lahi piu hōi
 Binā piu dhrika jivana sōhi.*

*Piu bina sūna sabhai sansārā
 Sukha sampati saba piu bina jārā.*

*Binā piu kōi saṅghātī nāhī
 Kehi bidhi rahai prāna ghaṭa māhī.*

*Jarai jāi sukha sampati sājā
 Binā piu āvai nahī kājā.*

*Piu kē saṅgha jo hōi bhikhārī
 Binā piu sukha sampati balihārī.*

*Piu ke saṅgha bholā bhikasai māhī
 Binā piu sukha bilasai nāhī.*

*Tuma bina kantha jagata adhiyārā
 Bhaeu ujāra sabhai sansārā.*

*Nithura prāna jō aba lahi raheū
 Pāhana hiyā nithura dukha saheū.*

P. 340

*Khāi pachāra jo chāra para
 Karai āha eka bār.*

*Pañchī prāna so uṛi gaeu
 Rahī chāra māha chāra.*

Neither do you, my dear, make me hear your voice,
nor you give me your glimpses.
Be kind and save me from blemish,
and accept this life which is yours.
Now, my honour will be saved only if my spirit departs.
Cursed be my spirit if it likes to stay without you.
Life is desirable only as long as the dear one lives,
and the same life is cursed without the dear one.
Without the dear one the whole world is dreary,
and without the dear one, all comforts and riches are
worthless.

Without the dear one, none is a companion,
how should then the life spirit stay in the body ?
May the comforts and riches burn away !
For without the dear one, they are of no use.
It is better to be a beggar with the dear one,
but without the dear one the comforts and the riches
should be thrown away ;
with the dear one it is better to dwell in miseries
but without him one should not indulge into luxuries.
Without you, my lord, the world is dark,
and the whole world is deserted.
My life spirit is piti-less, that it stays in my body even now,
and stone-like is my heart which has endured this
disaster."

Page 340

When falling aback on the tomb
she released a sigh,
the bird-like life spirit of hers flew away,
and the dust was left with the dust.

APPENDIX II

MODERN AWADHI TEXTS

(a) **gululazwar:li: kathaz** (Lakhimpur)

(b) **chando** (Lakhimpur)

[These two specimens were given to the author by his mother in 1921 and appeared first in the author's monograph on Lakhimpurī (published in 1923). The old lady spoke pure Awadhi. Alas! she is no more in this world, having breathed her last on June 1, 1931.]

(c) **cwaran ki kathaz** (Sitapur)

[From Jagannath, V. Jiburī, 2 miles to the south of Ramkōṭ, Dt. Sitapur.]

(d) **ṭhakuran ki basazduriz** (Lucknow)

[From Ram Sahai of Amausī, Dt. Lucknow.]

(e) **ādfare ki beimarniz** (Unao)

[From an inhabitant of a village, 2 miles to the north of Maurāwān, Dt. Unao.]

(f) **larikini ki pati-serwar** (Fatehpur)

[From Sanwāl Abir of V. Catanpur, Pargana Kōṛā, Dt. Fatehpur, a place 4 miles from the boundary of Cawnpore district—by the courtesy of Fatehchand Varma.]

(g) **gurus kiflex ko phal** (Bahraich)

[From Tulsi Garariyā, of Mankāpur, 6 miles to the west of Bahraich.]

(h) **baizmfian au bokaraz ke:r kathaz** (Barabanki)

[Collected by Pt. Lalta Prasad Sukul.]

(i) **sijazr au sijazrin** (Gonda)

[From Harmohan Singh of V. Mahuābirāhim, Tahsil Utraulā, 28 miles from Gonda.]

(j) **barbar ki karāmat** (Fyzabad)

[From Lachiman of V. Bichiā, 5 miles to the south-west of Fyzabad town.]

(k) **kacefloriz maz bajazn** (Sultanpur)

[Statement of Jagwanti, wife of Ramanand, of V. Gārērī, Dt. Sultanpur, in the Court of Mr. Chintamani, Dy. Collector.]

(l) **mukadimar kai harl** (Partabgarh)

[Collected by Pt. Lalta Prasad Sukul.]

(m) **bamflaniz kai bajazn** (Allahabad)

[Statement of a Brahmin woman of a village on the Eastern boundary of Allahabad district, by the courtesy of B. Saligram, Reader, Collector's Court, Allahabad.]

(n) **bflikhazriz bamflan kaj kathaz** (Allahabad)

[Collected by Pt. Lalta Prasad Sukul, from a resident of a village, 32 miles to the east of Allahabad towards Mirzapur.]

(a) gulgularwarlir kathar

erkrarjaz rafiā au mafiṭarir rafiā au dulaṣin rafiā. mafiṭarir rojju chapṛan p'arkar kē bṣorjan banarwai au apnar khari au apner larka kō khawarwai. dulaṣin kharir erk beṣari kī roṭir sērkai, arḍir roṭir au loṇu s'aberer deri au arḍir sapjha kō. ui mazrer gusake roṭir ḍefarija mō ḍarri deri au loṇu gagari mō nari arwai. aisi karti karti barar barsai gudari gaṭir. tab erk din burṣar gulgular kiṣinī. gulgular jhāpi kō ḍari diṣinī au apnar disai calir gaṭir. jarti berijar baṣu sē kahi gaṭir kī 'dulaṣinī aisi derkher rafieu.' baṣur, jaler ui laṭai talex, tirnī gulgular nikari liṣisī. kharisī narir, ḍari arir. talex burṣar ari gaṭir, kulrar ulrar kai kai apn arṣijar derkhinī jari. tau kaṣinī 'dulaṣin kar ir mō kē gulgular tum liṣer hau?' dulaṣin boṭir 'ham buar ham narir liṣen hai kar marlum bilaijar lai gai hori, gai rafiā ui war.' tau bilaijar kaṣisī 'raṣu tui, tui kar mai tirni parni se nō ḍori derū tau mai karṣe kī. tui liṣer au mai kar corir lagarjer.'

taṣi kai jab sārjṣi bṣai tab rarnir apnī kharijar bicharinī, dijar barri kō ḍarinī. jab rarija kē kaceṣeri sē laṭai mō der derkhinī tau kahinī

Translation

(a) A story about *gulgulās*¹

There lived a certain king with his mother and wife. The mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily and she and her son used to partake of it. For the daughter-in-law, however, she baked a loaf of millet and gave half a loaf and salt to her in the morning and half in the evening. She, on account of anger, threw the bread into a big earthen pot and poured the salt into a jar. In this way twelve years passed. One day the old lady prepared *gulgulās*. She covered them and having done so she went out to ease² herself. While going she said to the daughter-in-law: "Daughter-in-law, keep an eye in this direction." Before the old lady returned, the daughter-in-law took out three *gulgulās*. She did not eat them but put them away. The old lady returned and after rinsing her mouth³ went and looked at her wooden vessel.⁴ Then she said: "Daughter-in-law, is it you who have taken the *gulgulās* from this?" The daughter-in-law replied: "I, mother, I have not taken any. Who knows but that the cat may have taken them, she has been that way." The cat, then, said: "All right, you wretch, I am not a cat if I do not wash you out altogether.⁵ You took them and attributed the theft to me."

Thereafter when it became dark,⁶ the queen arranged her bedding and lighted the lamp. When she saw that there was some delay in the king's return home from the court

¹ *gulgulā* is the name of a special Indian preparation made of flour and sugar, it is also called *puā* at some places.

² "To go out or to go to the quarters" (literal trans.) is a euphemism for attending to nature's call.

³ To rinse the mouth, i.e., to wash the mouth, hands and feet.

⁴ *aṛhiyā* is a big wooden vessel to put eatables in.

⁵ *āni pāni se dhōi dēū*—lit. wash you away with three waters, i.e., destroy you completely.

⁶ Lit. when it became evening.

'laror taler' sori leriz.' iu kashi kai sorwai largiz. bilaijar kar kishisi. kosi ki pagijar uzhari lariz au unki khatija pe dharidishi, kosi ki tarwari lai kai hua dharidishi, au kosi ke jurtar uzhari lariz so palka ke tarex dharisi ari. Atrar sarmain dharidishi kai bilaijar apnar calix gai.

rajar jab kacehri se arjer derkha kar kosi ke jurtar dharer, kosi ki tarwari, kosi ki pagijar. rajar man mar anjarde ki kosi mardu rarnir tiz arwar hai. tau atchini tarwari ki izkar marqaribar. tau dijar bozlar 'rajar samujhi ke marreu.' rajar tizni dar tarwari uzhari au dijar tizni dar tirbarakhi dishi. tau rajar tarwari dharidishi au loxtar lai kai pakharner caler gajer.

etrir der mo rarnir jargi parir tau dijar barfari dishi. dija ke darwaje pe kua rahi, rajar hua kulzar karti rahi. jab dijar apner ghar pahunchar tau mastakir kishi ki 'bhaijar arju barir der lagarjeu, mai khar ke liseh bairhi rahi.' dijar kishi 'mastakir kuchu purcha nar, rarnir par barir bipati parir hai.' rajar tharfi hoi kai sunai larg. mastakir kishi 'karher bhaijar?' dijar jis jis haru bhawar rahi tais sab batari dishi. rajar sab suni kai ghar kar arjer au orhi ke purhi rher.

jab bhoru bhawar tau mastakir phiri chapran parkar ke bhoran banarini au kashini 'bhaijar kharu ari.' rajar kashini 'buar parsau.' uierk tharir parsini. rajar kashini 'dosariu parsau.' ui dosari parsini. rajar kashini 'tisariu parsau.' burhar

she said to herself: "Let me sleep for a while." Having said so she went to sleep. And what did the cat do? She brought somebody's turban and placed it on her bedstead and took somebody's sword and placed it there. She also brought somebody's shoes and put them under the bedstead. She put these things there and went away.

When the king returned from the court he saw that there were somebody's shoes and somebody's sword and turban. From it he concluded that some man had come to the queen. On this he drew his sword in order to kill her. The lamp spoke out: "O king, learn the truth before you kill her." The king thrice drew the sword out and the lamp forbade¹ him all the three times. He then put down the sword, took the *lōṭā*² and went away to attend to nature's call.

Meanwhile the queen woke up and put out³ the lamp. There was a well before the door (of the house) of the lamp. The king was rinsing his mouth there. When the lamp reached home, his mother said: "My son, you are very late to-day, I have all along been sitting with the food ready." The lamp replied: "Dear mother, do not ask anything, great calamity has befallen the queen." The king stood there and listened. The mother asked: "What is the matter, dear son?" The lamp related everything that had happened. The king heard everything, came home and having covered himself up, lay down.

When it became morning, the mother again prepared food of fifty-six varieties and asked her son to eat it. The king asked her to serve. She served one dish. He asked her to serve another. She served another. He asked her to serve a third. The old lady said to him: "Come, let us

¹ *tīrbācak dihiṣi*—lit. spoke three times, i.e., in a decisive manner.

² *lōṭā* is a small brass or bronze vessel to contain water.

³ *baṛhai dihiṇi*—(lit. lengthened or developed) is a euphemism for extinguished.

kāṣṣinī 'aioz ham tum khariz, dulaṣṣin kharwar kari-
 ṣṣaṭ.' tau razjar kāṣṣinī 'na:iz tisariu parsau.' jab
 tisariu tharijaz parsi gai, tau razjar kāṣṣinī 'razniz
 kharu azi.' razniz kāṣṣinī 'sunau razjar barraz barsai
 birti gaṭ: tab na kabṣaṭ: pūrcheu. azju kar hai?'
 iu kāṣṣi kai qeṣṣerija ki roṭiz argez kurai diṣṣinī au
 gagari ko loṛnu ārgan mē nari diṣṣinī. burṣṣaz marri
 ko khisijari gaṭ: au waṣṣez tiz mari kai raṣṣi gaṭ:.
 razjar razniz baṣṣut din razji kiṣṣinī.

jaise: un kez din baṣṣure: taise: sab kez baṣṣuraṭ.

take our meal, the daughter-in-law may eat food afterwards." But the king said, "No, serve a third dish also." When the third dish was also served, he asked the queen to come and eat. The queen replied, "Hear, O king, twelve years have passed and never did you ask me (to eat). What is the matter to-day?" Having spoken so, she brought out the bread from the earthen pot and put it all before him and poured out the salt from the jar in the courtyard. The old lady got very much ashamed and died on the very spot. The king and the queen reigned for many a day. May¹ everybody's good days return as did theirs.

¹ This is the prayer with which every story ends. It shows that a story may relate unhappy events but always has a happy end.

(b) chando

soxwau ki jargau moxrix ardsi bflawainix jagat
kerrix raxniz, akabar thaxrfler duaxr, hoz bali jarũ.
(1)

kiz tum akabar parchan arjeu, arex parchan
arjeu, kiz tum darsan arjeu, bali jarũ. (2)

nax ham maxtax moxrix parchan arjen, arex
parchan arjen, nax ham darsan arjen, bali jarũ. (3)

Translation

(b) A song¹ in praise of Bhawānī

Note 1.—Bhawānī is one of the seven powerful goddesses. She is sometimes also identified with Bhawānī, Siva's wife. Her abode is on the hills. The story goes that once Akbar thought of throwing her image (usually of stone) out and so he went to the temple of the goddess. The present song is the dialogue between the two.

Note 2.—For the sake of rhythm the words in a song undergo some changes which are not generally visible in ordinary speech. For instance, a short *a* is added to every word which ends in a consonant, final vowels are often lengthened and the long vowels in the middle of a word are often shortened.

Note 3.—The language of songs is often somewhat borrowed and archaic. For instance, in verse we have the obl. inf. in *-an* (*kaṭan*) side by side with *-ai* form (*jaraī*).

1. "Are you sleeping or waking, my Ādhi Bhawānī², queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you³."

2. "Akbar, have you come here for the sake of *parchan*⁴ or for *darsan*⁵?" I bow to you.

3. "My mother, I have come here neither to do *parchan*, yes, to do *parchan* nor to have your *darsan*, I bow to you."

¹ *chanda* is the term used for the songs in praise of gods and goddesses, chiefly goddesses.

² *Ādhi Bhawānī*—name of one of the seven sisters—the healer of all pains.

³ *bali jāu*—I adore, I bow; this is the burden of the song.

⁴ *parchan* < Sanskrit *prakṣālana*; this signifies the special rite of pouring water—chiefly Ganges water—over the image of a god or goddess.

⁵ *darsan* < Sanskrit *darśana*, visiting, seeing, used only of gods and saints and elders to whom respect is due.

ham tau martar morriz laʔnez ko azjen, arex laʔnez ko azjen, nikari na laʔau maidan, bali jarū. (4)

tumfiarez tau akabar phaujai baʔut haĩ, arex phaujai baʔut haĩ, hamarez tau negular akerl, bali jarū. (5)

tumfiarez tau akabar qfiarl tarwarijar arex torbai bandukhijar, hamarez phuzlan kerrix marl, bali jarū. (6)

jari kaʃeu ui durgar baʃinin argez, anʒar martar argez, ui sartau baʃinin argez, tʃbuʌn azgi uʃharwaĩ, bali jarū. (7)

jarai laʒaĩ tʃbuʌr kaʃan laʒaĩ qorrix, kaʃan laʒaĩ qorrix, tab ham arʃsi bʃawarniz, bali jarū. (8)

jarai laʒer tʃbuʌr, kaʃan laʒĩ qorrix, kaʃan laʒĩ qorrix, ab ham arʃsi bʃawarniz, bali jarū, ab ham jagat bʃawarniz, bali jarū. (9)

akabar bʃiʃsi paʃijar larkarwaĩ, paʃijar larkarwaĩ, bizbir sɛ darnar dararwaĩ, bali jarū. (10)

ham tau jarniz martar kʃrkar parthar, arex kʃrkar parthar, nikariz haĩ arʃsi bʃawarniz, bali jarū, nikariz haĩ jagat bakharniz, bali jarū. (11)

abtir beir tum paljʃau bʃawarniz, arex paljʃau maʃararniz, ab narʃĩr parbat azib, bali jarū, ab nariz parbat azib, bali jarū. (12)

sozwaʌ ki jargau morriz arʃsi bʃawarniz, jagat kerrix rarniz, akabar ʃharʃfex duar, hor bali jarū.

4. "My mother, I have come here to have a fight with you, yes, to have a fight, why not come out and fight, I bow to you."

5. "You Akbar, you have many armies, yes many armies, while I have the solitary *negulā*,⁶" I bow to you.

6. "You Akbar, you have shields and swords, yes, rifles and guns, I have only the garland of flowers," I bow to you.

[Bhawānī now sends her messengers to her sisters and it is not long before they arrive to help her.]

7. "Go before sister Durgā, before Aṅgarmātā, yes before all the seven⁷ sisters and ask them to set fire to the tents," I bow to you.

8. "When the tents begin to be burnt, when the strings begin to be cut down, yes to be cut down, then shall I be Ādhi Bhawānī," I bow to you.

9. The tents began to be burnt, the strings began to be cut. "Now I am Ādhi Bhawānī, now I am Bhawānī of the world," I bow to you.

10. They bind Akbar to a beam,⁸ yes let him hang there and make his wife⁹ grind corn, I bow to you.

11. "Mother, I thought you were only gravel and stone, yes only gravel and stone, but you have come out to be Ādhi Bhawānī, yes come out to be the celebrated goddess of the world, I bow to you."

12. "Be pleased, O Bhawānī, this time, yes pardon, O Empress of the world, never shall I come again to the hills, never shall I come again to the hills, I bow to you."

"Are you sleeping or waking, my Ādhi Bhawānī, queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you."

⁶ *negulā*—the name given to the single boy-defender of the goddesses, who remains always with them.

⁷ The goddesses are seven in number and all of them are sisters born of the same parents; *Durgā*, *Aṅgarmātā*, *Bhawānī* are three of them. *Durgā* is the goddess of small-pox, *Aṅgarmātā* burns everything and *Bhawānī* is the healing goddess.

⁸ *paṭiyā* is the name given to the beams used to make a cot, there are four such in every cot. ⁹ *bībī*—wife, here the Queen.

(c) cwarrañ ki kathar

jarksarñ rāñāñ. taunker pichowarrex roiczwarre arwatñ rāñāñ. tau phirñ jark din phirñ arjer. tau sarñ kañin ki “djarkhau jir rupajar difler rāñāñ taun kaññāñ dñarēñ.” tau sarñuni kañinñ “ārgan ke airem dñarēñ.” wañi mar largir rāñāñ baraijaj. tau saricwar rāñāñ sunti. tau phirñ rarti ke cwar arjer. tau phirñ erku cwar gawar wañi mar harthū qarñ diflisñ. ui ke baraijaj kartñ khazinñ. ta uz bñargar. dwarsar kañai larg “uz tau uñharjer sab lifler jarti. hamañu lajajir jari.” tau wañau lai kai bñarjaj. jaflex tanar sataññūñ kiñin. wañi din cwar aponeñ gñarai caler gajer.

dwarsar din phirñ arjer. tab sarñ aponeñ ārgan mo admi ke bujarū erku garññar khodarin, ui mar sirar bñarowarin. tau sarñ sarñuni terer borler ki “ui phuzl kerer bartan kaññāñ dñarēñ?” tau phirñ sarñuni kañin “rarti ke na bujñar karau. ārgan kerer qesluka m dñarēñ.” ta ui sartau cwar sunti rāñāñ. tab gñar ke jab sab janer soxi sari gajer. ta wai cwar sartau arjer, tau ārgan kerer qeslukam erku pañiler pañhar. tab dwarsar kañati “iu tau sab batorex lerti hamañux batolrerix.” ta wañau phāñdi parar. jaflex tanar sataññūñ phāñdi parer ui mar.

Translation

(c) The story of the thieves

There lived a banker.¹ Thieves used to resort to the back side of his (house) daily. Then again one day they came. The banker said: "See, the money that I had given to you, where have you placed it?" The banker's wife replied: "It is in the nook² of the courtyard." There were wasps in it. The seven thieves were hearing. At night the thieves came. One thief went and put his hand in it (the nook). The wasps stung him and he fled. The second thief said (to himself): "He is taking all of it away, let me also take it." And he also fled after taking it. All the seven did in this manner. The thieves on that day went to their home.

On the second day, (they) came again. The banker had got a pit dug in which a man could get drowned and got it filled up with molasses.³ The banker said to his wife: "Where are those vessels made of *phūl*⁴? The banker's wife replied: "Don't ask (such questions) at night. They are in the courtyard's cellar." All the seven thieves were hearing. When all the people of the (banker's) house had gone to sleep, the seven thieves came and one (of them) entered the cellar of the courtyard. Then the second said (to himself): "He is collecting all of them. Let me also pick up." And he also got in. In this manner all the seven went in it (and got drowned).

¹ *sāh*—a banker, moneylender, usually of the *Vaiśya* caste.

² *ār*—a small recess in the walls, particularly on both the sides of the doors.

³ *sirā*—The juice of sugar-cane is boiled first and then the solid part is separated to make sugar and the liquid part remains, this is known *sirā*.

⁴ *phūl*—a metal made by a combination of several base-metals, it is one of the costly metals and makes beautiful vessels.

bhlorafñēr beirer erkū phakizrū arwar ta wafñi ter sarñuni burjñini “din bhārem tum kai paserrir narju parwati hau?” ta ur kafñisī “ham tiriñi paserrir narju pariti hai.” tau sarñuni kafñini “djarkhau iz cwair ko uṭhari ko tarl mō dāiri arwor, ham cāiri paserrir derib.” taur dāiri arwar. tab sarñuni kafñinī ki “tum na marlum kaiser dāiri arwati u iu tau phirī bhārgi arwar.” jaññer tanar dwarsar dāirai gajer taprhirī kafñinī sarñuni “tum na marlum kaiser dāirati hau iu derkhau phirī gñuñmi arwar.” jaññer tanar sataññur kaisñāz dāiri arjer taprhirī jab satawār dāirai gajer, tau fluñz erkū dñorbir chāñṭati raññai kapaṭar. tau cwair ko ui tarl mō dāirin tab ur dñorbir dērazi ko bhārgar. tab ur phakizrū kafñisī “beir beir sarñ bhārgī jarti raññai abakir sarre k pakari liññen.” ta wafñi kar marri kaisñāz wafñer tarl maisñāz dāiri diññin. tab ur sarñuni tizr gawar, kafñai laṭṭ “jaun beir beir dextir raññau taun abakir sarre ko marri ko dāiri arjen.” ta wafñi kar sarñuni narju diññin cāiri paserrir.

At the time of dawn there came a Fakir. Then the banker's wife asked him : " How many *pansērīs*¹ of corn do you get in a whole day ? " Then he said : " I get three *pansērīs* of corn in a day." The banker's wife said : " See, lift this thief and throw him in the tank, I shall give you four *pansērīs*." He went and threw him. Then the banker's wife said : " I do not know how you throw, he has fled back again." In this manner, he (the Fakir) went to throw the second. Then the banker's wife said again : " I wonder how you throw, see, he has returned again." In this manner he threw all the seven. When he went to throw the seventh, there was a washerman washing clothes. When the Fakir threw the thief in the tank, the washerman fled out of fright. Then the Fakir thought : " the rascal² used to run away again and again ; this time I have caught him." And killed him and threw him in the tank. Then he went to the banker's wife and began to say : " Him whom you gave (to me) again and again, I have killed and thrown away." Then the banker's wife gave him four *pansērīs* of corn.

¹ *pasērt*, Hindustānī *pansērt*—a weight of five seers ; a seer is of a little over two pounds.

² *sār*—lit. 'wife's brother,' thence a term of rebuke.

(d) thakuran ki baslardurir

gadar me ham das gajirafi barso ke rafiān. ham kar sudhi sab hai. barsarafi pakari gajex rafiāi. āgarexj kafiini "ham kar cāfirāmū deru,"; barsarafi deri larg. āgarexjan derkhini barsarafi narcai garwai me parex fiāi tab un kar pakari lai ger. gorar sabberli me ari gajex.

munarsingfi hamar carcar rafiāi. tir barsarafi ke karinda ki nark kartini rafiāi. sirsmāfiāi warler malisbarbard ke pātharn bolaxini. das siparfiir, erkū erkū churrai au erkū erkū dāḡdāḡ. munar au papcam au pāfiālwān biarfiū karibai nariz kifiini rafiāi. tau pātharnū ui mar erkū baḡar berqfiābū rafiāi. uz kafiisi "munarsingfi sunen rafiāi tum baḡer baslardur hau, āgarexjan se laḡer rafiāu. hamarex pātharnan sarth na laḡeu. das din tumarex makarn me arjex hoiger." un kir cauparri baniz rafiāi tefi mā ter nikarri difiini rafiāi. au erkū bāḡalar rafiāi tir mar tirniu bfiari rafiāti rafiāi. tau kafiini "karifi ham tum ter laḡab. phiri na kafiēu ki ham kar marrini."

tau bfiōrū jāb bfiar tab das thāi kanzjar bamfiānan ki bolaxini. un kar mīthariz khawarini. unkar carri carri paisar dachinar difiini au jor kuchū bacar taunū apōnar tirniu bfiari khari lifiini. kafiini "ab sudfiārau hamar siparfiijarnar derkhau." tab marri larthini tirniu bfiari girari difiini. wāfiex sab coḡaxi gajex. tau jamardar jāunū baḡar tabarar borlti rafiāi, kafiini "ix kir nark ham jarur karḡab. jur ham kar roḡtir nariz khari difisi." wāfiir nark karti lifiini, kafiini "hamar djarkhau siparfiijarnar ab."

Translation

(d) The Bravery of Thākurs

At (the time of) the mutiny I was ten (or) eleven years old. I have every recollection. The Bādshāh was captured. The English said : " Give us one-fourth (of your revenue)." The Bādshāh began to give it. The English saw that the Bādshāh was given to dance and music. Then they caught him (and) the white people occupied the quarters.

Munna Singh was my uncle. He had cut off the nose of the agent of the Bādshāh. (The Nawāb) of Shīshmahal called ten Pathān soldiers of Malihabad. (They had) each one knife and one *lāṭhī*. Munna and Pancam and Pahalwan (were bachelors) had not married. Then there was one Pathān amongst them who was very naughty. He said : "Munna Singh ! I had heard that you are very brave and that you had fought with the British. (But) you did not fight with us, the Pathāns. It is ten days that we came to your house." Their shed it was from which they had been turned out. There was a bungalow in which all the three brothers resided. Then (Munna Singh and his brothers) said : " We shall fight with you to-morrow. Do not say, later, that they killed us."

When it was morning, they called ten daughters of the Brahmins, fed them on sweetmeats and gave them four pice each as gift. And whatever (of the sweetmeats) remained, they ate up. (Then they) said : " Get ready now and see our soldiership." Then the three brothers by their *lāṭhī* strokes brought all of them down. They all got injured. Then the Jamādār who spoke very sharply, (with reference to him) (they said) : " We shall cut off this man's nose. He made it hard for us to eat our meals (lit. bread)." They cut his nose (and) said : " Now see our soldiership."

sarī bhāre kī sājar bhāī. jab māshīnār bhāī
churīai kō rāshār tab adshār singhī dārkōdar tē mili
kai munīār singhī kō jjeīl mō jāshār dewāī kō
marwāī dārrīnī.

They were sentenced for one year. When there remained one month for (their) release, Adhar Singh, in conspiracy with the Doctor, got Munna Singh poisoned in the jail and caused his death.

(e) Ādšāre kī beimāzniz

jark samai erkū ādšār ardmiz ratraz ratraz calar jarti rašai. derkhati rašāĩ ki mešarījaz au mansawaz laẓši m baiṭh caler jarti rašāĩ. tau mešerewāĩ kašar mansawaz te ki “jaši kar laẓši m baiṭhar lezu”. kašin “ādšār ardmiz beimāzn hort hai jaši kar na baiṭharwau laẓši m.” kašin “nazir baiṭharlizu, jab beimāzniz karai tab ham ter batarseu.” un baiṭharlizin. ta un ter ādšārauz te pūrchin “kašār par tum utarišau laẓšiz par ter.” kašin “utari parau jo aisīšiz jāišau.” ta un kašar “laẓšiz bailū hamāz ari, ham karše ko utariz, tum utari parau.” pulis ke siparšiz rašāĩ ta huāz razja ke lager un kar pakari lai ger. tau razjar kašeni “tum-šarzi persiz arju na horiz karšī horiz.” tizn koṭharin me tīfū ko jark jark ko bande kai dešin. tizniū jagar par erkū erkū siparšiz baiṭhar dešin. ui jāznin nar ki siparšiz baiṭhāĩ. razjar kašin “jaundū iz rarti ko kašāĩ taun sabezrez ham kar batarseu.” aurat rarti ko kašati rašai ki “hamāz mansawaz kašati rašai ‘iz kar na baiṭharoz’ mular ham baiṭhari lišin.” ta mansauz kašin ki “mešerija k kašar na karai ko cašiz, derkhau ham kašit raši ger ki ‘iz kar na baiṭharoz,’ beimāzniz kai gar.” ādšārauz kašāĩ “razjar ari jo nijazu burjī jazīz tau tizni me erkū dewāibai kariz.” razjar sabezrez pašar siparšin te pūrchar ki “aurat kar bart kašis.”

...

...

...

...

phirī razjar kašin “iz kar kuchū na deru, iz kar mazri ko khezdizu.”

Translation

(e) A Blind Man's Trickery

At one time, a certain blind man was going on a path. It was seen that a husband and wife, seated in a cart, were going. Then the wife said to the husband: "Take him in the cart." (He) said: "A blind man is dishonest usually, do not give him a seat." (She) said: "No, give him a seat, tell me when he practises dishonesty." He gave (him) a seat. Then (he) asked the blind man: "Where will you get down from the cart? You may get down if you go in this direction." He said: "The cart and bullock belong to me, why should I get down, you may get down." There were policemen, they caught them and took them to the king. The king said: "Your case will be put up to-morrow, not to-day." (He) shut up all the three, one by one, in three rooms. In all the three places (he) appointed a soldier each. They did not know that the soldier was sitting. The king instructed: "Whatever they say at night, tell it to me in the morning." The woman was saying at night: "My man was saying 'do not seat him,' but I gave him a seat." The husband said: "One should not do according to the woman's request, see I kept on saying 'do not seat him,' he did practise dishonesty." The blind man says: "He is a king, if he understands the case, he will cause one of the three (woman, cart and bullock) to be given (to me)." The king, in the morning, asked the soldiers: "What did the woman say?"

[Here follow the three statements of the three persons, one by one; these have been dropped to avoid repetition.]

Then the king said: "Do not give him (the blind man) anything, beat him and turn him out."

(f) larikini ki pati-serwar

erk barazmšian rašai so woš mašardero kai serwar kai caloz. tab mašardero parsando bšex. hāz tab kašien ki “māzg lero jo māzgai kar hoxi.” hāz tab barazmšian kašiesi ki “ham kar erk larikar dero.” tab uiz kašien ki “djarb tau pai jab biarfi hui jariz tab lai ljarb.” tab barazmšian apōner man mēz khjarl kišiesi ki “ham biarfi nar karab, tab kaiser lai ljaršā.” phir un ker barlak dirnšien.

hāz tab ui barlak sajam bšex tab biaršex kar lozg bazg dauraš lazg, tab barazmšian inokar kirn ki “biarfi na karibex.” tab mašotaxriz larikar kai kašāš lazg ki “maš jabarjastiz biarfi karšā.” tab barazmšian mazrex kurezdš ke nikari kai cali bšax ki “jaš biarfi ke tšāš nar rašā.” jarj ke erk kuāz ke pars pašūci gar. kuāz ke pars carri larikiniz khexlati tšz. tab erk sakhez borliz ki “kuch bart kašax.” tab erk borliz ki “tum apōner sasuxex jaišax to kar karšax.” tab wax sakhez borliz ki “jab jaišā tab erk curl lai jaišā, to jartai jart judiz hui jaišā.” tab duxsari sakhez borliz ki “jab maš jaišā tab bažhaniz lai jaišā, tab hwan ser sab bažoxri laišā.” tab tixsari borliz ki “maš jaišā tab dijarsaraxiz lai jaišā. tab duaršex te argiz lagašā.” tab cauthi borliz ki “mwax kanth¹ jo erk pašar jijat hoxiz to dui pašar jaišā.”

tab wax barazmšian oiz larikiz ke pars cali bšax. tab larikiz apōner makam me pašūciz. tab barazmšian baišhi gar jarj. tab larikiz ke gšar ker maz barp arjex tab pūzcheni ki “tum kašāz rašiat šjax.

¹ Obviously an error for kantō.

Translation

(f) A Girl's devotion to her Husband

There was a Brahmin. He went to serve Mahādeva. And Mahādeva was pleased and (he) said: "Ask whatever you want to ask." Then the Brahmin said: "Give me a son." He said: "I shall surely give one but when he marries, I shall take him back." At that the Brahmin thought to himself: "I shall not marry him, how then will (the god) take him?" Then a son was given to him.

The boy grew up. People began to run for his marriage but the Brahmin refused (saying): "I shall not marry (him)." Then the boy's mother said: "I shall marry (my son) by force." The Brahmin went out (of the house) out of wrath: "I shall not remain here in place of marriage." Having gone he reached near a well. There were four maids playing near the well. One of the friends said: "Say something." Then one said: "When you will go to your father-in-law's, what will you do?" That friend said: "When I shall go, I shall carry an oven, and as soon as I arrive I shall get a separation (from other people of the family)." Then another friend said: "When I go, I shall carry a broomstick and shall sweep away everything and bring it with me." The third said: "If I go, I shall carry a match-box and shall set everything on fire from the very entrance." The fourth said: "If my beloved would be living for one watch, I shall endeavour to make him live for two watches."

The Brahmin went near that girl. And the girl reached her home. The Brahmin went and sat there. The girl's parents came and asked: "Where do you reside? What

kaun jarti arsiu." kašar ki "baraɁmɁan arɁini." tab larikiz kə barp pūrchesi ki "tum kašer kar arjau." tab wax baraɁmɁan kašesi ki "torriz larikiz au moɁrez larikar ki sarɁir hori cašir." tab ui larikiz ke gšar ker ui baraɁmɁan kar maɁraʔ laɁg au kašaʔ laɁg ki "sarrez ham aponiz larikiz kar biazɁi torrez larikar ke sarth na kariber." tab baraɁmɁan anɁə paɁniz chāɁɁ diɁnɁēsi au qešeriz māɁ laɁt laɁgare kai paɁ rašor ki "larikiz kar biazɁi na karislar to mai mari jaɁiɁaũ." wax phirijard raɁjar khijāɁ gai.

tab raɁjar un kar bolazini ki "kašer kar maɁr-jau jeɁi kar." tab wofɁ larikiz ker gšar ker kašaʔ laɁg ki "sarɁieb jar jabarjastiz biazɁi karat hai moɁriz larikiz kar." tab raɁjar kul pūrchi kai kašesi ki "biaɁɁi kai djar, acɁhar hai." tab biazɁi huʔɁ sašir huigar. tab baraɁmɁanex aponex gšar kar cali bšar. aponex gšar māɁ paɁɁūcoɁ tab baraɁmɁani purchai laɁg ki "tum kašāɁɁ ger tjoɁ aur kar kari arjoɁ." "larikar ker biazɁi ke khwarj kar ger ten. biazɁi sašir kar arjen."

caste do you belong to?" (He) said: "I am a Brahmin." Then the girl's father asked: "Why have you come?" The Brahmin said: "It is necessary that your daughter and my son should marry together." At that the people of that girl began to beat the Brahmin and to say: "Rascal!¹ we shall not marry our daughter to your son." The Brahmin, then, gave up eating and drinking and fixing a foot on the threshold lay down (saying): "If you will not marry (your) daughter (to my son), I shall die." The complaint was lodged at the king's.

The king called them (and asked): "Why did you beat him?" The girl's people said: "Sir, he is forcibly marrying our daughter." The king then asked everything and said: "Do marry (your daughter). It is nice." The marriage, thus was settled there. The Brahmin started for his residence. When he reached home his wife asked: "Where had you gone and what did you accomplish?" (He replied): "I went in search of the son's marriage and have settled it."

NOTE.—The story, later on, relates how when the daughter-in-law arrived she was able to prolong the life of her husband by propitiating the deities.

¹ See footnote No. 2 under (c), p. 445.

(g) guruz kisher kə phal

dui janer rāṣṭāī lordṣ. tau unker guruz arjer tau kaṣin “raim raim sunleru, marlar paṣilzeru.” taun tair diṣin maner “kartik mē arwor tab raim raim sunleriz.” unkai meṣerairuz bṣagotin bṣai, ui tairar dai diṣini, kaṣini, “margṣ maṣijā.” tab birc mē meṣararuijar ker mardawar mari ger. phargun mē unker guruz arjer tab ker guruz karai; guruz keṣi kai cerlar banarwāī, ui rāṣibai nariz karaī. tab ui waiseh rāṣi ger.

tau kudzin bardi unkai meṣerairuz mariz tau sanguti pariz raim gṣarex. tab ui tau rajar khiāx berṭiz jalamp liṣini au ui tau harthir baner. tau kudzin bardi jab sardiz karai kē bṣāīx tau harthir sunini tau khuṭokar karai largēx. tab baṣut karjal. baṣid waṣid baṣut baṭorini, narṣīx nizk horī. jab thōren din bijarṣi kē rāṣi ger tau harthir baṣut duberijarn. tab purchini ki “barp jarn harthir tau marar jart hai.” kaṣini “hāx berṭiz marar jart hai.” tau kaṣini “phirī koriz jatan nizk karau.” tau harthir texner kaṣojarīx ki “ham bijarṣiṭ uwarṣiṭ na karabai kuchṭ, na kaṣūx jarbai karab.” tab kudzin bardi barbar arjer. bṣabṣurṭi uṭhari harthir par baṣari diṣini tab uz phirī manāix hoi ger.

Translation

(g) The fruit of accepting a preceptor.

There were two persons, Lodh (by caste). Their preceptor came and said: "Hear (the *mantra*) *Rām Rām*, put on the rosary." But (he) put it off, namely: "Come in (the month of) Kātik, then I shall hear *Rām Rām*." His wife became a devotee, he, however, put it off (and) said: "In (the month of) Māgh." Then in the meantime, the woman's husband died. In (the month of) Phāgun, his preceptor came, at that time who would accept the preceptor. Whom would the preceptor make the disciple, he no longer remained. So he remained (uninitiated) as he was.

Then after a few days, his wife died. Both of them came together in the Heavens (lit. Ram's house). She took birth at the king's as his daughter and he became an elephant. After a few days, when she was to marry, and the elephant heard (it), he began to worry (about it). (He was) very ill. Many physicians, etc., were brought together (but) he did not get better. When very few days for the marriage remained, the elephant became very much emaciated. Then (she) asked (her father): "Dear father, the elephant is dying." He (said): "Yes daughter, (he) is dying." Then (she) said: "Do cure him by any means." (She) went and told the elephant: "I shall not marry or do anything like it, nor shall I go anywhere." Then the saint came after some days (and) taking (sacred) ashes threw them on the elephant. At that he again became a human being.

(h) bamñian au bokarar kerz kathar

jarkai bamñianaur jark bokarar kaiñjãr kãrdñer pe dñarer bajar maiñjãr bjãrcai ko lirnñer jartj raññã. ratrar mãr tizni badmaswar miler. ui bokarwa ko derkhin ki sarj lalcarj uñher. mudar bamñianaur raññã bager ðhiñar taun un terner bokarar chañãrj ljarbu kuchu ñisñ waisñ karmñ nar raññai. taññũ un badmaswan mãr terner jarkñ kaññai lañg ki “jas mai karaũ taññai sab janer kizññeo. ta bamñianaur tñ bokaraur kar hatijarj ljarb.”

etnar kaññatai khan bamñianaur ui kaññtir ter nikarer. tau waññai badmaswar un terner bwarlar ki “buñhaur barbar jaññu kurkurñ kaparre pe dharer karññer caler jart hao.” suntai bamñianaur risarj uñher au kaññai lañg “sarrex naññi kaer, kar twar dirdar phurñi ger haññ? jaññu kurkur arj? as kurkur kabaũ derkher raññai? calu iz ðhãrj terner, naññĩr tau marññiaũ swãrñar taun kaparr phurñi jariz.” buññaur baññutai khaphar bher au ãrger caler. etner her mãr dusarkau arwar aur bwarlar “karkar jaññu kurkurñ kaññãr terner lai arjeo?” etnar suntai bamñianaur ker argi largi gai au baññutai naraññ bñer mudar ab bamñianaur bñitarai bñirtar swarññai largi ki “jetanaññer sarj arwat haññ sabai jaññi kar kukurai batarwat haññ taunñ jaññi kjar kuchu bñjarññai naññir samññit.” etaneññer maiñjãr tisarkau arwar au kaññai lañg “dadñur jaññu kurkur kaññãr terner lai arjeo?” jaññu suntai buññaur khawkhjarj uñher.

ui sarrex badmaswan kaiñjãr buññaur kherdi bñaler dñññin mudar man mar sak pari gar ki

Translation

(h) The tale of the Brahmin and the Goat.

A Brahmin, with a goat on his shoulders, was carrying it to the market to sell (it). On the way, (he) met three crooks. As soon as they saw the goat, they got covetous (of it). But the Brahmin was very steady and so it was no easy job to snatch the goat away from him. Of the crooks one began to say : " Do as I do. Then we shall lay hands upon the goat."

While they were talking so, the Brahmin came that way. At that, that crook spoke to him : " Grandpa! why are you taking this dog over your head?" The Brahmin, on hearing (this), got angry and said : " Rascal thou! are you blind¹? Is this a dog? Did you ever see a dog like this? Get thee away from this place. Or else I shall so strike (you with) the staff, that your head will break." The old man became very angry and proceeded further. In the meantime the second (crook) came and said: " Uncle! where did you bring this dog from?" Hearing this much, the Brahmin was (as if) seized with fire and he became very wrathful. But the Brahmin began to ponder to himself: " Whosoever, rascals are they, come, they tell this (goat) to be a dog: I do not understand the mystery of this." At this very time the third one came and said : " Brother! where did you bring this dog from?" On hearing this the old Brahmin foamed with rage.

Although the Brahmin put those rascals, the crooks, off, but he came to entertain (some) doubt in mind:

¹ lit. are your eye-balls broken.

"Jaunai djarkhat hai efi kar kukurai kañat hai, taunu jaini parat hai ki mwair buñsarper kez dirdar mañi kar dñwarkhar jarur dirnñin hai. jañu jarurrai sar kukurai arj." etnar soctai buññanur ui bokarar kaiñjāñ balrar has jñitiki dirnñin au tharñi hwai kai lañgi garijarwai. jabai lager iz tharñi hwai kai lañgi garijarwai, tabai lager ui badmaswar bokarwar kaiñjāñ uñharj ke laiker bhargi ger.

"Whosoever sees this calls it a dog. So it appears that my eyes of old age are surely deceiving me. Surely this wicked (goat) is a dog."

While the Brahmin thought so, he threw the goat away with a jerk like a small stick and, standing there, began to shower abuses. While standing he was showering abuses, the crooks lifted the goat and ran away with it.

(i) sijazr au sijazrin

erk janiz rafiŕ sijazrin. tab un kai mardu mari gar. tab wai kaŕin "ham okarez upiar sagazir baiŕhab jekarez sau akrili hozir." tau erkŕ maŕlar bŕadargarŕijaz sijazr arwar. uz kaŕisij ki "hamarez erk sai erk akrili hai." tab okarez upiar sagazir baiŕhŕ.

tab wai garbŕin bŕaŕ. jab bijazi ko bŕlar tau sijazr sŕ kaŕin "calaŕ bataroz jaŕŕ taŕŕ bijazir." tab uz jazi ko batarisij jaŕŕ erk ŕhaŕ bargŕ raŕatraŕlar. taŕŕ batarisij ki "jaŕir ŕhiŕ bijaru." kuch deŕz bardi bagŕowar arwai laŕg jaŕŕ raŕlat raŕlar. tab sijariniauz derkhin au sijazr sŕ kaŕin "kaunaŕ akril lagaroz jeŕŕ mŕ bagŕowar calar jazi." tab uz kaŕisij "ham kaun akil lagazir. hamarez akil narŕŕ hai." tab sijariniauz kaŕin: "tuŕ tau kaŕlat raŕŕeu 'hamarez erk sai erk akili hai'." tau sijazr kaŕisij ki "jab ser ham toho kar sagazir baiŕharren tab ser sab akil toŕarez gŕusari gai."

Translation

(i) The Jackal and his wife.

There lived a she-jackal. Her husband died. Then she said : " I shall enter into matrimonial alliance with one who has one hundred wisdoms." At that, there came a very wicked jackal. He said : " I possess one hundred and one wisdoms." She entered into matrimonial alliance with him.

Then she became pregnant. When it was time to be delivered she said to the jackal : " Come and tell me the place where I should be delivered." Then he went and indicated a place where a tiger used to reside. There he said : " Be delivered over here." After some time the tiger began to come to his place of residence. Then the she-jackal saw it and said to the jackal : " Do practise some wisdom, so that the tiger may go away." He said : " What wisdom shall I use ; I have no wisdom." Then the she-jackal said : " You had said that you had one hundred and one wisdoms." The jackal replied : " Since I entered into matrimony with you, all my wisdom has entered you."

(j) barbar ki karazmat

erk buřsijar rařsiz wařs ki parz erk lařikar rařsar. berkul garizb rařsar, bařsut garizb, khare begir mořřotarj. uz ghars khordi khordi aponez lařika ko jizarwat rařsiz. tau kuch din ker bard i lařikar řajarnar břsar. aponez barp ki křřtijar (bansir) lagarwai larg. phir j křřtijar lai kai calar tau křcuar (carrar) khordaj larg. au dui rozřiz beřřara kai powarisi au lařřesun au mircar au loznř. tau erk talazu mřř křřtijar lagarwai larg hai. girar machoriz erk miliz dupařsar ko. tau machori ko břřřj ki ko bhartar banarwar tau břřřj ki ko khari larg tau kařsij dui admiz horiti tau batolari batolari khariti. etaremo erk barbar ari gajez.

barbar kařsini "erkř tukorar hamořu ko deru bacřar tau hamarřur khari leřit." tau lařikar kařsij ki "ham tau carřati rařřen ki dui admiz horiti tau batolari batolari khariti." tab barbar patar řhekarnar purčai larřez. tau kařsij "barbar hamareř lager rařřau." tau barbar orkai hařarřmat banwarini au kaporar pařřinarini tau wařřiz talazu po erk makarn bani gawar arpai arp. tab phini waher duřna u hřři rařřai larřez.

tau barbar kařřai larřez "bacřar ham tořřar řardiz kai deřiz tau karřřau?" tab kařsini "hamareř na mařřotarřiz na barpř, ham tau bařsut garizb han. hamarř bijarřř keřu na karřř." tau wařřiz talazu po erkř ghorar arpř ruřpai bani gar. tau wařřiz gřřorřa po wařřiz lařika ko baiřharri ko au dui khurorřiz banari ko duřna u khurorřiz bhari kai pařsar bařřut lardi diřřini. tau barřarři ko erk

Translation

(j) The Fakir's miracle.

There was an old woman. She had a son. He was very poor, very very poor, wanting in eatables. She used to nourish her son by digging up grass. After some time the boy grew up. He began to use his father's hook (to catch fish). When he started with the hook he would dig up the earthworms (to offer bait to the fish). He got two loaves of millet prepared and (took) garlic, chillies and salt. He just put the hook in a pool. He got one red fish at noon. He fried the fish and mashed it. Having so fried when he began to eat he said (to himself): "If we were two persons, I would eat and talk." At this very time a Fakir arrived.

The Fakir said: "(my) child, if you give a slice to me, I would also have a meal." Then the boy said: "I myself was saying 'if we were two, we would eat and talk at the same time'." At that, the Fakir asked the whereabouts and other details of the boy. He said: "O saint! reside with me." The Fakir got the boy shaved and clothed him. At that very pool a house appeared by itself. The two began to reside there.

The Fakir said: "(my) child, if I marry you, will you marry?" He said: "I have neither father nor mother, I am very poor. Nobody will consent to marry (his daughter with) me." At that a horse showed itself (by some miraculous power) at that pool. The Fakir seated the boy on it and loaded the horse with two bags stuffed fully with pice. (They) went to the city of a king. The king had

nagər mə ger tau barsarfi ke erk laṭiki: rafi: tau
jəi jəb gfiarə: pafiŭcə: tau unkiz kacefiəri kə
sarmnə: paisə: luṭaub suru: kəj diſini: tab
goſtərazini: ki “barsarfi sarfiəb apəni: laṭiki ki
sardiz hamərə: saŋg karbau.” tau barsarfi sarfiəb
borlə: “nəzi:” tau laṭika: apənə: makəni kə
calə: ger.

a daughter. When these people reached the residence (of the king), they began to shower away the pice. And shouted out : "Sire ! king ! Will you marry your daughter with us ?" The king said : "No." The boy returned to his residence.

Note.—The story further tells that ultimately when rupees and *mohurs* were showered, the king, considering these people to be very rich, married his daughter to the boy. Immediately after the marriage, the boy somehow incurred the displeasure of the Fakir and everything vanished as it had come about. The boy again took to his profession of a fisherman. When the husband of the princess did not return, she started with a retinue on a search and to while away her time she used to hear stories from people of the places she went to. At last she arrives at the village of this boy, hears the life-story of her husband and recognises him and joyfully returns to the capital.

Translation

(k) A Statement in the Court.

In my family, there is my father-in-law, (my) daughter and (my) husband.

Sir, the thing relates to the day, thirteen days off. In my neighbourhood, there is the residence of an old woman. Often I sit by that old woman. My daughter prepared food (lit. bread) and said: "mother come and eat." At that I said: "Where is thy daddy?" (She) said: "(He) has gone out to ease himself." I said: "Let him come and then I shall come." My daughter also sat down on the high platform on my threshold. When (he) returned after easing himself he gave out a shout (of danger) and at that my daughter and I cried and ran (towards the house). Mahabir, a Tēlī¹, also came round. I neither recognise nor know (the thief). My man and the Tēlī were holding a man. I cannot recognise (him). It was a dark night. Many men were obstructing (the view). The quilt was found at the door.

¹ Tēlī—caste of people who press out oil-seeds.

(1) mukadimar kai harl

Achar tau sunar erk mukadimar kai harl tofi kar batariz. erk mesiraruz rafiz taniz derkhai mar nizki narfiz rafiz. orkar manserdshuz orkar liare tau gar munar duin tizn din mar basia: j difisij. u becariz are nairarex mo rafiai largi. nairarwao ma ukorex keuz narfiz afiai. dui carz din tau orkar karkar pitiz khare ore kar difin phin kashen ki "Ab hamarex main ko nashiz no caliai aponez manserdshuz ker hijar jar, caliai jashar man hore tashar antai caliz jar. ham sab aponai efi karl mar bshurkhan maratafiz. tofi kar khiazwai kar kashar dsharaz barjai". iz suni ker uz mesiraruz uz garu chorzi ker ofi ker parozser dusarex garo mar rafiai largi au in ser un ser udfhar barfiz laiker arpan din karjai larg. aisen or kar erk baris birti gar. jau derkhisij kir ab udfharau barfiz katafshu ser nashiz milat tau aponez nairarex ker erk barmshan ker lager gai. au kashisij ki "bshijar ab tau kauniu tanar nashiz calat. kir tau tur sab keuz kashar au ham kar kuchu khazj pijaj kar hamarex manaiwar ser dijarj djar ki tau phiri calar ham ser sarkar mar erk darkhaz dewarj dezar nashiz tau ab hamar birtab muskil bar". barmshan deotar kar erkai harl derkhi kai barataras arje au kashen kir "Achar calar jau tau hamarex kashar marner tau tau ham tofi kar or ser khare pijaj kar dijarj derbai au jo rarkhai par tajar hoi jare tab tofi kar okarex hijar rafiai ko parex. au har jau uz nar tajar horiz tau calar ham tor ser erk thi darkhaz diptiz sarfieb ker hijar dia: j derb wai as as mazmiler mar basut khijarl karathiz".

Translation

(1) The Account of a Case

All right, listen, I shall tell you the account of a case. There was a woman, but she was not good to look at. Her husband took her (with himself) (after marriage) but turned her out after two or three days. She, poor woman, came back to her father's and resided there. There is no one at her father's place either. Her uncles gave her food for a few days (lit. two or four days) and later said: "It is no longer within our means. Either go to your husband's or go elsewhere wherever you like. Nowadays, we ourselves are suffering from hunger, where have we got to feed thee?" Hearing this that woman quitted that village and took up her residence in a village near by. And (she) began to spend her days by borrowing from this or that person. When she found that she could no longer get anything by borrowing, she went to a Brahmin of her father's place and said: "Brother! it is impossible to go on now. Either all of you should speak to my husband and make him give me something to eat and drink or come and help me to put in a petition to the Government. Otherwise, it is difficult for me to carry on." The Brahmin-god on seeing her condition had compassion for her and said: "All right come, if he accepts my words, I shall make him give you something for you to eat and drink and if he will be ready to keep you, you will have to live with him. And yes, if he is not ready to keep you, come, I shall help you to give a petition to the Deputy Saheb. He is very considerate in such cases."

(m) बाम्बानिः काः बाजान

अरुपुस माः काजिः बः। गः के मानिः हामके
निसर दिनि। हाम अपनेः पारनिः के सार्थ बाम्बा
जः के जगः के तिसर काः चले। कुछ दुरिज
हाम पचेः गजेः तो लम्बे से एक तार देख पार।
ओ माः हाम नानेः ओ कानेः बाँध के दान
बिज काः लगे। इतने माः . . . अरे और
हामारे मनसेरु से पूँचि कि “तु काजि
गः से चले ?” फुन दा का दा का का के
उ से पदोरि काः लगे। ओ हर्के कि “का
बिज काः पकेः बोलत अः”। तब और फुहर
पारत बाँध लगे। हाम मुजि के उगरे
दः के कि। ओ दावा के हामारे मानि के
पाने से मारि लगे हामारे गोरुः दः
का, नहिज चिन् चोर लिने। हाम पचेः पुपु
लागरे ओ गुरु देर का दोर देर लगे तब
ओ गोरु बोलि के हामारे मानि का दः
दिने।

Translation

(m) The Statement of the Brahmin Woman.

There was a quarrel amongst our people. The people of our family turned us out. I started with my man for Janghai Railway station in order to go to Bombay. When we had gone some distance, from far off a tank came to our sight. We bathed in it and started to eat food sitting at the bank. At this time (the aggressor) came and asked my husband: "When did you start from your home?" Later saying many things which I know not, he began to jest with him (my husband). He forbade: "Brother, why do you talk unbecomingly?" At that he began to speak further obscene words. We bent down and started to get off. He (the aggressor) came running and started beating my husband with shoes. And snatched away my anklets, bracelets and nose-ring. We shouted (for help) and sought protection of the village and the country. At that he (the aggressor) called the watchman and got my husband taken into custody.

(n) bñikharir: barmñan kaj kathar

erk the rafiñ barmñan, to din rart mārḡaī. Ais mārḡ jārc ke kuch dinar khāren pñen. to erk dinar aur mārḡḡ gājēr to wāñi dinar kañi gājēr rafiñ apāner meñrarur: se ki “argir origir jiazer rafiñ to ārtar ortar mārḡi ke liazer rafiñab”. to jab mārḡ ūrg ke arjen to jaun kañer rafiñ ki argir origir jiazer rafiñ taun argir origir jiazer naññi rafiñ. to argir arner uññi pañhai diñin. to āññi lai ke argir to or kañen ki “erk ardmir ke ham derkhar hai ki marlpuai marlpuar khar bar”. to or kañen ki “tumñur banaror”. tab ur jabbanarwai kañentopārc paseñrke marlpuar banaen painñhai. jab tajarr hoi gawar tab khare kar bolaren. ta derñi marlpuar unkiñ tharir me rakh diñin au palñir tñr corari liñen. to or kañen ki “kai rex pārc paseñr ki pārcai the banar etanar pisarn liare rafiñ”. durnor janer sex jñagañar hoi gar. to kañin ki “Aisen naññi, erk theñ sutareñ ke macawar bicharwar to durnor janer oriñir pe lertir. to jaun jargai tawan khareñ au jir sori jarer tñr nar khareñ”.

Translation

(n) The Story of the beggar Brahmin.

There was a Brahmin. He used to beg day and night. Begging in this way he ate and drank for some time. Then again, one day he went a-begging. (Before he went) he had asked his wife to keep fire lighted (saying) "I shall bring flour etc. by begging." When he returned after begging, (he found that) she had not lighted the fire. He sent her to bring fire (from neighbourhood). When she came back with fire, she said: "I have seen a man, he eats only *mālpuā*¹ and nothing else." Then he said: "You may also make *mālpuā*¹." When he asked her to make *mālpuā*, she made five out of five seers (of flour). When they became ready, she called (him) to eat and put one *mālpuā*⁴ and a half in his vessel and stole away the rest by her side². At that he said: "O! did you make only five; I had brought so much flour?" (And) both of them quarrelled. Then they said: "Not in this way; put a cot woven with cotton-threads³ and let both of us lie on it. Whosoever keeps awake may eat (all the five *mālpuās*) and one who goes to sleep, should not eat."

Note.—The story is half-told.

¹ *mālpuā*—a cake of flour leavened with yeast, mixed up with dried fruits and sugar and fried in butter—greater delicacy than *gulguḷā* [see note 1 under (a)].

² *palihī*—a position of sitting, one foot on one thigh and the other under the other thigh.

³ *sutarā*—probably "of cotton-thread". This gives a very soft luxurious bed.



INDEX

PART 1. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Early Awadhi words and loan-words from other Indian and from foreign languages.

PART 2. Modern Awadhi and Hindustānī words.

NOTE.—(a) Generally derivatives have been put under respective roots, *e.g.*, *hṛīhi* under *hṛ*.

(b) *m* before mutes has been transcribed as the nasal of the class of the mute, *e.g.*, *saṁga* as *saṅga*.

(c) the derivatives begin after the root (*ān* -, - *ahi* = *ānaḥi*) or after the root less the final vowel of the root (*āju*, - *ū* = *ājū*).

PART 1

Early Awadhi, Sanskrit, Prakrit etc.

a	
ai 164	agumana 301, 303
aiguna 326	aggi 34, 67, 115; - 132
aisa 164, 187, 207; -i 306;	agniḥ 115, 118
aisiya 207; aisi 207; aiseu	agyā 26
207; aisehu 207, 314; aise	agyātā 243
187, 306; aisō 306	agrakē 231
ai-, -hai 165; -hahu 262	aghāi 285
au 137, 165, 186, 196, 269,	oghōrahi 26
272, 282-3, 310	aṅka 65
augāhi 281	aṅga 34, 176
auguna 263, 266, 326	aṅguṣṭha- 37
aura 176, 183, 200, 310; -i	aṅguṣṭha 63
318; -u 200, 313; -hi	aṅgū 209
196, 200	acaraja 207; acarja 107
auru 172, 200, 241, 310;	ackan 35
kou 206	acchai 35
akasara 152-3	acchāra 15
akāratha 26	achata 159, 237, 297
akāsa 137, 187; -ā 227; -ū	achara 15
217	ajasa 174
akkhi 132-3; - 132; -im	ajakū 314
132-3	ajja 36
akṣi 80, 132; -iṇi 68, 132	ajjiā 68
akhiāna 108	ajñā 121
akhiyā 326	añcala 35, 207
akhrōṭ 34	añjana 187
agama 182	aṭhāraha 147
agamō 301, 303	aṇajjhāṇ 36
agāū 304	aṇḍa 51, 65
agahuṛa 304	ati 57, 138, 173-4, 186, 283,
aguā 82	292
	ahi 233

- ahē* 233
atta 199; -ā 199
atthi 237
athāi 108
adala 187
adhara 175, 186; -na 122 -3, 246
adharama 220
adhāra 164; -ī 218
adhika 173, 183
anaṅgā 160
anata 305
anadhyāyāḥ 65
ananda 325; -ā 204
anabhala 186, 202
anamani 142
anaratha 158
anātha 187
anāhada 178
anika 63
anu 271
anugraha 167
anucita 182, 243
anubhaeu 152; *anubhayeu* 182
anumānī 196
anurāgā 292
anuhārī 326
anusarāi 186
anūpa 164, 173
anēkā 219
anta 188, 262
antara-63
andha-79; -ā 200
anna 186
anya 46, 65, 205
apajasu 195
apana 197; -ī 195, 197; -ē 137, 175, 178, 195-7, 202, 263, 282; -o 195, 197
apara 50, 69, 205, 326
aparādha 200, 263
apasāra 72
apaḥ 117
apāna 195; -ā 196; -ē 195, 197
appa 199; -ṇam 40; -ssa, 199; -āṇam 199; -o 199
aba 160-1, 166, 172, 193, 228, 243, 262-3, 266, 273, 292, 301; -hī 165, 255, 319; -hū 244, 314
abasi 307
abāsū 142
abira 256
abhiantara 68
abhilāṣu 204, 207; *abhilāṣē* 203
abhiṣēkū 138
abhyantara 42, 68
amarāvati 198
amia 43; *amiya* 292; *amī* 246; *amī* 188, 256
amū 179
amōla 176
amba-41
ambu 198
ambrita-bēli 57
amrita 174
amha 163; -ē 163
araghaṭṭa 56, 63

<i>aratha</i> 240	<i>asti</i> 237
<i>ari</i> 161, - <i>basa</i> 188	<i>astuti</i> 123, 167
<i>aru</i> 34, 310	<i>asmē</i> 163
<i>arujhānē</i> 291	<i>aha-</i> , - <i>i</i> 142, 177, 209, 233, 298; - <i>ī</i> 121; - <i>u</i> 233; - <i>a</i> 122, 233, 273-4, 277; - <i>si</i> 233, 255; - <i>hi</i> 233, 237; - <i>ī</i> 187, 208, 233, 274
<i>arunārī</i> 256	<i>ahakaṃ</i> 163
<i>argalā</i> 46	<i>ahā</i> 159, 233, 275, 278
<i>arghya</i> - 35; - <i>h</i> 34	<i>akhiyā</i> 168
<i>artha</i> 226	<i>agūṭhī</i> 218
<i>ardha-caturtha</i> 37	<i>adhiārā</i> 297; <i>adhiyāra</i> 246
<i>aṛhatālisa</i> 148	
<i>aṛhāi</i> 155	
<i>alakha</i> 223	
<i>alīhā</i> 182	
<i>ava</i> 180	
<i>ava-ūḍha</i> 73	
<i>ava-tīrṇa</i> 73	
<i>avatehu</i> 271	
<i>avadha</i> 107, 138, 187	
<i>avadhi</i> 167	
<i>avalōkani</i> 283	
<i>avaśyā</i> 73	
<i>avasara</i> - 73, 174, 177, 183, 193	
<i>avarāṭū</i> 77	
<i>avidhavā-tva</i> 56	
<i>avēlā</i> 63	
<i>avōḥ</i> 180	
<i>aśīti</i> 68	
<i>aśru</i> 55	
<i>asa</i> 160, 172, 176, 183, 186-8, 192, 201-2, 204, 207-8, 243, 245, 275, 306	
<i>asau</i> 179	
<i>asi</i> 192, 207, 296	
<i>asīsa</i> 123-4, 242; - <i>ī</i> 124	
	<i>āi</i> 152, 172, 174, 176; - <i>i</i> 177; - <i>ī</i> 246
	<i>āia</i> 243
	<i>āutahi</i> 200; <i>āuna</i> 196, 282; <i>āuba</i> 286; <i>āubi</i> 286
	<i>āū</i> 160, 166, 183
	<i>āū</i> 158
	<i>āe</i> 277, 292
	<i>āeu</i> 244 <i>āeū</i> 243, 278; <i>āehu</i> 269
	<i>āesu</i> 292
	<i>āē</i> 177, 241
	<i>ākheṭa</i> 56, 71
	<i>āgai</i> 124, 171, 304
	<i>āgama</i> 209
	<i>āgamānu-sūcaka</i> 121
	<i>āgari</i> 137, 160
	<i>āgila</i> 138; - <i>i</i> 138
	<i>āgū</i> 173, 304
	<i>āgeha</i> 301; - <i>ī</i> 319; <i>āgeha</i> 304

- āgē* 183, 301, 304; -*ṣ* 178, 304, 325
āgya 825
ā-cām-63
āc̥ha-233; -*i* 27, 35; -*hṛ* 57, 222, 233
ājū 182, 202, 254, 267, 291, 301; -*hi* 319; -*ū* 158, 198, 245, 274, 298
āṭha 146, 173
āṭhava 153
ātamaṣā 272
ātman 199
āthi 237
ādarasa 226
ādarśa 51
ādika 209
ādihu 188
ādhinā 263
āna 43, 138, 173-4, 200-1, 326
ān-, -*ai* 326; -*ata* 175; -*aba* 261; -*ahi* 200-01; -*ā* 201; -*i* 177, 182; -*eu* 197
āpa 195-7; -*na* 195-7, 271; -*ni* 195-7; -*nī* 195-7; -*nē* 195; -*nō* 195-7
āpu 195-9, 204, 266; -*na* 195-6, 198, 266; -*nu* (*āpa*) 195; -*nū* 197; -*sa* 197, 199; -*hi* 195-6; -*hṛ* 195-7; -*ū* 195, 198
ābhāra 66
āma-64
āmalaka-69; -*ḥ* 65
āmra 41
āyesu 160, 171, 186
āyē 187
ārati 292
ārana 107, 122
ārdrikā 64
ārya-64; -*ā*-68
ālaya 64
ālasya 50, 55, 63
ā-loḍ-63
āv-, -*ai* 177, 203, 256; -*atahi* 241; -*ana* 167; -*ahi* 256; -*ahṛ* 159; -*ahu* 183; -*ā* 165, 171, 176, 184, 188, 193, 242; *āwā* 158
āsā 55
āsāḍha 63
āsa 173, 202; -*ā* 160, 193
āsramani 125
āh-, -*ai* 160; -*i* 201, 223, 233, 237, 272; -*i* 209
āhō 243
ākusa 26, 122
ākhina 168, 177, 183; *ākhi* 132, 138, 160-1
āṭa 197
ābahi 123
āsū 123
āhai 233

i

ikaṣisa (-*ā*) 148
ikṣu 70
icchā 161

- ita* 304-5
itē 208
itvara- 66
idam 185
ina 181, 184-5; *-hṛ*, 181,
 183, (see *inha*)
indra-as- 66
indrāvati 220
indhanam 68
inha 181, 183, 185; *-hṛ*
 181, 183, 185
imi 306
iha 182; *-i* 57, 152, 182,
 282, 318
ikā 198, 303
ihi 68, 183
ibili 137
- I**
- i* 181, 185
isa 57
- U**
- uē* 82
ukhārī 26, 168
ugharahṛ 219, 291; *ugharī* 24
ucita 183
ujārā 192
ujāri 188, 142
ujjala 69
uḥ-, *-ai* 58; *-ata* 240; *-aba*
 296; *-ā* 242; *-āi* 186;
-eu 296; *-eā* 243, 296;
-ē 222
uḍ-, *-ahṛ* 256; *-āi* 124; *-ē*
 172, 200
udḍi 51
una 180, 191
uta 304-5
utara 120, 193, 261, 326;
-hṛ 256
utaru 172, 262
utāila 188
utārō 159, 267
uttara 293
udāsī 161
udeti 69
ud-ghaḥ- 69
udyama 67
una 170, 172-3
unha 170, 172, 175, 177, 181;
-ṛ 170, 176-7; *-hṛ* 176-7
upakāra 208
upadēsa 219
upadēs-, *-ia* 174; *-inhi*
 246
upama 203
uparāta 227
uparāhā 226-7; *-ṛ* 164, 204,
 225-7
uparitra 227
upariṣṭha 227
uparōhita 121; *-hṛ* 122
upāsālā 72
upāi 244
upāu 246
upādhyāya- 73; *-h* 65
upāya 200, 203
upāsaka 208
uppañjai 40
upphaṇāi 41

upari 227
umā 242
ura 182-3, 204, 242-3
urai 256
ulūkhala 73
uvaviṭṭha 41
usaru 268
uḥa 171; -i 171, 318; -ī
 318; -u 314
uḥā 303
ūjiāra 207; -ā 77, 159, 172,
 186; -ē 137-38

u

ū 181
ūkha 107
ūpara 58, 159, 177, 225-7,
 283, 325
ūbhi 28
ūkha 137
ūca 122, 142, 218, 222; -ī
 142

r

r̥si 228

e

eka 222, 242, 255, 257, 263,
 272-3, 298
ekā 155
ekādāsa 34
egayārahā 146
etad 185
etan-, -ai 208; -ā 208; -ia
 208; -ī 208
ettha 305

eṣaḥ 185
eṣā 185
eṣo 66
eso 185
eḥa 181-2, 185
ehi 58, 181-3, 208, 241, 243,
 254, 262, 292, 296-7
bidhi 306
ehu 181, 183-6

ē

ē 121, 181-3, 185, 262
ēka 146, 175, 182, 196, 242,
 257, 326; -i 125, 318;
 -hi 58, 318; -hu 174
ēkū 182
ētehu 208
ētē 185
ētō 208
ēhā 182-3
ēhi 183
ēhū 182-3, 292
ēhō 66

o

okhli 73
onāhī 124
osṭha 73
ohi 170, 173-4, 177, 181,
 201-3, 240-41; -ī 58, 278
ohu 181

ō

ō 170, 172-3, 181; -ū 172,
 275
ōfi 208

- ōdhā 173
 ōra 172
 ōṣada 159
 ōhī 58, 174, 177; -ī 254
 k
 ka 175, 188, 202, 208, 216,
 218, 288, 322
 kai 121-2, 125, 153, 160,
 173-5, 183, 188, 201-2,
 218, 244, 256, 267, 272,
 281, 286, 291, 298
 kaikai 187; kaikai 122
 kaira 221
 kaisai 261-3, 306; kaiseha
 314; kaisē 240, 263, 306;
 kaisō 208
 kau 216
 kauna 195; -u 137,
 314; -hu 263; -hū 314;
 kauni 193; kaunu 193,
 261-2; kaunē 193
 kaū 166, 215-6, 221
 kakṣa 221; kakṣyaka 221
 kokhu 222
 kaṅkana 79
 kaṅkata 79
 kaṅkha 34
 kacchapa 69
 kachu 159, 166, 171, 182, 184,
 201, 203, 206, 223, 228,
 266, 292; eku 314
 kañcuki 245
 kaṣa 197; -m 332
 kaṣaka 172
 kaṣu 51
 kaṭhina 326; -āi 167
 kaṭhōra 207; -ā 326; -ū 296
 kaṇikā 66
 kaṇṭaa 36
 kaṇṭha 188
 katahū 120, 314; -ū 203, 314
 kati 210
 kath- 56
 kothū 122, 203, 207, 219,
 241-2, 249, 263, 292, 296
 kadama 57
 kadoli- 72
 kanaka 26, 121, 160
 kanahārā 187
 kaniā 208
 kanta 168
 kanthā 164
 kandaranhi 122
 kapata 166
 kaparda- 69
 kapāṭa- 71
 kapāsu 121
 kapittha 37-8, 66
 kabahūa 314; kabahū 301,
 314
 kabi 120, 241; -tanha 122,
 217
 kabilāsā 193
 kabith 37
 kabbura- 41
 kamala 219
 kamalā 71
 kamānat 242
 kamāva 26
 kampa- 79; -i 40

kambala- 41

**kayara* 72

kayañ- 72

kayā 196, 208

kara 121-2, 158, 163-4, 172-3,

175-6, 182, 186-8, 192,

198, 202-4, 217, 243,

246, 280-3, 292, 297-8

kar-, *-ai* 122, 168, 196,

200-2, 285; *-at* 168,

257; *-aū* 171, 192-3,

254; *-ata* 123, 165, 172,

240, 274; *-ateū* 203;

-aba 159, 262, 301, 326

-abi 262; *-abu* 192; *-asi*

164; *-asi hai* 273; *-ahi*

200; *-ahī* 218, 255;

-ahī 196; *-ahu* 165,

186; *-ahū* 209; *-ā*

122, 187; *-i* 158, 166,

174, 217-8; *-iē* 292

-ihai 134, 202, 263; *-ihi*

134; *-ehu* 269; *-ēhū* 183

kara-, *-kamalani* 125; *-gata*

167; *-tala* 174

karataba 292

karatā 187, 246

karatāra 274; *-u* 108; *-ū*

121

karatūti 183; *-i* 142, 208

karana 283,

karanī 123, 154, 173, 175, 186,

197, 241

karanīyā 193

karabalā 158, 242

karama 188

karāiūm 285; *karāiā* 285

karissai 134

karī 160-2, 280-1, 297

karu 296

karui 137, 142, 158

karēja 255; *-ā* 240

karoti 332

karōri 151; *-i* 151

karṇa 46

kartārū 108

karpūra 70

karṣati 55

karḥāvāū 167

kalatram 117

kalasa 203

kalinjara 263

kalī 165

kalya- 52; *-e* 67; *-ē* 303

kavana 191, 193; *-i* 193;

-u 193, see *kauna*

kavala 192

kaviṭṭha 37

kaścid 206

kasa 196, 273, 306

kasauṭi 292

kasi 207

kasya 195

kah-, *-a* 274, 326; *-ai*

196, 203, 283; *-au* 192;

-aū 166, 203, 255; *-aū*

166; *-ata* 161, 208, 240;

-ana 228; *-aba* 262;

-avāvā 288; *-asi* 255,

266, *-asu* 268; *-ahī*

- 182; -*ahu* 165, 255, 283; *kāṭā* 183
 -*ā* 122-3, 167, 174, 182, *kāṭha* 120
 188-9, 200, 203, 269, 326; *kāḡhai* 186; *kāḡhi* 202
 -*āvata* 275, 291; -*āvata* *kādr̥sa* 66
 158; -*āvā* 175; -*i* 208; *kāna* 171, 192
 -*ia* 192, 255; -*iyata* *kānanu* 326
 240; -*ihai* 176; -*ihahu* *kāmini* 165, 182
 262; -*ihā* 261; -*ihi* *kāya* 209
 255; -*i* 123, 125, 164-5, *kāyara* 221
 177, 201, 222, 240, 292; *kāroja* 187
 -*u* 193, 296; -*e* 192; -*eu* *kārana* 159, 167, 183, 262;
 159, 208; -*eū* 183, 243; -*u* 193
 -*eū* 243; -*esi* 244; -*esu* *kāri* 142
 269; -*ehu* 182, 326; -*ē* *kārē* 137
 298; -*ē* 266 *kārya* 33, 72, 221; -*ka* 221
kaharoḥ 304 *kāṛha* 202; -*i* 27
kaha 121-2, 159, 165-6, *kālī* 158, 262, 301
 172-3, 175, 177, 183, *kālha* 301, 303; -*i* 245, 291,
 187, 192, 196, 202-4, 301
 215-6, 221, 223, 228, *kāvīnī* 47
 241, 245-6, 282-3, 291, *kāsu* 192
 293, 304, 326 *kāha* 120, 163, 191, 193, 195,
kahānī 108, 167 218, 266; -*ā* 255
kahā 159, 186, 208, 304, 305 *kāhi* 191-2, 195, 201-2, 263
kahā 121, 174, 215-6, 221, *kāhu* 173, 201-2, 215; -*hi*
 314 261-2; -*ū* 174, 201-2,
kah 194 221-2
kaha 215 *kāhē* 307; -*ē* 307
kā 124, 160-1, 164-7, 172, *kākara* 77
 175, 183, 186, 191-2, *kādan* 81, 108
 194-5, 262, 267, 292, 297 *kādhai* 245; *kādhi* 173
kāū 58, 202, 245, 256 *kī* 99, 120, 127, 153, 160,
kāgada 257 165, 172, 177, 195, 201,
kāja 107, 267, 296-7; -*ā* 183; 244, 258, 295, 299, 310-
 -*u* 138 12, 324, 329-31

- kici* 206
kicchi 206
kichu 172, 201, 203, 206; -ū
 203
kita 158, 173, 196, 262, 282,
 298, 304, 306
kitāb 119
kittu 177, 306
kina 307
kinhesi 137, 243
kim 195, 206
kini 266, 306
kirapā 267
kī 121-2, 174, 184, 189, 255,
 271
kijai 176, 292; *kijia* 192, 292;
 kijē 291
kūṭa- 51
kīnha 43, 138, 167, 171-2,
 174, 187, 195, 197, 202,
 242; -*hu* 245; -*ā* 123,
 186-7, 197, 209, 296;
 -*i* 255; -*ihu* 245; -*esi* 171,
 173, 188, 256; -*ehu* 245;
 -*ē* 242
kirati 123, 125, 223
kuāhi 123
kukṣi 74
kucāli 182
kucha 201, 206; -*n* 314
kuṣilāi 271
kuṣūba 173, 245
kuṣhāu 244
kupantha 256
kubēsata 207; *kubēsū* 266
kubhāti 228
kumāra 69; -*h* 145; -*i* 228
kumbhaāra 42, 47
kumbhakāra 65
kuru 268
kula 183
kusaṅgati 192
kusala 271
kuhū 298
kūara 26, 120; -*i* 257
kūvā 107
**kūao* 115
kūpakah 115
kṛ- 64
kṛpā 58, 197, 203, 245,
 318
kṛṣṇa- 46, 64
kei 191-2, 194
keu 26
ketikō 208
kedāra 71; -*ikā* 50, 66
keli (*kēli*) 26, 121, 255
kehi 159, 177, 188, 191-4,
 262, 306
kehu 201-2
kē 71, 124, 159, 164, 173,
 175-7, 180, 182-4,
 188-9, 191, 194, 201,
 204-5, 218-9, 255, 261,
 274, 280-1
kētana 208
kētika 208-9
kētē 209
kēra 121, 202, 217-8; -*ā*
 168, 177, 217, 220; -*i*

122, 218; -i 177, 187, 217,	kh
220, 319; -ē 189	khagu 292
kālā 218	*khattiā 115
kāsa 208	khatvikā 115
kāhari 164	khaṇḍa 26, 153
kāhi 206	khana 273
koi 142, 173, 201-2	khabariyā 116
kou 142, 200-03, 267, 274,	khambha 107, 187
326	kharaga 256, 291
koṣṭhāgāra 65	kharihāna 107
kō 71, 123, 159-60, 166, 175,	khari 26
177, 181-2, 186, 191-2,	khagā 192
195, 200-02, 209-10,	khāḍa 225
221, 245, 256, 267, 271,	khā-, -i 26; -ī 195-6, 200,
297	204, 281; -teu 271; -nā
kōi 160, 166, 206	182, 282; -ba 283, 286;
kōila 298	-vā 172
kōi 82, 153, 172, 182, 196,	khāṭi 115
201-03, 256, 318	khādyā 34
kōū 82, 192, 201, 203, 245,	khādhuka 255
274	khālē 305; -ei 305
kōṭi 285; -ka 314	khācī 172
kōpa 267; -i 205; -u 165;	khāḍa 123
-ehu 202	khiāvai 195, 204
kōlanhi 126	khijira 172
kō 216	khiranī 137
krośa 33	khīca 326; -hui 26
krōḍa 151	khāta 242
krōdha 256	khāla-, -ā 255; -ta 26 -nā
kṣaṇa 66	208; -hū 208, 298; -ā
kṣapa-73	172, 255; -i 298
kṣaranti 333	khēva-, -hu 297; -ā 188, 297
kṣura- 70	khēhā 262
kṣetra 34, 71	khōja 168, 243; -ā 266
qalam 33	khōri 283; -i 283

khōl-, -*uta* 153; -*esi* 244

khōca 77

khvāja 172

khavar 116

khārāb 139

khāṭir 213, 230

g

gauē 72

gai 292; -*hu* 245; -*i* 160,

183, 197, 242, 278

guirika- 71

gaila 246

gaura 73

gaurihu 313; *gauri-patī* 267

gaeu 297; *gaē* 81, 242, 278

gagana 244, 292

gaṅga 186

gacchatu 269

gaja 122

gaḍha 218, 222; -*i* 192

gaṇ- 45

gaṇṭhi 37

gala- 34, 72; -*h* 65, 136

gali 186

ganu 178

ganē 292

gandha 27, 176

gabbhinī 42

gubhira 56, 66

guya 292

gayeu 171, 176

garajai 26

garaba 26, 160, 188, 219

garu- 64; -*ai* 219

garbhahi 15

garha 225, 242; -*ṭ* 121

gala 176

gavana 171; -*tu* 177; *gava-*

naba 158; *gacanā* 202;

gāvanaba 262

gavāi 158

gā 242, 246, 274

gāi 107; -*i* 123, 125

gāūhi 318; *gāū* 197

gāḍha 52; -*i* 138; -*ē* 121,

218

gāmō 116

gāya 107, 121

gāla 192; -*u* 108

gāvahī 161; -*ṭ* 209

gāvā 318

gāvī 67

gārha 142; -*ā* 142; -*i* 166

gāḥa 107, 138, 166; -*i* 26

gāva 187

giddha 39

girā 240

giriḥhava 182

gilāvā 107

giā 172

gin 108, 220, 226

gīdha 125

guḍar 232

guna 159, 223, 255, 263;

-*gāhā* 283

gunahi 123

gunavārē 26

gunī 196

guputa 161

gumān 34
gumpā- 41, 74
gura 223
guru- 64, 159, 195, 242, 267,
 278; *-jana* 182; *-ū* 165,
 173, 175
gulāba 168
guli 107
gūrḥā 255
gṛhāya 136; *gṛhē* 136
geu 295; *gē* 242, 326
gēha 197; *-ū* 182
godhūmah 70
gopāl 117
gopāliyā 117
gosāi 26, 121, 164, 171, 218,
 222, 242
gōi 171
gyāna 198; *-i* 165, 326
grabhahi 15
grahana 35, 66
grāma 50, 116; *-h* 34, 69, 116
grēha 197
garīb 34

gh

ghauri 218
ghaṭai 166
ghaḍi 186
ghana 137
ghanī 137
ghamaṇḍa 26
ghamma 46
ghara 107, 184, 187, 165,
 172, 183, 196, 225, 241,

261, 263; *-bāra* 123; *-sa*
 134; *-ssa* 134; *-hu* 134;
-hi 167, 318
ghuriārā 256
gharī 26, 171, 218, 255
ghāo 82
ghāyala 159
ghālai 255; *ghālā* 172; *ghāli*
 26-7, 292
ghiu 118
ghuna 292
ghṛta 34, 69, 189; *-m* 66
ghōru 107

c

cauguna 155
cauthā 153; *-i* 153; *-ē*
 152-3
caudasi 152, 186
caudaka 147
caupāri 203, 218
caubisu 147
caurāsi 150
cakra- 35
cakravākaḥ 65
cakhu 122, 187
cañcuḥ 74
caḍh-, *-ai* 81; *-ahi* 326; *-ahṛ*;
 -177, 256; *-i* 269; *-ia*
 291; *-iahi* 291; *-āi* 152;
-āehu 245
caṇakaḥ 65
catura-mukha 189
caturtha 37, 156

catvāriṃśat 52

candū 153

candini 142

caracā 168

carana 208, 219; *-paṇkaja*
109

carita 122

carma-kāra 50

carhai 222; *carhi* 242 see *caṭh-*
cal-, *-ai* 283; *-atū* 181, 244;
-ata 197, 202; *-ana*
274; *-ahu* 200, 255;
-ahū 197; *-ā* 171, 276,
326; *-āvai* 204; *-i* 177;
-ī 228; *-ī* 246; *-eu* 196;
-etū 27; *-ehu* 245; *-ē* 283

cavēli 77

cah-, *-a* 168, 296; *-atū* 283;
-ata 240, 274; *-ateū* 271;
-aba 296; *-asi* 296; *-ah*
296; *-ahī* 256; *-ahū* 196;
-ā 171, 297; *-ia* 175, 292

cahū 176, 256; *-ī* 223, 242

cān 155

cāṭukara 73

cāpa 283, 326

cāra 146; *-ā* 164

cāri 120, 146, 174, 186, 219,
222; *-u* 81, 146, 313; *-ka*
314

cāridasu 147

cālai 181, 186, 188

cālisa 148

cāh-, *-ai* 197, 203, 296; *-ata*
166, 273; *-asi* 255, 296;

-ahu 165, 255; *-i* 186,
222 *-ia* 122, 291; *-ī* 209

cāṭah 122; *cāṭā* 107; *cāṭi*
107

cāda 207

cāpā 124

cikkana 33

citavata 240; *citavā* 286

citērā 72, 107, 133, 175,
197; *-ē* 72, 133

cittayara- 72; *-ē* 72, 133;
-ō 133

citra 197; *-kura* 72;
-karakah 133; *-karakān*
133; *-karakāh* 133; *-kētu*
172

cid 206

cinta 267, 283; *-ā* 138, 203

cinhāvai 297

cihna 46

cinhā 160, 177, 197, 216,
278

cua 82; *cuāpah* 288

cuni 281

cumb- 46

cūka 142, 161

cūrṇa- 70

cētā 177, 326

cēri 108, 168; *-ī* 108, 122,
160, 257, 271

cērē 173, 209, 220, 277; *-ō*
108

cēlā 107, 195-6

cōrah 122

cyavati 35

ch

cha 146
- chaṭaṭ 153
chaṭha 153; -i 152; -ṣ 153
chaṭisa 148; -u 313
chatrabandhu 255
chana 172, 225
chanda 324; -wanda 324
chopana 149; *chappana* 149
chapāia 27; *chapārā* 241;
chapi 297
chabi 207
chamib 263
chaya 246
chala 164; -u 174
chav 313
chari 281
chāchi 292
chājā 167, 175, 188, 291
chāḍenhi 245
chātā 124; -i 267; -ṣ 122,
 124
chārahi 222, 318
chāra 281; -ā 202; -ā 27;
 -i 274
chāhā 262; -ṣ 277
chāḍi 183
chānabai 151
chāha 177
chijjai 232
chidyatē 232
chidra 72
chinna 46
chājai 232
chāra 267

chuai 82; *chui* 297-8
chūta 297; -i 297
chūchē 261
chedana- 35
chōṭa 142; -i 27
chōbhā 160

i

jaita 209
jaisa 53, 210; -i 207; -ṣ
 306; -ṣ 207-8, 269, 306
jaihai 263; *jaihasi* 202
jau 166, 171, 227, 244, 257,
 271, 292, 296-7, 310; ...
tau 310, 312
jauna (*javana*) 185, 189;
 -hi 189
jaṭi 121, 158, 166, 202, 255,
 257, 271, 291, 310
jaṭnā 225
jakta 15
jaga 121, 177, 184, 186-7,
 192, 195-6, 201-3, 208,
 215, 220, 225, 227, 242,
 292; -sūra 326
jagata 15, 165, 200, 223,
 245-6
jagya 26
jaṭā 67, 116
jata 208
jatana 269
jadapi 311; *jadyapi* 182
jana 267
janan 312; -ā 125, 193
janaṭ 135

- janaka* 123
janatetu 271
jananī 164
janaba 171
janama 174, 219, 228, 271;
 -*hu* 313
janamata 172, 275
janāvā 201, 288
jani 183, 202, 307, 309
janu 142, 172, 208, 266, 297,
 310, 319
janē 325
japata 122, 189, 273
jaba 122, 173, 197, 201, 228,
 241, 243, 262, 278, 301;
 lagi 227; -*hi* 319, 326;
 -*ht* 171
jama 218
jamaq 36
jambuka 291
jambū 42, 118
jaya-mālā 261; *jayaḥ* 118;
jayu 116; *jayō* 116
jar 116; -*a* 107, 220
jarai 283, 296-7; *jarani* 189
jarāu 82
jari 67, 107; 116, 168; -*ht* 263
jaratāi 197
jala 240, 326
jaldī 301
javani 189
jusa 164, 173, 195, 198, 201,
 207, 223, 272, 276, 292,
 306; -*i* 207
jasu 209
jassu 191
jahawā 304; *jahā* 166, 182,
 255-6, 267, 304-5; *jahawā*
 305; *jahā* 275, 277, 304
jahiā 262, 301
jā 165, 172, 185, 187-8, 191,
 207, 219, 240, 245-6
jāi 82, 124, 171, 187, 246,
 263, 267, 277, 281, 283,
 292-3; -*hi* 263, 292; -*i*
 189, 195, 205, 240, 246,
 266; -*a* 175, -*ū* 240;
jāū 158, 257, 266, 293;
jāe 297
jāisa 210
jāesa 82
jagai 207; *jāgaba* 283; *jāgi*
 243, 296
jāta 193, 205, 222, 240, 276;
 -*i* 161; -*i* 292
jāna 160, 182, 203; -*i* 192,
 196, 267, -*a* 310; -*ta*
 161, 273; -*ti* 161, 240,
 273-4; -*b* 312; -*ht*
 208; -*hā* 192; -*ā* 123,
 292; -*i* 196, 277, 281,
 297; -*ia* 292
jānāti 45
jānibā 262
jānu 188; *jānen* 246; *jānē*
 246
jāba 28, 158, 287, 297
jāyehu 121
jārai 267; *jārā* 196
jāri 120

- jāvata* 209; *āvāta* 203, 208,
 210
jāsi 255
jāsu 185, 188-9, 191, 195;
 -ū 189
jāh 191; -i 185, 188-9, 191,
 256
jāhṛ 121, 292, 297; *jāhṛ* 159,
 188; *jāhṛ* 188-9
jāhu 191
jia 271, -i 188, 256; *jiu* 168,
 186, 203, 240; *jiu-lēvā*
 177
jiatahṛ 319
jiana 161, 177; -ā 282
jiahṛ 255
jiāvai 188; -si 255
jiu (see *jia*)
jitaba 262; *jitā* 209
jinā 164, 185, 187, 191; -hṛ
 185, 189; *jinha* 172, 185,
 187, 189, 191; *jinhahṛ*
 185, 189, 191; *jinhahṛ*
 189
jini 307
jibbhā 42
jimi 306
jiya 200; -ta 262
jivanā 283
jisu 189
jihvā 35
jiu 176; -ū 183
jitā 166
jīhā 107, 167, 223, 241
jīva 173, 241
jīvana 283
juga 225
jūḷāna 291
jubarāju 121
jurai 292
jurihi 283
juṛānē 291; *juṛāvahu* 267
jūthah 53
jūvī 125
jūhī 123
jei 81, 137, 182, 185-7, 191
jet 185-7, 191
jena 187, 189, 191; -ha 191
jemva 307
jehi 58, 159, 167-8, 173, 185-6,
 188, 191, 206, 246, 256,
 263, 274; *jehṛ* 188
jē 161, 176, 187, 191, 200,
 325
jētā 208; -ē 208-9, -ō 208
jēhī 274
jēia 165
jo 27, 165, 175, 182, 186,
 200-1, 241, 245, 255, 261,
 265, 273-4, 280, 282, 298,
 310-1
joi 187
joha 310
jō 122, 161, 171-3, 175, 177,
 185-7, 196-7, 200, 203,
 206, 243, 245-6, 256-7,
 271-2, 277, 296, 298
jōē 292
jōga 155, 167, 172, 182, 192,
 203, 228, 240, 288; -i 26,

- 182, 209, 243, 245; -u *thāṭ* 159, 177
 267; -ū 208
jōti 168, 173, 208
jōni 188
jōhana 160, 292, 326
jōrā 165
jōri 240, -ē 164
jōhah 124
jō 310
jūāti- 45
jñāna 34, 266
jyestha 36
jyotsnā- 46, 72
jvalati 36
- jh**
- jhalakata* 123
jhalakā 123
jhatta 36
jhākā 27
jhīnai 207
jhūtha 167, 196; -i 27, 142, 241
jhūlana 297
- t**
- tarā* 288
tārā 288
tikā 26, 122, 183
tuṭtai 36
tūta 27, 58, 283; -b 233, -i 281
tēi 81
- th**
- thakurasohāṭi* 27, 262
thagī 183
- thāṭ* 159, 177
thāū 188, 254; -ū 82, 108
thāṭ 242
thāḍha 142
thāḍhē 138, 176, 246
thāna 305; -i 244
thārha 142, 298; -ā 142, 202; -i 142; -ī 142
thīkah 319
- d**
- ḍagai* 27, 256
ḍaṅka 159
ḍaṇḍa 51
ḍara 183, 293, -i 189
ḍaraēṇa 135
ḍarapah 175
ḍaru 165, 256
ḍahaki 245
ḍābha 123
ḍārā 192
ḍārō 159
ḍi-aḍḍha 72
ḍiṭhiyārū 108
ḍūhī 122
ḍerāū 158; -nā 291
ḍora- 37
ḍolāu 186
ḍolaṭ 175; *ḍolā* 186
- dh**
- ḍhaukatē* 38
ḍharah 123, 189
ḍhariai 291
ḍhērī 174

ḍhōḥā 182*ḍhōla* 27, 58

t

ta 89, 283, 291, 310*taila* 71*taisa* 175 ; -i 207 ; -ehi 319 ;
-ē 306 ; *tayasa* 207*tat* 160, 163-6, 170, 173,
193, 255, 262, 269, 297,
318*tau* 158, 172, 183, 200, 333*tauna* 170, 177-8*taja* 267 ; -ā 200 ; -i 200-1,
227, 297 ; -i 160*tat* 179 ; -*punaḥ* 180*tata* 208*tadapi* 242, 310-11*tana* 159, 203, 244, 318*tanaya* 168*tanu* 173, 182, 189 ; -*ka* 309*tanta* 172*tapiya* 203 ; *tapi* 122, 220, 298*tapla* 38*taba* 121, 159, 167, 241, 266,
277, 283, 301 ; -i 298,
301 ; -i 301, 319 ; -*hū*
314 ; *tabhū* 297*taṁ* 180*tambūla*- 41*tayasa* (see under *taisa*)*tara* 226-7*tarā* 186*taru* 226 ; -*bara* 183 ; -*baranha*
225*tarunāpā* 107*tarē* 226 ; -ē 226-7*talē* 305*tava* 167, 170, 186-7, 192*tasa* 168, 176, 203, 207, 261,
296, 306 ; -i 207, 272*tasya* 180*tahavā* 304 ; *tahā* 120, 167,
196, 246, 255, 303 ; *tahā*
167, 181, 245-6, 267, 303*tahi* 256 ; -*ai* 319 ; -*ā* 301*tā* 124, 170 172-4, 176-7,
180, 182, 186, 192, 200,
204, 218, 272, 282,*tāṭ* 227, 308*tāū* 174*tākā* 172 ; -i 256 ; -ē 173 ;
-ē 174*tāta* 155-6 ; -*ā* 202*tāpala* 246*tāpasa* 219*tāpaḥ* 69*tāra* 107, 124, 137*tārā* 244 ; -ē 124, 138*tāla* 209 ; -*h* 177*tāvata* 209, 210 ; *tāvata* 209*tāsu* 170, 174-5, 180 ; -*ū*
174*tāhi* 170, 173-5, 180, 203 ;
-i 174*tiāgī* 81*tiṭhi-vāra* 71*tina* 170, 175-6 ; -*h* 170,
177 ; *tin* 180 ; *tinha* 138,
170, 172, 175-7, 180,

- 187, 215, 225, 261; *tin̄hai* 170, 176; *tin̄hah̄t* 170, 176-7, 187, 262-3, 269, 297; *tin̄hakū* 314
- tiu* 254
- timi* 306
- tiya* 152, 171
- tisara* 152; *tisarē* 152-3; *tisara* 153; *tisari* 153
- tihāra* 167; -ō 168
- tihā* 313
- tutisa* 148
- tājai* 153
- tina* 146; -ā 263; *tini* 146
- tiya* 57
- tira-* 66, 245
- tisa* 148
- tisara* (see *tisara*)
- tihā* 243
- tui* 165, 169-70, 248-50, 268, 277, 279-80, 315, 320, 328; *tut* 163-4, 170
- tuma* 160, 163-6, 228, 242, 277, 297; -hi 164, 167; -h̄t 164, 166; -h̄t 318
- tumam̄* 170
- tumha* 43, 163-6, 170, 241, 245, 262, 271, 297; -i 164, 167, 228; -h̄t 164-7, 170, 172, 197, 263, 297; -h̄t 318; -ē 170
- tumharī* 168, 326; -ih̄i 318; -eh̄i 168; -ē 168
- tumhāra* 164, 168, 170, 201, 296; -ā 168, 178, 186, 298; -i 168; -i 168, 178; -ē 27, 168; *tomhārā* 168
- turai* 257
- turata* 301, 303, -h̄t 319
- tuh̄t* 318, -ā 314
- tū* 164; *tū* 163-4, 170
- tr̄t̄yā* 68
- tei* 159, 170-2, 180, 186, 318; -t̄ 171, 186; -u 314
- tena* 170, 177; -ha 180
- tehi* 57, 121, 170, 173-5, 177, 180, 184, 186, 189-90, 195, 201-2, 204, 218, 226, 241, 254, 263, 277; -u 314
- tehāra* 167; -ō 167
- tē* 170, 172, 177, 180, 285, 313, 319; -i 172; -ā 292; -hu 314; -hū 186; *tē* 121, 174, 183-4, 187-8, 197, 242
- tētā* 208; -ē 209; -ō 208
- tēraha* 147
- tērā* 168, 170, 192; -i 168, 271; -ē 182, 209; -ō 168
- tēsari* 152
- tomhārā* (see under *tumhāra*)
- tora* 164, 167; *tōra* 164, 167-8, 170, 188; *tōrai* 167, 283; *tōri* 167; *tōrī* 167; *tōrē* 167
- tohāra* 164, 167; *toharā* 167

tohi 161, 164-6, 170, 182,
197, 200; -*ṛ* 164-6;
-*ī* 254; -*ṛ* 166; *tōhi*
166; *tōhī* 166, 203, 297;
tō 164-6, 170, 172, 263,
293; -*hū* 314; *tō* 271

tōra (see under *tora*)

tōrab 233

tōhi (see under *tohi*)

tyāgī 158

trīṇi 38

trīyā 226

trīsaṭha 149

truṭy- 70; -*ale* 233

trētā 225

tvam 170; -*yā* 170

tvarita- 69

ṭarah 307

th

thakilu 277

thākī 161; -*eu* 246

thāhā 267

thira 27, 281

thōrihi 318; *thōri* 161

d

daiu 174

daiva 188

daī 81, 107, 121, 186, 192,
241

dauṛē 39

daṃśaka 37

daccha 298

daṇḍa 36-7; -*vata* 43

dadhi 39, 56, 66

danta 79; -*o* 38

dampatiḥ 242

dayā 159, -*la* 164, 267;

dāyā 161, 165-6, 223

darapana 177

daraba 188, 201

darabānī 108

darasa 160, 187, 200, 246

darśana 55, 168, 175

dalaki 296

davaī 39; -*ḍai* 39

davasa 222

dasa 146, 167, 182, 267; -*ṛ*
153; -*ā* 152

dusaratha 182

dasā 183, 207, 219

dahiu 118

dahini 160

dahā 192, 267, 310, 312

dāg 232

dāna 201, 256

dāna- 69; -*āni* 135

dāyaku 186

dāyā (see under *dayā*)

dārikā 262

dāru 201

dārūna 297

dāsā 175; -*ī* 218

dāhina 138; -*i* 138; (see
dahini)

diā 172; *diyā* 207; *ḍiā* 81

ḍiē 81

diṇṇa 57, 135, 167, 172, 176-7,
186-8, 203, 262, 274

- dinu* 273
dinhala 135; *dinhā* 183
dipā 27
diya (see *diā*)
dirisa 218
disa 152, 176, 223, 242, 257, 326; -i 326
disiṭa 175; -i 204, 218
dihenī 246; *dihesu* 269, 297
diā (see *diā*)
dīja 57, 292; -i 292
dīna 187-8; -ha 159, 165, 172, 177, 186, 200, 242; *dīnhā* 120, 175, 186, 201, 223, 283, 293, 297, 326; *dīnhi* 125, 242; *dīnhitā* 166; *dīnhī* 123; *dīnhesi* 188, 282; *dīnhē* 192
dīpa 124, 218, 326; -ka 137, 241; -pattikā 66
dīpāvalī 65, 71
dīhī 297
duau 82
duārā 152
dui 82-3, 137, 146, 152, 154, 201, 219, 241, 245, 251, 254, 292, 315, 319, 326
duija 153; -hi 208; *dūija* 152
dukān 33
dukha 167, 173, 188, 208, 223, 242; -i 164; -u 138
duddha 39
dunahu 325
duniāl 81
dubbala 41
durajana 242
durāva 223
duri 171
durlabha 297
dusarē 153
duhitā 39
duhū 186, 218
dūaū 81
dūija (see *duija*)
dūjā 152, 183; -i 152; -ē 152-3, 182
dūra 303; -i 304; -ihi 319; -i 171; -ū 304; -ei 304; -eha 319
dūsara 152-3; -i 153
drṣṭi 240
deihai 160; -a 261, 264
deotanha 125; -i 81, 125
dekharāvā 288
dekhāi 269, 297; -eu 187, 246; -yē 288; -vai 207
dekhiaht 263; *dekhībai* 262; *dekhībē* 262; *dekhīhahu* 262
devaki- 69
devatā 69
dē 196; -i 81, 182, 241, 282; -ihi 160; -i 186; -u 160, 174; -ā 176, 203
dēo 245; *dēotanha* 43
dēkh-, -a 27, 122, 241; -ai 173, 222, 297, 326, -aū 167, 254; -ata 296; -ana 296; -antē 252; -aba 288;

-asi 255; -ah 255; -ahu 165; -ā 158, 166, 177, 186, 242, 296; -i 26, 138, 176, 197, 200-1, 242, 291, 298; -iata 240; -iā 253, 313; -in 253; -ī 158, 164; -ī -aū 253; -ī 326, -u 58, 202, 261; -eū 188, 207, 243, 253; -en 253; -ē 209, 253, -ē han 253
 dē-, -na 121, 166, 287; -ba 286, 297; -baū 261; -bā 262; -haū 264; -hi 164; -hī 195; -hī 201; -hū 121

dēva 116, 273; -āṇ 135
 dēśa 53, 159, 175, 193
 dēṣi 53 (misspelt for dēkhi)
 dēsū 173
 dēha 160, 297, -ā 189
 dou 82, 161, 226, 313, 326; -ū 175, 272
 doṣaḥ 34; dōṣa 168, 173, 196, 202, 223
 dōū 182, 223, 278
 dōsara 152, 186; -i 152, 173
 dōhā 107
 dyūta- 36, 69
 dravati 39
 dṛiṣṭi 159
 droṇa- 39
 dvandva- 69
 dvādāsa 41, 50, 65

dvāra 153, 216; -kē 136; -ā 220; -ē 136
 dvi-ardha 37
 dvi-guṇa 70

dh

dhaū 193, 310, 312
 dhana 165, 192, 197, 245, 257; -kōrā 120; -pati 171; -i 27; -ī 257
 dhanuka 26; dhanukha 278
 dhandhā 107
 dhanya 244
 dhar-, -aī 256, -ahu 189; -āyeu 177; -i 167, 189; -ī 245; -u 266; -ehu 269
 dharaī 107, 208, 278, 326
 dharanī 176
 dharama 174-5, 195, 217; -i 187; -u 152, 183
 dharma 51, 166, 273
 dhāai 39; dhāi 39, 271; dhāi 273
 dhānya 39
 dhāma 120
 dhāri 218; -a 198
 dhāv- 39; -ati 39; -ana 267
 dhirja 269
 dhītā 39
 dhūā 240
 dhūpa 262
 dhūma 137

dhṛṣṭa 38

dhyāna 189, 192, 200, 202

n

na 120-23, 132, 152-3, 159,
160-1, 164-7, 171-6,
182-4, 187-9, 192-3,
195-6, 200-04, 207-08,
222, 240-2, 244-6, 255
-6, 262-3, 266-7, 271,
277-8, 283, 292, 297-8,
307, 309, 326

naina 168, 255

nat 273

nan 146, -u 82; *nañ* 121,

nañ 108

nanh 118

naeu 81

nakula 69, 71

nakṣatra 45, 63

nakha 56

nakhata 27, 107, 292, -*nha*
225

nagara 183, 256, -*u-banāva*
121, -*u-banāvā* 176

nacāvā 120

nata 310

nadī 174

nabha 186

nama 219, -*ni* 135

nayana 182, 201 (see *naina*);

-*ni* 126, -*nha* 123;

-*nhi* 296; -*nht* 123, -*āhā*
125

nayanāṣ 116

nara 256

naraka 222

narṣā 200; -*ū* 181, 193

navan 218; -*ā* 137, 152

navanīta 45; -*kaḥ* 70; -*kō*
116

navamallikā 71

naṣṭa 52

nasāi 192

nahāi 296; -*hī* 228

nahi 203, 309; -*ī* 152, 161,
166, 168, 174, 183, 192,
200, 202, 208, 283, 297,
307, 309; -*ī* 243, 246,
274

nā 138, 158, 171, 173, 175,
201, 242, 271, 293

nāi 275

nāiaṣ 116

nāt 306

nāi 81

nāi 122, 228, 231, 271, 307

nāū 108, 121, 159, 186, 277

nāñ 174-6, 220, 246, 271

nāē 172

nāga-, -*phāsa* 172; -*mati* 174;
-*sura-nagara* 187; -*ini*
174; -*ū* 297

nātō 310

nātha 158, 165, 167, 187, 197,
296

nāpita 65; -*kaḥ* 70, 116

nāma 69, 122, 168, 197-8,
225, 246, 263, 298, -*ū* 189

nārada 168, 219
nārāga 192
nārikela 64
nārī 122, 176, 186-7, 196,
 256
nāva 161
nāvai 122 ; *nāvā* 116, 118
nāsā 192
nāhi 152, 159; *nāhina* 256;
nāht ta 310; *nāhtna* 307;
nā tau 310; *nāhī* 188,
 267, 307
nāhu 161, 274
nāghehu 26
nāca 177
niara- 72, 168, 171, 304-5;
-ē 304-5; *niarē* 47
niu 45, 66
nichāvari 242
nija 123, 125, 172, 187, 197,
 242, 262, 283, 296
nita 160, 167, 175, 223, 230,
 240, 243, 301, 303; -i
 301, 303; -u 301, 303;
nitta 301, 303
nindahī 43, 196
nirakhata 26
nisa 188, 269, 274, 292; -i
 202, 218, 273
niarē (see *niara*)
nīā 81
nīka 186, 196; -ā 326; -ē 182
nīci 142
nīti 174, 273; -i 207
nīpāvalī 71

nīda 202, 263
nībū 108
nīpa 121, 182, 201, 203, 219,
 267
nemi 45, 71; -h 66
nēti 192
nēha 188; -u 196; -ū 166
nyāyī 231
nyāyena 231, 307
nhāi 43

P

pai 168, 188, 227, 271, 310
 -12, 326
paiṭhata 183; *paiṭhaba* 261;
paṭṭhaba 158
pauñchai 35
pauri 137, 152; -i 218
pausa 55
pakkhi 34
pakva 33
pakṣa 227; -ē 215
pakhaṇḍī 120
pakhurinha 122
pagu 173, 177, 256
pañkha 161; -i (*paṃkhi*)
 164, 255-6; -inha 122
pacāsa 149; -ka 314
pacīsa (-ā) 147
pachatāhī 257
pachalagā 217
pachitāu 181
pachilē 138
pañca 120

- pañjara* 36, 66
paṣa 165, 187
paṣavā 107; -*na* 123
paṭhaē 187
paṭhatṭkaḥ 286
paṭhāvahu 267
paḍivēsiṭ 68
paḍhai 52; *paḍhī* 27; *paḍhiāi* 259; *paḍhianta* 252
paḍhilla 156, 303
paṇḍita 164; *paḍitanha* 122
patāra-hi 124
patālū 326
pati-jhārī 242
patiyāva 166
patrāṇi 333
patrī- 40; -*iya* 209
padāratha 174
paduma 176
padumani 177
pana 152, 197
panihārī 188
pantha 159, 172, 182, 193, 217, 241, 297; -*ā* 167
para 122, 137, 159-60, 165-6, 171-4, 176, 184, 186, 188-9, 192, 195-6, 203, 208, 226-7, 242, 246, 256, 274
par-, -*ai* 166; -*ata* 277, 292, 297; -*aba* 297; -*ahī* 228; -*ā* 159, 200, 267; -*ihai* 208; -*ihī* 263; -*ī* 175, 202, 277, 297; -*eu* 292; *eū* 183, 297
paragata 161, 177, 196, 223
paraghaṭa 27
parabata 306
parama 168, 182, 187, 256, 275, 291; -*āratha* 182
paralōkū 256
para-santakō 224
parāi 201, 298; -*ē* 201; -*ya* 201; -*vā* 201
parāna 164, 326
parāya (see *parāi*)
parāvā (see *parāi*)
parāhī 183
paricūrikā 262
pariceṣu 245
parichāhī 77
paripākā 186
parivārā 262
pariharahi 266
parichā 158
parēvā 164, 267
paryañka 52
parvan 42
parśu- 55
parsapara 283
paṛhai -*ā* -*ō* 286
paliahi 292
pavana 193
pavārī 142
pasārā 187
pasijā 168
posēu 108
pahara 138, 150, 155, 196
paha 228
pahārā 142; -*ū* 108

- pahi* 242; -*ɹ* 228; -*ɹ̥* 122
pahicānā 124; -*ē* 196
pahirasi 164; *pahirā* 187;
pahirāvā 187
pahila 143, 152-3, 303; -*i*
121, 318; -*i* 143, 153,
220; -*ē* 301
pahunāi 292
pahūcāvana 283
pakhā 208; -*i* 208
pacaē 153
pā-, -*i* 182, 192, 312,
(*ya*) 298; -*ita* 240; -*ihi*
186; -*i* 158, 173, 188,
192, 241, 256; -*u* 82,
200, 267, 297; -*uba* 286;
-*ubi* 193, 262; -*eū* 173,
203, 222; -*ehu* 269; -*ē*
172, 187; -*o* 267; -*yati*
287; -*yā* 47; -*yeti* 203;
-*yē* 120; -*va* 187, 196,
222, 297; -*vai* 171, 176,
256, 297; -*vai* 159, 191,
256; -*vab* 282; -*vaba*
297; -*wab* 312; -*vā* 123,
165, 172, 186, 208, 223,
242, 283, 286, 297; -*vē*
174
pāū 198; *pāya* 161; *pāyanha*
123; *pāya* 228
pāmsu 67
pāka 297
pāchē 304; -*ē* 304
pād̥hata 137, 187
pāṇḍeya 116
pātisāha 165
pāfi 326
pādāni 135
pāna 218
pāni 291
pānīyaṃ 116
pāpa 175, 201; *pāpinihi* 183,
292, 297
pāya see *pā-* (and *pāū*)
pāra 159, 240, 267
pārai 192, 202; -*ā* 297; -*ba*
297; -*hu* 297
pārā 122, 297
pārśva 227, 231
pālakaḥ 286
pāl-, -*āḥi* 262; -*i* 246
pālava 164, 183
pāvaku 120
pāvāru 197
pāsa 202, 226, 228, 231, 274;
-*ā* 57
pāhi 159, 227-8, 262
pākhā 244
pāca 146
pāva 226
pi-, -*anā* 182; -*ahi* 81; -*eu*
83; -*yati* 255; -*yanā* 282;
pivana 283
piārā 164; *piyārā* 138, 167,
172; *piyārī* 138; *piyārē*
77
piu 196; -*nā* 283
pikka 23, 68
pitā 160-1, 167, 171, 181,
198, 326

- piya* 167, 192, -hi 122
pisuna 201
pīu 108; *pīya* 167
pīṭhi 218
pīḍ- 66
pīḍhanha 123
pīra 171, 192
pīsata 292; *pīsā* 292
puñja (*pumja*) 43
puṭa- 51
punya 45, 218
putta-, -mmi 136, -hi 136; -ē 136; -o 38
putthaa 74
putra 123; -vadhū 56, 73
punaḥ 191
puni 175, 196, 208, 242, 262-3, 282, 301-3, 313
punīta 182; -ā 262
pura 187, 198, 209, 296
puravahu 160, 267
purāna 122
purukha 167; -nha 122, 177; -hi 122
pusya 55
pustaka- 74; -m 119
puhupa 120
puhumi 217, 222; -īpati 326
pūch-, -aṭṭi 166; -ata 275; -aba 183; -asi 255; -ahu 165; -ā 203; -i 173; -eṭṭi 174, 176
pūja 201, 256; -i 160, 171, 283; -ā 152, 292; -i 245; -iata 240; -ihi 167, 292
pūjya 198
pūnīṭa 122
pūraba 326
pūr-, -ahu 161; -i 27
pūch-, -ai 191; -aba 263; -ahu 161; -ā 123; -ē 261 (see *pūch-*)
pūjia 207; -ya 161
prcch- 40, 70
peṭārī 174
peṭṭa 36
pellai 52
pēḍu 183
pēma 222
potikā 73
potthakam 65
pōi 165
pōṭhi 255, 298
pyārī 209
pratipadā 72
pratāpa 292; -ū 246
prativāsin 73
prativedīkaḥ 68; *prativedīsin* 73
pratyabhijānāti 56
prathama 125, 173, 187, 201
prath- illa 156
prapā-sālā 50
prabhāu 171
prabhu 160, 166, 198, 326
pramāna 325
pramudita 159
prayāga 182
prayoga 242

prasar- 40
prastara 39
prasna 219, 245, 274
prahlād- 57; *-ayati* 53
prāghūrṇa- 69
prāna 172, 246, 272-3; *-i*

182

priya 40, 172, 182, 187, 189,
 192, 198, 204; *-ā* 266
prīta 167-8, 176, 208; *-i*
 158, 173-4, 223, 240,
 283, 292
prēma 142, 166, 188, 202,
 223; *-iya* 209; *-i* 177
prerayati 52
prērē 261

ph

pharakai 160
phala 40, 123, 152, 186, 200,
 209, 259; *-āhāra* 56;
-u 118, 174, 176, 186,
 241
phalaka- 51
phalati 50
phalendra- 42
phābī 207
phālguna 40
phāda 176, 226
phira 301
phirata 197; *phiri* 158, 174,
 297, 301, 303; *phirē* 172
phikī 263
phura 167, 188; *-i* 142
phulavārī 122, 220, 255

hūla 177, 209, 218; *-i* 120;
-nahū 285, 313
phēra 297, 301, 303, *-i* 189,
 256; *-u* 263
phōrai 27

b

baia 186
laiṭha 122, 242, 277; *-na*
 174; *-ba* 288; *-ā* 326;
-ārē 123, 288; *-i* 183;
-u 242, 277; *-eu* 195
baitarani 174
baidēhī 168, 176
bairāgi 183
bairi 202; *-na* 161; *-i* 28,
 283
baisaba 288; *baisārē* 288
baurānī 245
baṃsa 182
bakucanḥa 123
bakhāna 107, 168, 175, 220;
-ā 195; *-i* 183, 222;
-ū 26, 167, 218; *-ē* 223;
-ē 175, 266
baca 186, 269
bacana 138, 174, 177, 187,
 196, 207, 223, 243; *-u*
 161
bajara 218; *-hi* 124
bajjai 232
bajāi 57
bañcehu 189
baṭa 277; *-chāhī* 122
baṭāū 108

- baṣṭhi* 276
baḍa 123
baḍahara 173
batiyā 107
bafisa 148
badana 175
bədal 232
badi 228, 230
badhāvā 107
bana 121, 153, 172, 183, 187,
 200, 263; -*hi* 124
banāvā 161; *banihi* 200; *banē*
 277
banija 27
banobāsa 266
bandaṭi 219
bandar 79
bandhai 40
bandhu 186
babūrahṭ 123
bamhaṇa- 47
baya 176
bayana 297; -*ā* 282
bayara 161; -*ā* 246
bayāli 115
bayēu 166
bara 152, 159, 165, 186,
 228; -*hi* 228; *baru* 241,
 271, 310
barai 124; *barihi* 201
barajaṭi 254; *barajeṭi* 243
baratā 203
baratōrū 297
baran 297
baran-, -*ai* 297; -*aṭi* 121,
 186, 192; -*i* 292; -*ī*
 197, 241; -*eṭi* 228; -*ō*
 255

baraṣā 183
barahō 313
barabhā 189
bariāṭi 306
baruka 310
barōka 192
bara 27, 138, 142; -*bhāgini*
 196; -*i* 138, 142, 161,
 167, 193; -*i* 161; *barehṭ*
 138; *barē* 183
barāi 200
barhai 27; *barhāva* 267
bala 186, 307; -*u* 192
bali 306-7
balī 222
balḍab 232
basa 161, 168, 183, 188, 274
bas-, -*ai* 172, 175; -*ata* 192;
 -*ahṭ* 187, 256; -*ahu* 176;
 -*ā* 159; -*āhi* 176
basana 187, 242
basanta 192
basērā 272; -*ē* 222
bastu 174
baha 256
bahila 246
bahu 123, 137, 240
bahuta 160, 166, 173, 189,
 245-6, 292; -*i* 318
bahuri 301, 303
bahōri 303; -*i* 266, 301
bāisa 147

- bāura* 192, 200, 202, 263
bājai 232
bājana 107
bājā 189
bāju 256, 307
bāṭa 124; -ṭ 124
bāta 138, 165, 173, 181-2, 184,
 197, 203, 220, 283; -ā
 138, 142, 200-1, 204, 208
bāna 174; -hṭ 177
bāni 121, 142, 174, 326,
bāmhaṇa 42
bāyasa 292
bāra 174, 318
bāraha 147
bāraḥṭ 318
bārā 208, 263, 318; -i 108,
 122, 196, 226, 245, 272,
 298
bālaē 135
bālaka 187
bāvarī 107
bāsa 183
bāsuki 124, 218
bāsū 175
bāhara 187, 304
bāka 201
bāṭā 203
bādhā 297; -i 326; -ē 242,
 257
bāha 220, 298
biāhā 123; *biyāhaba* 263;
biyāhu 296
biṭgī 81; *biyṭgī* 202, 326
bikāi 202
bikha-cārai 183
bigarahi 256
bigāsā 192
bica 27
bicāri 182, 269, 296
bicāru 182, 201
bichurakṭ 177
bichōhā 218
bithā 207
bidā 218
bidita 166
bidhātā 164
bidhi 138, 159, 164-8, 173,
 183, 231, 263, 292, 306-7;
 -hi 193
bina 187, -ā 307; -u 176,
 181, 189, 192, 262, 271,
 307
binauba 171, 286
binatiya 182, 267; *binati*
 167; *bināṭi* 245
binaya 164
bindu 70
bipati 137, 161, 166, 193
bipra 255; -nha 122
bibudha 174
bibēka 159, 269
bibhītaka 64
bibhūṭi 201, 298
bimala 182, 219
bimukha 202, 255
biyāhaba (see *biāhā*)
biyṭgī (see *biṭgī*)
birañci 208
biralai 318

- biraha* 160 ; -āgī 297
birāgī 275, 291
birājat 242, 257
birāsū 173
biridha 176
bircha 274
birtha 283
bilamba 246
bilāya 263
bitōkati 176 ; *bitōki* 161, 167, 257
bitōcana 219
bilva 52, 72
bisāla 53
bisēklī 166
bisēṣi 53
bistārā 176
bisva 262
bihāna 241
bihālā 306-7
bihūna 307
bica 177, 184, 228
bāci 240
bija-66, 166
biju 108, 173, 225, 288
bitē 172, 177
būthinha 228
biricha 226
bisa 147
bugcā 33
bujjhai 36
bujhāi 290
buddhasēna 174
buddhi 158 ; *budhi* 107, 161, 183, 188, 196, 200, 223
budhya- 41
būjha 166 ; -ā 293 ; -i 159, 292, 297
būḍi 298
būrahi 288
būrha 244
būda 208
lṛnda 246
berkul 307
besāhanā 202 ; *besāhā* 182
bēgi 186, 266, 301, 303 ; -hi 319
bēṭā- 66
bēdhā 278 ; -i 297
bēli 187
bēṣa 292
bēharā 171
bēhāl 307
bolāi 167, 255, 298
bovāi 108
bōeā 234
bōdhu 242
bōrahi 288
bōla 208, 277, 297 ; -ā 158 ; -ni 283 ; -i 188, 208, 298 ; -ē 196, 326
byādha 177
brāhmaṇa 41, 64

bh

- bha*-, -i 160, 208, 222, 233-4, 242, 246, 296, 325 ; -ā 171, 174, 177, 182-3, 187, 233-4, 237, 241-2,

- 291; -ila 234; -i 172, 197, 255; -i 138, 142,
233-4, 275; -ina 234; -i 242; -eu 313; -ehi 292;
164, 197, 241; -i 246; -o 183, 200
-e 58, 187, 242; -eu 167, bhavāra 77, 159, 165, 176
177, 233-4, 246; -eu 233; bhavāhi 176
-eū 81; -ena 234; -ehu bhavitavyatā 207
269; -e 142, 158, 233-4; bhaḍārī 27
-yaū 275; -yasi 244; -yeu bhāinha 123, 244; bhāi 108,
168, 182, 201, 233, 283; 121, 192 271, 296, 326;
bhē 242 bhāya 122
bhaiyā 108, 121 bhākhai 186; bhākhā 223
bhau 220 bhāga 161, 168
bhaūhar 107, 124, 267 bhāgab 232; bhāgē 175
bhakti 307 bhāṇḍa- 56
bhakhadātā 203 bhāta 267
bhagata 164, 187, 200; -na bhādra-pada 39
228 bhābī 207
bhagatī 219, 292 bhāya (see bhāinha)
bhagavanta 219; -ā 176 bhāyē 161
bhaginī 63, 66-7 bhāra 186, 218
bhagnah 232 bhāria 186; -i 326
bhaḥjana 168, 189; bhaḥjā 122 bhārū 292
bhaḥa 271 bhāva 186; -i 175; -ā 122;
bhadra- 52 -e 242
bhayaṅkara 326 bhāṣā 226; -baddha 262
bhayāvani 240 bhāti 174, 188-9, 193, 242,
bhar-, -ai 233; -aba 233; -i 306
167, 193, 227, 240; -i bhikhāri 142
326; -ē 326 bhikhiyā 108, 197
bharata 121, 138, 166, 174, bhikṣā 42
182-3, 192, 200, 208, 271, bhintara 68
292 bhinna 240
bhariai 233 bhikha 161 (see bhikhiyā also)
bharōsa 176 bhūtara 304
bhala 192, 197; -āi 192-3, bhūāla 182, 188

bhūi 107, 263
bhuguti 202-3, 261, 282
bhujabala 262
bhubi 271
bhulānā 192, 267; -*eu* 246;
 -*ē* 291; *bhulāba* 283
bhū- 56
bhūkha 107, 175
bhūta 237
bhūmi 42, 59
bhūri 187
bhūla 28; *bhūlā* 241; *bhūlē*
 200, 241
bhūṣaṇa 43, 53, 187, 242
bhṛgupati 219
bhṛjē 257
bhṛjāta 174
bhṛga 122, 192, 202, 205,
 267; -*inī* 160; -*u* 200,
 208, 240
bhṛjana 186
bhṛra 142, 172: 301, 303;
 -*i* 197; -*ē* 138; -*ē* 201, 269,
 301
bhramahī 188
bhrātṛ- 42; -*jāyā* 68
bhrāṣṭra 42

m

mai 142; *maṣ* 122, 157-8,
 163, 166-8, 173, 175,
 183, 197, 207, 228, 241-2,
 254, 261-2, 271, 278,
 326
mauktikam 118

maudā 64
maut 119
maula 64
maē 163
maku 219, 306
magana 197
magu 165
maṅgala (*maṅgala*) 43, 203
maccha- 35, 107
macchiā 35
macharī 107
majjha-illa 156
majhāra 226; -*ā* 175, 226;
 -*i* 225
mañju 292
maṇḍalī 225
maṇḍī 4
mātavārā 182; -*i* 168, 326
matā 197, 292
matī 168, 174, 189, 193, 207,
 296; -*hīni* 165
maṭī 193
madana 244
madhu 142; -*makṣikā* 46
madhūka 56, 69
madhya 156, 215, 225, 227
mana 107, 159-60, 164-5,
 172, 175-6, 188-9, 192,
 201, 203, 219, 240-42,
 267, 272, 274, 318;
 -*bhāvata* 138; -*bhāvati*
 138
manau 312; *manahā* 256, 310
manāihū 245
mani-dīpa 266

- manu* 123, 256
manuja 257
manōja 285
manōratha 161, 240
manda- 39, 266
mandira 176
mama 73, 163
mayā 163, 183
mar-, -ai 186, -ata 241, 294 ;
 -ana 244, 278 ; -ahṛ
 255
marajāda 197
marama 165, 168, 188, 246
marica- 66
malina 242 ; *malīna* 122
maśaka 46, 55
mazaḥ 36
maha 226-7 ; *maha* 122, 126
 -7, 172, 174-5, 188, 196,
 200, 207, 225-7, 272-3
mahā 125 ; *mahi* 159, 186 ;
 mahī 158, 226, 318 ; *mahu*
 122 ; *mahā* 122, 176, 225,
 227 ; *maha* 122
mahatārī 108
mahari 107
mahādēo 81
mahimā 197
mahiṣa- 42 ; -ī 55
mahī 176 ; -pa 326 ; -pati
 220
mahū 314
mahēsa 255
mājira- 67
mājharī 225 ; *mājhiārā* 225
maḍapha 168
mādira 203, 218
māsa-khavā 172
māi 142, 158
mākhī 107, 189
māga 26 ; -ā 325
māgha 56, 228
māṭina 318
mātā- 46
mātū 121, 168, 242
mātr-ṣvasā- 69
mātha 220, 275
māna 120, 193 ; -ū 161
mān-, -ata 183 ; -ab 312 ;
 -ahṛ 267 ; -ahū 274 ;
 -ā 123, 325 ; -i 161 ;
 -ī 292 ; -eṭ 167
mānāvā 255
mānuṣa 200 ; *mānusa* 158,
 256
māyā 198, 241, 262-3, 266,
 292
mār-, -ai 176 ; -at 254 ; -ā
 171-2 ; -i 124, -ī 271
 293 ; -u 267 ; -esi 244
mārāga 26, 231, 254
māruta- 326
mālia 116
**mālīṣ* 116 ; *mālīkaḥ* 119
mālin 116
mālinikā 119
māha 188 ; -a 225 ; -ā 173 ;
 -ā 188, 225-6, 263 ; -ī
 165, 175, 187, 189, 192,
 195, 225-7, 240 ; *māha*

- 226; *māhā* 225- (also see *maha*)
māhura 43
māi 79
māg-, *-ahu* 267; *-ā* 241; *-i* 219; *-u* 175
mājha 167, 225, 227, 318; *-ā* 225
māthai 27, 123; *-r* 160
māsa 186
micu 108
mit-, *-ah* 291; *-ē* 288; *-āi* 172
mitra 161, 164, 197, 219, 274
miradaṅgū 209
mirtaka 173
mil-, *-ai* 207, 245; *-ana* 159; *-ani* 283; *-ab* 282-3; *ah* 172; *-ā* 171; *-āe* 288; *-āya* 223; *-i* 245 -6, 255, 281, 298; *-ī* 263; *-eh* 225; *-ehu* 165; *-ē* 262, 278
misa 182
mīcu 278, 297
mījah 256
mīthā 137-8, 142; *-ā* 142; *-i* 137; *-ē* 196
mita 120
muehū 314
mukuta 64, 272-3, 326
mukuta 161
mukula 41, 64
mukha 56, 69, 124, 186, 226, 269, 272; *-ni* 123, 125
muni 123, 189, 223, 225, 245, 271, 298, 326; *-nha* 123, 125; *-rāja* 186; *-hi* 201
muratar 124
mula 329
nulla 74
musola- 51
muhamada 120
muhi 159
mūthi 107, 177
mūrata 124, 153, 192, 220; *-i* 164
mūla 220; *-ā* 158
mūlya 74
mrga 292
megha- 56
merāihi 167
mētana-hāra 285; *mētā* 277; *mēfē* 288
mēdhra- 42
mērae 81
mērā 161, 163; *-i* 161; *-ē* 123, 161; *-ō* 161, 166
mēli 123; *-i* 172
mottiō 118
molla 74
mohi 159, 175, 182, 201, 226, 267, 292, 298; *-r* 53, 158-9, 163, 172, 201, 262, 266; *mōh* 159; *mōhi* 159, 189; *mōh* 159, 177, 244; *mōhi* 165, *mōh* 203, 255, 297; *mōhū* 314
mō 73, 158-9, 163, 191, 222,

- 240, 256, 272 ; *kaṭ* *yēhi* 183
 159 *yoktra* 73
mōkhū 262 *yōga* 208, 229, 240
- mōti* 123 ; -*hi* 123 ; *mōti* 202
mōra 158, 160-1, 166, 188,
 196-7, 326 ; -*ā* 160, 164,
 246 ; -*i* 160, 274 ; -*i* 160-1,
 182, 267 ; -*ē* 123, 160-1, 176
mōha 201
mō 167, 171, 184, 197, 209,
 226-7, 242, 246, 267, 269
mrakṣaṇa 46
mhane 312
- y**
- yauvana* 36
yajñopavīta 72
yati 210
yatna 36
yaṣṭi- 52
yasya 191 ; *yaḥ* 191
yaha 47, 160, 181-2, 184-5,
 192, 223, 243, 266-7,
 277, 297 ; -*u* 181-2,
 185
yā 181, 183-5, 200
yād 50
yādṛśa 210
yār 50
yāhi 184 ; -*ū* 184
yuvarāju 166
yūkā- 69
yēi 181-2, 185 ; *yēhi* 183 ;
yēhu 181
yē 180-2, 185, 191
- r**
- raini* 107, 177, 207
raurīhi 306 ; *raurē* 198
rakata 208
rakhavārē 285
raghu-, -*nātha* 125 ; -*pati* 283 ;
 -*pati-prabhutāi* 166 ;
baṁsinha- 122 ; *bara*-
bimala-jasu 186 ; -*rāi*
 263
raṅkahi 193
raṅgā (*raṁgā*) 175
rac-, -*i* 298 ; -*enhi* 246 ;
 -*esi* 244
raja 177
rañcika (*raṁcika*) 175, 306
ratana 121, 326 ; -*sēna* 181
rati 292
ratha 246
randhai 40
rabi 246
ravaṭi 158
raśmi- 55
rasa- 174, 188, 202, 267 ;
 -*bharī* 137 ; -*vaṭi* 73 ; -*ika*
 117, -*ikiyā* 117
rasanā 175, 186
rah-, -*ai* 161, 171, 188, 195,
 207, 246 ; -*at* 122 ; -*ata*
 183 ; -*ati* 272 ; -*ateṭi* 271 ;
 -*ana* 263 ; -*aba* 263,

- 297; -*ah* 203, 218; -*ā* 142, 201, 207, 209, 297; -*iyē* 183; -*iha* 120; -*ihu* 245; -*i* 171, 233, 278, -*u* 164, 174; -*eni* 245; -*ē* 158, 173, 233, 242, 275, 278, 291
rahāṭa 218
rāi 176; -*u* 108, 240, 277; -*ū* 168, 198
rāura (*rāvara*) 186, 197-9, 228; -*i* 198, 199; -*i* 198
rākh-, -*ai* 193; -*aba* 298; -*ah* 173; -*ahu* 269; -*ā* 47, 175, 277, 298; -*ih* 263; -*ehu* 243; -*ē* 192
rāja 142, 166, 171, 175, 188, 226, 256, 262, 297; -*i* 123; -*i* 123, 297; -*kuāra* 121; -*kūara* 175; -*kula* 199; -*putra* 65; -*h* 166
rājā 122, 142, 164-5, 171, 173, 176, 195-6, 203, 209, 220, 228, 240, 254-5, 277, 291, 296, 298, 326; *rājan* 199; *rājana* 198; *rājanha* 123
rāta 107, 143, 153, 220, 242; -*ā* 123
rāti 122, 142, 152, 203; -*i* 240
rātri 50
rāni 108, 142; -*i* 108, 120-1, 177, 188, 201, 207, 228, 241, 271
rāma 117, 121, 160, 165, 183, 189, 195, 298, 325; -*abhiṣēka* 138; -*nāma* 266; -*pēma-bhājana* 183; -*priya* 165; -*sam-mukha* 123; -*h* 122, -*u* 121, 242; -*uā* 117
rāwal 199
rāhū 278
rādhā 271
rījhai 122
ritu 242
rini 202
ripu 246
riṣi 58
risa 171, 196
risāni 142; -*ē* 283
rīj-, -*ai* 257; -*ā* 174
ruda 209
rupavantai 124
ruṣyati 55
rūpa 121, 165, 175, 186, 188, 208, 218, 222, 243, 263; -*ā* 160, 173, 201
rē 172
remo 117
rēkha 172
roibō 283
rovāvahi 288
rō-, -*ah* 82; -*ā* 82; -*i* 256; -*nā* 256; -*vat* 257; -*vata* 257, 274

rōṣ 168, 173 ; *rōva* 208

rōka 267

rō-dana 196

rōma 203 (see *rō-ā*)

rōṣū 160, 192

rōhū 262

I

lai 176, 197, 263

lauha 73 ; *-kāra* 56

lakṣa 52

lakh-, *-āi* 326 ; *-āē* 82 ; *-i* 292

lag-, *-a* 308 ; *-āē* 202 ; *-āvai* 159, *-āvah* 161 ; *-i* 158, 182, 202, 228, 241, 262, 266, 277-8 ; *-eu* 298

lagana 142

laghu- 56

laṅgh- 46 ; *-ai* 35

lacchana 209

lajāvani-hārē 285

lajāneu 291

lajjā 52, 116

laṭa 197

larata 165

larikā 188

lavana 46

laṣana 53, 177, 195, 296 ; *-u* 120

laharai 182

lah-, *-i* 227, 244, 308 ; *-ia* 186

lāi 183, 242 ; *-ī* 165 ; *-ūba* 172 ;

lākha 151, 174, 267

lāg-, *-a* 240, 242, 283 ; *-ati* 240 ; *-aba* 298 ; *-ah* 123, 174 ; *-i* 121, 142, 168, 227-8 ; *-ihi* 263, *-ī* 245, 263 ; *-ī* 203, 298 ; *-u* 160 ; *-ē* 298

lāja 116, 123 ; *-i* 297

lāṅgūla- 46

lātā 267

lābha 165, 189

lāyaka 165

lāyaq 139

lāl 139

lāvā 123, 227

lāhā 173

lāba 138

likh-, *-ai* 175, 283 ; *-anī* 138, 142, 158 ; *-ā* 277, 325 ; *-i* 192 ; *-ī* 26, 278, 326 ; *-itani* 325

liṅga-paṭṭa 73

liya 228 ; *-ē* (*liē*) 298 ; *lihetū* 120 ; *liṭē* 291 ; *linha* 182, 298 ; *linhā* 158, 160, 167-8, 183, 186, 193 ; *linhi* 53, 242 ; *-linhetū* 183 ; *linhesi* 202 ; *linhē* 242

lilē 208

lui 323

lukāi 297

lugāi 277

lunia 186

lei 121, 166, 193, 227, 326 ; *lēi* 186 ; *lēta* 272 ; *lēti* 272 ; *lēba* 287, 298 ; *lēbā*

- 158 ; *lēvai* 203 ; *lēht* 257 ;
lēhu 47, 219, 298
lēkin 312
logāṭ 246
lōi 177
lōka 120, 243, 263
lōga 245, 256, 277 ; -*na* 123 ;
 -*nha* 122
lōcana 326 ; -*lāhū* 186
lōni 158
lōbā 107
lōbha 160, 266
lōha 176 ; -*u* 283
- v
- vaṅka* 33
vai 170, 173
vakil 50
vakhāna 298
vakra 33
vagt 34
vaggha 35
vaṭṭai 36
vaḍḍhai 52
vappha 41
varayātrā 65
varaṣaht 53
varṇa- 46
varṣ- 55
vallī 52
vas- 55
vasiṣṭha 53
vaha 47, 164, 170-1, 173,
 175-7, 203, 207, 240,
 267, 297 ; -*i* 175, 177,
 200 ; *wahi* 181, 229,
wahu 181
vā 170, 174 ; *wā* 181
vāāvaḷi 115 ; *vāyāvali* 115
vāta 67 ; -*ākula-* 65 ; -*āvali*
 41, 63 ; -*āvaliḥ* 115
vādyatē 232
vārana 203 ; *vāri* 117
vārtā 118
vālukā 70, 116
vāvailā 242
vāstṭē 230
viana 72
vijñapti 45
viṭapa 51 ; -*āt* 333
viḍāla 51, 53
vitasti- 68
vidyā 223
vidhavapana 195
vidhi 307
vīpādikā 71
vilihiṇṇ (jāi) 296
vivahāra 71
vismar- 41
vismṛ- 55
vīṇā 67
vuḍḍha 52
vṛddha 70
vṛnta 71
vṛścika 68
vei 170-2, 177, 187, 200,
 297
vē 181 ; -*tika* 209
vēḷhiṇṇ (jāi) 296
vēda 167

<i>vēlā</i> 302	<i>ślakṣṇa</i> 156
<i>vontisa</i> 147	<i>śvasura</i> 55
<i>voha</i> 176; -i (<i>vahi</i>) 170, 174	<i>śvāsa</i> 55
-5	
<i>vō</i> 177; -hi 177; -hī 175	§
<i>vōrā</i> 200	
<i>vyajana</i> 72	<i>ṣaṭ</i> 35
<i>vyathā</i> 67	<i>ṣaṣṭhaka</i> 156
<i>vyartha</i> 192	<i>ṣoḍaśa</i> 55
<i>vyavahāra</i> 71	
<i>vyāghra</i> 41, 65	s
<i>vritti</i> 58	
<i>vahi</i> (see <i>vahi</i>); <i>vā</i> (see <i>vā</i>)	<i>sai</i> 151; <i>sau</i> 151, 181
	<i>saiada</i> 81
	<i>saila</i> 209
	<i>sattālisa</i> 77, 148
<i>śaivāla</i> 71	<i>satdhi</i> 72
<i>śatāni</i> 135	<i>sautukai</i> 171
<i>śayyā</i> 71	<i>saubhāgya</i> 72
<i>śikhā</i> 56	<i>sauhar</i> 304
<i>śītala</i> 68; -āya 71	<i>saṭ</i> 120-22, 159, 165-6,
<i>śuka</i> 69	173, 181, 187, 191-2,
<i>śuṇḍā</i> 55	222, 227, 241, 256, 269
<i>śūkara</i> 69, 73	318
<i>śṛgāla</i> 64	<i>saṭha</i> 304-5; -i 305
<i>śṛṅga</i> 55	<i>saṭ</i> 180; <i>sau</i> 180; <i>sakaḥ</i> 180;
<i>śṛṇu</i> 45, 268; <i>śṛṇoti</i> 69	<i>sasmin</i> 179
<i>śōdha-kāra</i> 72	<i>saṁsārā</i> 166, 177, 297; -ū
<i>śobh-</i> 56	283
<i>śmaśru</i> 46, 74	<i>sak-</i> , -ai 298; -aṭ 298;
<i>śyāmāka</i> 55	-ab 282; -aba 298; -ah
<i>śyāla</i> 55	201, 298; -u 120
<i>śrāpa</i> 53	<i>sakala</i> 158, 161, 172, 283
<i>śrāvāṇa</i> 55	<i>sakucata</i> 274
<i>śrutikīrti</i> 53	<i>saktu</i> 55
<i>śreṣṭhī</i> 67, 115	

- sakhā* 182
sakhi 296, 326; -*na* 122-3, 197; -*ṇha* 123; -*yana* 124; -*i* 153, 246
sagarau 297
saguna 53, 124, 152; -*iai* 124
saghana 56
saṅkara (*saṁ-*) 255, 326
saṅga 227-8, 230, 283; -*i* 182
saṅghārē 27
saṅmukha 305
saciva 228
sacētanha 123
saccaṃ 35
sajaga 306
sajana 203
sajāi 160
sañchēpahi 122
sañjhā 36
saṭha 246; -*ṇhi* 123, 126; -*hi* 254
saddha 52
saṇha 156
sata 196, 222, 244; -*ē* 153;
satasaṅga 171
saṭi 222, 241
satta 38, 240
sattara 149
sattāvana 149
satya 182
satraha 147
sadana 168
sadā 172, 222, 255
sadrśa 231
sana 159, 165-6, 208, 222-3, 240-2; -*u* 174
sanamukha 202
sanātha 158
sanēha 197, 326
santakēna 224; *santakō* 224;
sanṭē 230
santanha 218
santāp- 64; -*ayati* 79
sandhi 72
sapata 124, 177
sapatnī 50, 55
sapatha 138, 166, 201
sapana 167, 228, 293, 296, 326; -*ā* 124, 184, 207, 242; -*ehu* 165, 183, 313; -*ē* 124, 171, 220, 242
saptati 50
saptadaśa 50
sappa 40; -*m* 132; -*ā* 132-3; -*ē* 132; -*ō* 116, 132-3
safaid 139
saba 124, 142, 161, 164, 167, 172, 175, 183, 188-9, 197-8, 203-4, 206-7, 215, 217-8, 241, 243-6, 256, 263, 277, 282, 298, 326; -*i* 187, 256, 318; *kēhi* 206; *kāhū* 206; *kichu* 206; *kou* 206; *kōū* 206; -*hi* 195, 197, 203-4, 206; -*hī*

- 182; -*hi* 198, 216; -*ni* 167, 256
 126; -*u* 203
sabada 174
sabara 223
sabori 125
sabbadhi 133
sabhā 125, 218, 226
sama 166, 174, 182, 198, 201,
 240; -*h* 224; *samēna*
 224
samai 177
samayo 302
samartha 51
samarpay- 69
samōja 187; -*ā* 209
samāna 166
samīpa 256
samujha 183; -*ta* 182; -*āina*
 246; -*āva* 288; -*i* 27,
 175, 196, 243, 281; -*eu*
 245
samuda 291; -*hi* 122
samudāi 255
samēṭahu 197
samēta 198, 246, 262
samputa 244
sambhu 196, 219
sammata 43, 121
sammuha 46
samhāri 281
saya 151 (see *sai*)
sayana 292
sayāni 142; -*i* 246; -*ē* 176
sara 296
saraga 175, 227, 257, 278, 326
sarana 167, 256
sarabari 186
sarāh-, -*ana* 198; -*ā* 196;
 -*i* 196, 263; -*iata* 240
sari 159, 191, 201, 228, 256
sarisa 121, 192, 231, 266
sarīra 177, 326
sarēkhā 174, 255
sarōnīla 255
sarpa 80; -*ṇ* 132; -*h* 116,
 132; -*ān* 132; -*āh* 132
sarva 206
sarvana 283
saṭṭhī 296
savati 107, 122, 168, 244, 262
savāra 121
savārā 186
savinaya 174
sasi 186
sasura 297
sah-, -*ai* 173; -*aba* 262;
 -*ā* 167; -*i* 292; -*ia*
 243
sahaja 182
sahasa 151
sahāya 207
sahita 255; -*ena* 224,
sahī 325
sahēli 326
sah 179-80, (see *saḥ*)
sāga 227-8, 230
sāvārā 187; -*ē* 241
sā 179
sār 297
sāuja 107

- sākhā* 275
sāgara 220
sāja 262, 297; -ā 122, 296;
 -i 291, 296; -ī 173,
 218; -u 173
sājhuā 156
sātha 149
sāta 146, 257; -u 313; -va
 153; -v 313
sātha 168, 202, 218, 298;
 -ā 166, 243; -ī 121,
 161, 218
sādara 292
sādhai 175
sādhu 187; -mahimā 240
sāna 156
sānē 58
sāf 41
śārā 202
sārī 245
sārtha 39, 64
sālā 292
sāsu 326; -ra 262
śācī 182; -ehu 314
śājha 301, 303
śāpa 116, 132; -ā 132; -ini
 142; -u 116, 132
sikōrī 267
siktha 38, 68
sikha 107, 121, 166; -ē 137,
 187
siṅgha 271, 291
siṅghala 26, 218; -āīpa
 171
sicāvā 288
siddha 178; -nha 123
sidhāē 124, 240
sidhi 189
sindhu 225-6, 246
siya 326
sira 177, 208
sirajānahārahī 243
sirāti 240
sitā 218
siva 298; -ā 223
sihāhī 187
sihiṭi 107
śīgārā 159, 262
sīu 108
sīv 66
sikani 126
śilā 269, 297; -nātha 223
śipa 171, 176
siya 263
śila 167
śisa 172, 225; -ni 125
śīcā 164
su 180
suatā 108, 164; *suā* 53, 108,
 176, 241, 244
sukha 158, 165-6, 173, 175-
 6, 192, 197, 202, 256,
 267, 275
sukhāī 171; -hī 291
sukhārī 188
sugati 125
sugandha 73, 202, 222;
 sugādha 120
sugāi 197
sugharāī 208; -hī 26

<i>sujaṇa</i> 263	<i>suhā</i> ,-ī 58, 176, 204, 326; -ē
<i>sujaṣa</i> 166	138, 182; - <i>vani</i> 256;
<i>suajānā</i> 200	- <i>vā</i> 138
<i>suta</i> 172, 275, 326; - <i>nha</i>	<i>suhāsa</i> 277
246; - <i>ā</i> 166	<i>sūā</i> 245
<i>sudhāri</i> 281	<i>sūkara</i> 242
<i>sudhi</i> 107, 182, 197	<i>sūcikā</i> 70
<i>sun</i> ,- <i>ai</i> 178, 215, 255,	<i>sūjha</i> 166, 173; - <i>hi</i> 291;
282-3; - <i>ahu</i> 168, 326;	- <i>ā</i> 203; - <i>i</i> 159, 183, 297
- <i>ā</i> 123, 241, 326; - <i>āu</i>	<i>sūdha</i> 142; - <i>i</i> 204
266; - <i>āeu</i> 167, 203; - <i>āē</i>	<i>sūraja</i> 121, 216
187; - <i>āyeu</i> 288; - <i>āyehū</i>	<i>sūlā</i> 243
245; - <i>āvatū</i> 166, 266;	<i>sejiā</i> 108
- <i>āvahṭ</i> 288; - <i>āvahū</i> 177;	<i>sejo</i> 156
- <i>āvā</i> 288; - <i>i</i> 45, 171, 182,	<i>sevakāi</i> 262
201, 207, 243, 263, 296	<i>sē</i> 166, 172, 180, 325
-7, 326; - <i>ia</i> 292;	<i>sēu</i> 81
- <i>ihahṭ</i> 263; - <i>i</i> 123, 242;	<i>sēṭhi</i> 115
- <i>u</i> 296; - <i>ehi</i> 246	<i>sērasāhi</i> 326
<i>sundara</i> 167, 172, 256, 275;	<i>sēva</i> 254; - <i>ā</i> 160, 165, 168,
- <i>tā</i> 209, - <i>i</i> 43	181, 262, 326
<i>sufaid</i> 40	<i>sēvaka</i> 158, 262; - <i>ni</i> 126
<i>subānī</i> 263	<i>sēti</i> 222
<i>subhāu</i> 108, 246, 267; - <i>ū</i>	<i>so</i> 171, 176, 186, 192, 196,
142; - <i>vā</i> 142	200, 242, 263, 269, 277;
<i>sumir</i> ,- <i>ai</i> 192; - <i>ata</i> 189, 203,	- <i>i</i> 168, 176, 186, 188-
274; - <i>ana</i> 204, 298; - <i>ahu</i>	9, 246, 298, 318
297; - <i>eū</i> 243; - <i>ena</i> 246;	<i>sonārā</i> 121
- <i>ehū</i> 165	<i>sohāi</i> 175; - <i>tū</i> 174; - <i>hi</i> 58
<i>sura</i> 226; - <i>na</i> 123	(see <i>suhā</i> -)
<i>surāṅga</i> 120, 164	<i>sohāga</i> 160
<i>surasarī</i> 256	<i>sō</i> 53, 170-1, 173-4, 176,
<i>sulabha</i> 189, 297	179-80, 186, 188, 196,
<i>suvarṇa</i> 69, 73	222, 240, 243, 292; - <i>i</i>
<i>susēvakani</i> 125	186, 274; - <i>i</i> 172, 186,

246, 262, 296, -u 82;
 -ū 314
sō-, -ība 283; -vai 120; -vata
 275; -vati 176
sōnai 122, 217
sōbhā 244, 326
sōraha 147
sōha 165, 207; -navāri 285
sō 121-2, 161, 165-6, 168,
 176, 182, 187, 192, 200-
 1, 242, 267, 293, 326
skandha 33
skambha 34
stana 38
stāgha 56
strī 67
sthā- 155; -na 305
sthāli 38
sthiti 68
snā- 45, 57
spand- 40
sphuṭ- 40
sphoṭa 70
sravana 277, 282, 297
srotas- 55
sva 197
svara 55, 69
svāmī 55

z, z

zōr 74
zulm 36

h

ha-, -i 53, 142, 161, 165,
 168, 171, 176, 187, 193,

195, 202-3, 208, 233,
 273-4, 277, 297; -r
 168, 177, 182, 274, 277;
 -u 161, 253; -ū 158,
 163, 175, 182, 217, 233,
 240, 253, 266, 271, 273;
 -na 253; -h 233, 274;
 -hu 233, 253, 273-4;
 -hū 233, 273-4, 277

hajarata 172

haṭhi 254

hata 233; -h 232; -ā 164;
 -i 278; -ē 209; -ē
 233

hatiā 152, 245

hatyāre 182

hama 159-60, 163, 183, 209,
 241-4, 157-9, 262, 277,
 326; -hi 160, 267; -h
 (-r) 158, 160, 163, 186,
 283; -h 160, -hū 262,
 314; -hū 314

hamār-, -a 158, 160-1,
 163, 203, 267, 272, 283;
 -ā 161, 267, 326; -i 161;
 -ī 161, 326; -ehi 318
 -ē 161, 274; -ē 161

haya 292

hara 272

haraṇa 285

harani 285

haraṣapada 183

harasāni 242

harā 186, -ī 164

hari 116, 121, 160, 164, 200,

241, 261, 273, 326 ; -kī-	hīna 168
ratī 125 ; -yā 116	hīrāmani 159, 164
hariara 137	hīrē 176
harīē 292	hukum 97
haridrā 56	hula 173, 222, 233, 237, 278 ;
hariphāreuri 27	-i 222 ; -ē 177 ; -ē 223
haru 58 ; -ē 137	huḍūr 36
haliddā 39	hulāsū 267
hasi 142, 233, 253	hṛdaya 168, 296 ; -ṃ 66
hasta 56, 232 ; -h 118	hē 273
hākarāyeu 288 ; hākārai	hētu 219, 283
188	hēr-, -ahr 122, 172, 187 ;
hās-, -ā 186, 242 ; -ibē 283 ;	-ahu 207 ; -ā 165 ; -i 298
-ī 123 ; -ē 283	ho- 56 ; -i 82-3, 171, 177,
hāṭa 173, 182, 218, 220,	195, 267, 274, 291, 295,
226, 243, 254	311, 330-1 ; -ihai 173,
hāṭha 161, 172, 184, 201 ;	201, 234 ; -ihi 193 ;
-na 123, 226 ; -ā 196,	hontēna 225
198, 256, 282	hō- 121-2, 164, 245 ; -ai
hānī 160, 267	234 ; -i 82, 123, 138,
hāri 273	142, 171-3, 178, 186-
hārū 183	7, 192, 200, 203, 208,
hāsā 283	234, 256, 276 ; -ihi 168,
hiāu 122	196, 234, 298 ; -i 167,
hiē 121, 188	186-8, 207-8, 263 ; -u
hita 168, 177, 198, 219, 228,	201, 267 ; -ā 158 ; -ehu
245 ; -kāri 188 ; -hānī	269 ; -ta 171, 175, 202,
189 ; -u 166	271-3 ; -tai 161, 272 ;
himavantu 283	-tā 271 ; -ti 271 ; -tiā
himācala 209	168, 271 ; -nī 123, 125 ;
hiya 107, 261 ; -ā 107, 188,	-ba 234, 262, 286-7 ;
207 ; -ō 108	-bai 234, 262 ; -hr 182,
hilagi 47	188, 277 ; -hu 234 ;
hichā 160	-hā 158, 183 ; -hihr
hī 219, 233, 278	234

PART 2

Modern Awadhi and Hindustani Words

- A
- Ais** 209, 273, 295, 308, 310-11; **-Ai** 99; **-ir** 304; **-ei** 321; **-en** 307; **-er** 210, 306
- Aiḥau** 265, 279, 308; **-ū** 261
- Aīcinī** 329
- Au** 251, 310-11, 329, 331; **ao** 310
- Autir** 287
- Aur** 50, 69, 89, 99, 152, 198, 204-5, 210, 307; **-i** 204; **-ir** 204; **-er** 204; **korir** 206; **saḥ** 206; **awar** 307
- Aurat** 140, 328
- Auḥar** 56
- Āuraz** 65, 69
- ao** *see* **au**
- Akəlāg** 304
- Akarl** 60
- Akirn** 50
- Akel** 312
- Akerlar** 312
- Akrais** 147
- Akharort** 34
- Agəman** 302-3
- Agḥarḥ** 293
- Ackan** 35
- Acḥar** 141-2; **-ir** 141, 308; **-an** 142; **-en** 141-2; **-er** 141-2, 144, 214
- Aṇṇard** 64
- Aṇṇar** 36, 65
- Aṇer** 329
- Aṇrimir** 154
- AṇḥatrAr** 150; **-i** 150
- AṇḥarAḥ** 147; **-ar** 147
- Aṇḥarsir** 150
- Aṇḥe** 154
- Aṇḥarnber** 151; **-ver** 151
- Aṇḥarwan** 149
- Aṇḥarsir** 150 *see* **Aṇḥarsir**
- Aṇḥaris** 147; **-irs** 147
- Atibarṇ** 64
- Attraz** 209; **-er** 299
- Adəmir** 112-3, 126, 230; **Admin** 144, 205; **Admir** 205, 293, 323; **Admir** **udmir** 323
- Aḍəḍarī kə** 89; **adb-** 89
- Adḥar** 155
- Adḥikar** 307
- Anarj** 224
- Anir** 63
- Antə** 305
- Anḥarir** 40
- Aṇənar** 60, 85, 99, 198-9; **-er** 99; **Aṇan** 40, 198; **Aṇanar** 198; **Aṇanī** 127-8, 198; **Aṇanir** 198, 330; **Aṇane** 198-9, 330; **Aṇnar** 60

- Apat 199
 Apunai 198
 Ab 140, 294, 299, 302-3, 308,
 317-8, 321; -Ai 274;
 -Afin 321; -Afinai 321;
 -Afi: 321; -Afiē: 321;
 ki: 302; ti: 302, 317
 330; tiu 317; AbiAj 302-3,
 321; AbfiAi 302; AbfiAū:
 317; AbfiAj 303; AbfiA-
 jen 321
 Abazj 3
 Aberr 63
 Amir 311
 Amorl 49
 AmkhorAwaz 127
 Ambikar 289
 ArAgū 34, 64
 Arəgfi: 35
 Arazm 64-5
 Arer 214
 ArozrAb 63
 ArgAnir 46
 Ardazwanj 92
 ArsAtfi: 149
 Ar:fi: 49, 59, 87
 Arsir 60, 85
 Artazlis 148
 Artis 148; Artirs 148
 ArtsAth 149 *see* ArsAthi
 ArtfiAijaz 155; ArtfiAzir 92,
 155
 AlAg 94
 AlAg 304-5
 Alzar 85
 AwAr *see* Aur
 As 306-7; -Au 317
 Asazfi 63
 Asir 68; Asrir 150, 315, 319;
 Asriu 315; Asrin 319
 Asturaz 64
 Af-, -Ai 6, 56, 140, 234, 279;
 -Ai 129; -Au 234; -An
 234; -Asi 234; -Ai 234;
 -ar 234; -in 234; -ir 234,
 250; -i: 234; -eu 234;
 -e: 319, -ē: 234; arj 234;
 arfi 56, 234; arfi: 234
 Afir 66, 216, 250
 Afisaznq 64
 Aferr 56, 71
 Agut'har 37, 63
 Aguz'thi: 329, 30
 AcAwAb 63
 AtArar 63
 AdfiArar 77
 Abijaz 41
 ar
 ar-, -i 141, 261, 299,
 312, 329; -iu 84; ijeraz
 199; -isq 270; -ir 83,
 132, 204, -i: 143, 230,
 331; -u 61; -ub 250,
 264; -eu 199; -en 321;
 -e; 115, 131, 144, 310-11;
 -or 83, 97, 258, 302, 331;
 -oro 302; -jeu 131;
 jen 251, 321; -jer 112,
 115, 143, 184, 206, 214,
 224, 322; -jē: 250; -war

112, 115, 131, 141, 194,
204, 230, 284, 295, 299,
313, 322; -wAī 141, 294;
-wAī 99, 328; -wAtī 94,
141, 287; -wAb 290, 294,
329

arkhAt 59

argī 34, 67, 115, 118, 327;
-i 216, 299; -ir 128, 133,
216

arger 230; -ēr 305

archer 6

arj 36, 280, 302

arjar 64; -ir 68

arju 301; -ṇ 301-3

arṭh 146, 273

ardir 64

ardī 50

ardmir 139 *see* Adōmir

ardfiar 155; -ir 99, 250;
-er 308

ardfi 258

arn 46, 65, 204-5, -er
204

arnAb 290

arp 199; -An 199; -u 199;
-ui 198-9; -ṇ 198-9

army 308; -e 141

arj 234 *see* Afi-

arAs 55; -ṇ 50, 63

arAsir 51

arṇ 64

arlur 114

ars 55

arfi and arfiṛ *see* Afi-

āru 64; -ū 109

ārḱ 65

ārkhī 77, 80, 109, 126, 130,
132-3; -in 130; -ir 31,
68, 126, 129, 132-3

ārgar 34

ārc 109, 118

ārcAr 35

ārṭar 210

ārṭ 62

ārdfiar 79, 293

ārsAu 302

ārsur 55

ārṭir 49, 51, 65

i

iar 50

iu 62, 66, 85, 144-5, 184-5,
284, 293, 308, 310, 315,
320, 329

ikAtrirs 148

ikrirs 147

iktarlirs 148

ikrjarnwer 151

ikrjarwan 149

ikrjarsir 150

iksAṭh 149

ikhAtrAr 149

iṛAṭī 67

iterarḱ 59

in 85, 184-5, 315, 320; -Afiir
320; -Afiur 315; -Afiex
320

inarm 67

78

ilrAtj 59

isaxir 67

istarm 65, 67

istirir 67

iñAu 315

ĩdarsax 66, 77-8; ĩndarsax

ir

ir 85, 131, 140-1, 144-5, 184,
279, 301-2, 304, 306, 308,
315, 320, 328-9

irñir 58

ĩrgur 78; ĩrgur 78

ĩrt 329

ĩrdñan 78; -ñ 68

u

uAi 69; uer 83

ui 99, 100, 128, 131-2, 141,
144, 178-9, 198, 247, 249,
294, 299, 301, 304, 308,
310-1, 315, 320, 322,
327-8, 331; sAb 206

ukilarb 61

ukizl 50

ukharAb 34

ugñarAb 69

uJar 36, 69

uJar 139

upcars 148

uñAb 299; uñax 298;

uñaxi 92, 128; uñaxor
130

utarr 281

udrim 67

un (unñ) 28, 99, 178-9, 221,
250, 284, 315, 320, 329;
-Añir 320; -Añur 315;
-Añex 320; unñAi 179

unxarsir 150

unxirs 147

untarlirs 148

untirs 147

unsAñh 149

unñatrar 149

upəJai 40

uprar 28, 304-5; -Au 317

upñanari 41

ubəñani 61

umiri 70

uñ , -Ai 51; -arwatj 154

ultar 85

uñ 178; -Au 315; -i 178, 320

ũrexlAb 78

ur

ur 85, 96, 127, 139, 144, 162,
178-9, 248-9, 258, 261,
268, 281, 300, 302, 310-11,
314-7, 320-1, 323, 331

urbAb 61

ursAr 61

ũrkh 70

ũrt 78

e

euJir 59

ekotarlis 148

ekotis 148

ekosAñh 149

ekəsar 156

ekəḥṭararī 57; ekḥararī
149

ekais 147

ekā-, -war 153; -ir 153

ekarnber 151; ekranaraj
151; ekarnbe 151;
ekrarnber 151ekarsir 150; ekarsir 150;
ekrarsir 150

ekran 154

ekrampacars 148

ekrarwan 149; ekjarwan
149egjarrar 146, 155; egjarrar
146, 155

eṭhār 304-5

etānar 209-10

etarar 210; -er 210, 303

etrar 59, 209; -ir 302; -er
210, 299, 302-3

en (enfi) 184

ewāī 307, 322

eḥāwar 304

eḥi 184

eḥu 57

eḥkir 304

ēṭuar 78

er

er 184

erk 62, 85, 96, 99, 115, 146,
152, 315, 319, 328-30; -ai
154, 319; -au 308, 315;
-o 101; -u 115; -u 258

erka: 59

errarpheerir 59

ērīr 78

o

oinar 61, 73

okharir 73

oṭhār 304

opcars 148

otānar 209-10

otrar 85, 209; -ir 210; -er
210

on 179; onfi 179

onais 147, 155; onrais 147

onātris 147; ontis 147;
wantis 147

onarsir 150; onarsir 150

ontarlis 148

onsaṭh 149; -i 149

onḥararī 149

orir 130; -er 130

oṭḥonar 73

oserir 61; osarir 73

osar 72

ofi 179, 304; ofe 179

or

or 179, 251

orjhar 65, 73

orṭ 85

orp 60

orr 304-5

ors 60, 73

ōrṭh 73, 78

k

- kAi** 178, 210, 217, 281-2, 299, 301, 308, 323, 328
 -31; -kui 323; **kAj** 221
kAithar 37-8, 66
kAis 66, 209; -ir 304; -en 307; -er 250, 306
kAiflāz 217, 221, 224, 282
kAītir 304-5
kAiz 194
kAun 141, 193-4, 315; -Au 315; -i 194; -ir 194, 230; -p 204; -er 132, 194; **kAWan** 194
kAuṣir 69
kAkana: 79
kAkawar 79
kAkraz 98, -uz 98
kAceflorir 92, 258
kAchuar 69
kAJani 312
kAt- 293; -Ati 232; -Ab 66; -aruni 251; -arwab 232
katik 209
kathar 39, 99
kankaijar 43
kanchedonar 43
kantorp 43
kandaz 29, 37
kanpatir 43
kanflaijar 44, 46, 79, 117
kanzer 43
kaporaz 29
kapuz 70
kAb 302, 317, 321; -rAi 321; -rau 317; -rAj 302; -Aflūz 317; -Aflēz 321; **kAbflaj** 302
kabisar 28
kAbutrar 112; **kAbutarir** 112
kAburlix 92
kAbrax 41
kAm 144, 152
kamarir 41, 79
kamarir 328
kAj *see* **kAi**
kAr 64, 221, 251-2; -Ai 268, 320; -Au 132, 329; -Aū 268; -nerwarlar 285-6; -Ab 140, 316, 318; -Abp 232; -otiu 273; -oten 274; -arinj 92; -ibar 316, 320; -iflāū 299; -ir 68, 134, 190, 220, 316, 320; -eū 252; -er 184, 221; -ti 99, 280-1
kAriar 98, 139, 144; **kArijar** 315, 319; **kArijai** 319; **kArijau** 315
kAriiflāru 92
kAruartj 92
kArur 51, 61, 139; -uir 139
kAroz 151; -rj 151
kAruar 139; -ir 139
kAlam 33
kAlur 98
kAlzer **kAlzer** 307
kAlchul 88

- kaIjugAfi:** 140
kalsia: 88
kaI:fi 88
kAWAN *see* **kaun**
kAs 209, 307; -**Ak** 307; -**As** 307
kas, -**ai** 55, -**Ab** 54; -**ibar** 92
kafi-, -**ai** 139, 207, 329;
 -**Ati** 94, 98; -**Atiu** 254;
 -**Ab** 56; -**ar** 78, 129, 250;
 -**i** 132, 194-5, 299; -**in**
 94, 178, 328; -**ini** 198,
 329; -**isi** 91, 96, 178,
 329-30; -**eu** 258; -**eū** 324;
 -**en** 251
kafiar 110, 115 130; -**Au**
 130; -**An** 130; **kafiara-**
war 110; **kafiarawai**
 130
kafiā: 54, 77-8, 254, 304,
 308, 317; -**Ā** 308, 312;
 -**Āwar** 304; -**ūr** 317;
 -**ewar** 304
kādfaija: 64; **kādfai:** 79
kābar: 41, 79
kə 96, 127-8, 132, 141-4, 162,
 169, 176, 178, 184, 190,
 194, 198, 204, 216-7, 267,
 273, 281, 289, 308, 310-1,
 322, 328, 330
kar 28, 96, 126, 128, 132, 162,
 169-70, 184-5, 187, 190,
 193-4, 198, 205, 216-7,
 224, 254, 258, 261, 273-4,
 279, 284, 295, 299, 308,
 310-1, 329, 331, 333
karj 33
karṭ 119, 293, 324, -**Ab** 66,
 232; -**i** 250, 299; -**i:** 140;
 -**en** 103
karṭh 31
kartik 311
karn 46, 109; -**e(m)** 132
karnar phūrsir 324
karm 110, 308; -**u** 129, 210,
 308, 322, 329; -**er** 132,
 229
karli 49; -**i** 303; **karli:** 52,
 67; **karli** 279, 302-3
karfi 194, 331
karfiar (-e) 77, 89, 94, 96,
 193-5, 224, 226, 308, -**eu**
 205
kār 217
kār:khī 34
kār:c 109
kārṭar 36
kārdfi 30, 33, 79, 109; -**e**
 (**pai**) 111
kārṭp 79; -**ai** 40
kipc 307
kitarḥ 85, 112, 119, 129,
 199, 210, 314, 319; -**ai**
 129, 280, 319, 321; -**Au**
 315; **kitabain** 321
kin 193-4; -**ə** 331; -**fi** 193-4;
 ken 194
kinokir 66
kinarir 29
kijarir 66; **ke-** 50, 71
kirawar 51; **kirōwar** 94

- kif**- 251; **-ini** 205; **-isi** 329, 331; **-isq** 270; **-ei** 320; **-eu** 210, 308, 317; **-eū** 252, 320; **-en** 205; **-er** 317, 320
ki 278, 299, 311, 330
kir 98, 193-4, 302, 304, 327, 328
kirn 252; **-fi** 252; **-fiosi** 251
kuā (-ā) 108, 254, 278
kukur 114; **-i** 114
kuchu 206; **-p** 97, 131, 205, 216, 274, 284, 331; **-ur** 205
kutawar 28, 111, 126; **-An** 128; **kutAunar** 111; **kutAunai** 129; **kutAunur** 111; **kutiar** 111; **kutiaur** 111; **kutijar** (-A) 61, 111, 162, 169; **kutijawar** 111
kutrar 85, 87, 91, 299, 322; **-Ai** 319; **-Au** 315; **-An** 315, 319
kudarji 91
kundar 85
kumerji 119
kumfiar 47, 65, 331; **-ini** 331
kurA-, **utir** 287, **-wati** 287; **-war** 287; **-wor** 257-8
kursir 279, 328
kūar (-A) 115, **-ā** 111, 130; **-An** 83; **-ān** 130; *see kuā*
kūar 69, 143-5; **-i** 141, 143; **-ir** 141, 143-4; **-er** 143-4
kūbfiar 42; *see kumfiar*
kurkur 87, 162, 169; *see kukur*
kurd 324; **-Ab** 29, 323; **-Ab kardAb** 323; **-i** 299
kurrar 51
kurjar 51
ke 59, 128, 254, 257-8, 281, 284, 329, 331; **ke** 210, 258, 328-9
keūlar 71
keṭhā 304
ketAnar 209-10
ketArar 210; **-er** 210
ketrar 209; **-ir** 210; **-er** 210
kethar 194-5
kethuar 194-5
ken *see kin*
kejarir *see kijarir*
kefiar 304
kefiar 194
kefi 193-4, 216; **-i** 71
kēwarjar 71
ker 61, 99, 194, 217, 304; *also see ke*
kerur 205; **kerfur** 205
ker 72, 199; **kerir** 258
kerrar 72
koṭhar 65
kofiarini 114
kor 6, 193-4, 315; **kofi** 195
korir (-i) 95, 204-5, 210, 258, 286, 311, **-ur** 205

kōrkhi 74
 kōrṣi 49
 kōrs 33
 kōrṣur 205
 kōrch 32, 109
 kjan, kjanṣ, kjaṣi 194, *see*
 kin.

kh

khaṭṭar 141, 293, -er 141;
 khaṭṭarb 293; khaṭṭar
 85
 khaṭṭijar (-A) 94-5, 108, 115;
 khaṭṭkirowar 88
 khaṭṭar *see* khaṭṭar
 khaṇ 302
 khabari 116, 250
 khambhar 30, 34
 khararb 139, 141; -An 141
 kharṭir 213, 230
 khar 287, 290; -i 71, 99,
 127, 139, 190, 214, 216,
 269, 279, 281, 284, 299,
 322, 328; -iti 154, 327;
 -ini 91, 198; -isi 94,
 299; -ir 331; -u 70,
 329; -e 71; -eu 84, 91;
 -er 83, 265; -o 70; -ti
 96, 127, 236, 247, 265,
 288, 328, -tir 288; -b
 299; 323-4; -b warb
 323; -bū 284; -j 251;
 -jen 210; -war 250, 295
 khaṭṭi 247; khaṭṭar
 265; khaṭṭaṭ 129, 190;

khaṭṭar 84; khaṭṭijar
 285; khaṭṭar 290;
 khaṭṭareṭ 295; kha-
 warar 184, 205; kha-
 warwai 99; khar-
 290

kharṭar 34
 kharṭir 94, 99, 128, 213,
 217, 228-30, 261, 284

kharṭi 76
 kharṭer 304
 khārcir 32
 khar- *see under* khar
 khirkijar 29
 khisiarb 90; khisiyari 96
 khirsar 207
 kher-, -u 61; -eu 83; -er 82;
 -or 258; -watṭi 287; -war
 287; kheutir 287

khert 34, 71, 96, 109, 226
 kherdi 128
 kherl 324; -Atṭi 113; -Ab
 59; -tir 254

khopcar 44, 87

khoparir 221

khor- 73

khoriab 31

khwarṭ 254

g

ga- 251-2; -i 112, 127, 140,
 162, 169, 184, 250, 252,
 311, 327-8, 330-1; -iu
 249; -iū 248-9; -in 248,
 250; -ir 248-9, 252; -ĩr
 78, 99, 112, 248-9, 251;

- eu 248-9, 270; -eū 248-9, 261, 278; -en 248; -er 72, 83, 248, 252, 333; -jeu 169; -jeū 162, 279; -jen 162, 249; -jer 141, 198, 204; -war 94, 169, 184, 248, 252, 261, 278-9
 gAiax 111, 126; gAijAn 129
 gAur 83
 gAijAi 331
 gAunAix 130, 205
 gAgorax 308; gAgarax 114; gAgorix (-i) 99, 114, 140; gAgarix 114
 gaŋdax 37
 gaŋAb 45
 gaŋdŋi 118
 gArijarwAi 217
 garirb 34
 garux 64, 308, 315, 319; -uAi 319; -uAu 315
 gal 103
 gAlt 331
 galphar 88
 gAŋir 56, 66
 gAu 109
 gAwarr 48, 50
 gar 34, 65, 72, 97, 112, 126, 131, 162, 169, 220, 252, 254, 274, 278, 299, 316, 320; gen 131; ger 96, 126, 129, 131-2, 143, 198, 230, 252, 254, 322
 gar 67, 109, 111-2, 126, 129, 178, 226; -n 178; -ir 126-7, 129
 garox 130; gAwarox 205
 garbŋini 42
 garŋir 119
 garŋi 52
 gAu 34, 69, 91, 97, 116, 129, 204, 230, 311, 315, 319, 322-3; -i 319; gAu 109, 130, 134; -wAi 131, 278-9, 319; -wAu 315; -wan 128, 130
 garŋhi 30, 37, 77
 gir-, -iu 317; -in 321; -i 143, 278, 317, 321-2; -ir 224; -er 127
 giroŋan 66
 gilars 299
 girŋi 39
 giri 76, 139-40
 gujar 36; -Ab 70
 gupcarlirs 155
 gudar-, -Ab 232; -i 99
 guðar 36
 gun 155; -ar 155
 guntirs 155
 gunzirs 155
 gumarn 34
 gurur 113, 331; -uarini 113
 guŋawar 114; guŋijar 114
 gulgular 329; -warlir 99
 gusrar (-A) 99, 328
 gur 109
 genAwar 79

geɾʌʃ 57; geɾʌʃʌwā: 153;
 geɾʌʃi: 153; geɾɾɾɾ
 34, 72, 146, 153, 155
 geɾɾɾ 71
 gẽɾd 29, 78-9, 114
 goɾɾɾ 289, 293; goɾʌile
 117; goɾʌile 117
 goɾʌɾ 145
 goɾʌɾri 330
 goɾʌhibɾ 78
 goɾphɾ 41, 74
 goɾbɾ 328
 goɾbɾi: 30
 goɾɾ 73, 141, 144-5; -e 141
 goɾɾ 49, 52
 goɾʃi: (-ũ) 29, 89, 70, 78; 89
 gjɾɾ 34
 gjɾɾʌʃ 146; gjɾɾɾɾ 146
see also geɾʌʃ

gh

ghɾɾ 103
 ghɾɾ 103, 126, 128, 134,
 198, 210, 216-7, 273, 314,
 316, 319-20, 330; -ʌi
 131, 319-20; -ʌu 314, 316;
 -ʌɾ 314, 316; ʌɾɾ (e)
 319-20; -ʌɾ 216; -u 112,
 126, 299; -eɾ 131
 ghɾɾɾɾ 94
 ghɾɾɾɾ 293
 ghɾɾɾi 103
 ghɾɾɾ 103
 ghɾɾɾi 103
 ghɾɾɾɾ 31, 109

ghɾɾɾ 35
 ghɾɾɾm-, -e (m) 132
 ghɾɾɾ 80
 ghɾɾɾ 80
 ghɾɾ 34, 66, 68-9, 82, 109
 ghɾɾɾ 35
 ghɾɾi: 83
 ghɾɾɾ 91
 ghɾɾɾ 84
 ghɾɾm-, -en 128, 322
 ghɾɾ:ghɾɾɾ 330
 ghɾɾɾɾɾ 31
 ghɾɾghɾɾɾɾɾ 31
 ghɾɾɾɾɾ 35, 78
 ghɾɾɾ-, -isɾ 330
 ghɾɾɾɾ(-ʌ) 60, 89, 109, 111,
 127, 216, 324, 329; -ʌɾɾ
 111; ghɾɾɾɾɾ 110-11,
 127; ghɾɾɾɾ 135;
 ghɾɾɾɾɾ 135; ghɾɾɾɾɾ
 111-2; ghɾɾɾɾɾ 111-2

c

cɾɾɾ 280
 cɾɾɾi: 58
 cɾɾɾɾ 149
 cɾɾɾɾɾ 148
 cɾɾɾ 154
 cɾɾɾɾɾ 155
 cɾɾɾ 37, 153, 156; -i 154
 cɾɾɾɾ 147
 cɾɾɾɾ 147; cɾɾɾɾ 147
 cɾɾɾɾɾɾ 151
 cɾɾɾɾɾi: 150
 cɾɾɾɾɾɾɾ 149
 cɾɾɾɾɾ 65

- cakiar 35
 cakrur 154
 caṭarir 332
 caṭ-, -ibar 33, 62
 caṭor 60, 73
 caṭkaiṛ 302-3
 canar 32, 65; -Au 103
 candan 79; canṛian 79
 camar 48, 50; -ini 92
 car-, -Ati 287; -ti 226, 287;
 caṭfi-, -i 329
 cal- 310, 327, 329; -Au 82,
 90, 94, 103; -Ab 299; -ar
 94, 96, 140, 250, 299;
 -aror 128; -i 94; -ir
 284, 293; -eū 260; -er
 322, 328, 333; -ēr 198;
 -dertiū 273
 cafi-, -Ai 198, 310-11; -Ab
 300, 311; -iAti 247, 300;
 -ir 204, 293
 cafiAi 198, 311; —...cafiAi
 310; -JAiser 308; -JAb
 308; -JAfiāṛ 308
 cāūtis 148
 cāūsAṭhi 149
 carṭ-, -Ati 62; -Ab 323;
 -Ab curṭAb 323; -ar 78
 carr 146, 152; -i 97, 126,
 146, 152, 299; -iu 220, 250
 carl 49, 110, 324
 carlAti 86
 carlis 52, 148; carlirs 148
 carfi-, -Au 310; -Ab 311;
 -Aj 310-11
 cāṛtar 78
 cārdir 39; carnir 39
 ciṭrhir 299, 322
 ciraijaṛ 113; -An 128
 cir-, -Ati 293
 cilam 43
 cilrar-, -war 295
 cirkan 33, 140
 cirJ 139
 cirnfi 46
 cuAi 35
 cuk, -Ab 299; -er 279; -Aū
 299
 curnar 70
 curmab 46
 coṭrar 32
 corowar 129; -Ai 129
 corar-, -ini 330; -eu 198;
 -jeu 330; -watṭi 127
 cor 97, 216
 corrir 198, 311
 cōrc 74
 codafi 147
 cobirs 147
 corainver 151
 corarsir 150
 cōwan 149
 cōwarlirs 148
 cōfiAtirar 149
 cōtirs 148
 cōsAṭh 149
 ch
 chakar 154
 chagorir 32, 127

chaṭṭhar 153, 156; cha-
ṭhawār 153; chaṭṭhāṭṭ
153

chaṭṭhi 154

chatris 148; chatrirs 148

chapran 99, 149, 258

cintar (-A) 331

chapkijar 113, 118

chabris 42, 147; chabris
147

charrar 128

chaṭṭir 140

char 35, 146, 322; -k 154

chacrhar 154

chamber 151

chairsaṭṭhi 149; chārchā-
ṭṭhi 149

chāṭṭ-, Ab 32; -i 274, 299

chāṭṭ-, -i 198

chin 66, 310

chinarī 46

chijarnar 151

chijarlis 66, 148; chijarlirs
148; chijārlis 148

chijarsaṭṭh 149

chijarsir 66, 150

chisṭarī 66

chirn-, -i 329

chunau 103

chur 257, 322; -tir 287

churrar 70

chūrch 32

chedarm 60

cheṭṭ 146 *see* char; cher 146

cheṭṭarī 150

cheṭṭarī 150

chernir 35

chermir 79

chērd 72

choṭkaur 89; choṭokaur
89; choṭokir 154

choṭṭ 139, 141, 154, 328; -i
139

choṭṭi 140

J

Jai 109, 118, 184, 210; Jai
116

Jaiṭi and other derivatives
of jar-, *see under* jar-

Jais 190, 209-10; -i 308; -ir
304; -en... taise 307;

-er 99, 301, 306, 322

Jau 311

Jaun 32, 131, 189-91; -i 190;
-ir 190; -u 320; -ui 319

Jagate 258

Jagar-, -i 311

Jatan 38

Jatanir 331; Jatarex 302

Janau 311

Janāhar 285; -ir 285

Janar 115, 131, 135; -er 72,
94-6, 115, 131, 135, 145,
154, 310, 322

Janar-, -ti 295; -tir 293

Janeru 72

Janwarer 132

Jab 60, 94, 96, 260, 265,
294, 299, 302, 317, 321-2;
-tab 303; -āsin 321;

- Añir 321; -Añũr 317;
 -Añõr 321; -IAu 317; -Aj
 302; -ñAen 321; -ñAj 302
JABARJASTIR 128
JABARB 8
JAMAR 36; -u 113
JAMUNA 118
JAMUNIR 41, 118
JAR-, -Ai 36; -i 112; 299;
 -ĩr 321
JALER 279, 302-3; —... **TALER**
 302
JALDIR 293, 301-2, 308, 317;
 -iu 317; -in 321
JAWAN 190; -kuchũ 207;
JAWNIR 190; *see* **JAUN**
JAS 209; —... **TAS** 306
JASHAR 330
JASHĀR 304-5, 322; -Ā...
 tahĀ 308
JAR-, -i 59, 83, 210, 251,
 268, 281, 284, 322, 329-
 31; -iti 85; -ib 28; -ijer
 199; -u 83, 199, 322; -ũ
 258, 311; -eu 270; -tar 6;
 ti 76, 85, 96-7, 126, 254,
 273, 275, 288, 295; -tiu
 254, 295; -tiũ 273; -tir
 126, 288; -tu 6; -n 284;
 -b 290, 294, 299, 329; -bũ
 283; **JA**-, -iatĩ 247;
 -ibar 310, 331; -iber
 284; -iñAĩ 190, 294;
 -iñAu 308; -waijar 286;
also see **JANAñAR**
JARG-, -Au 258; -i 299
JARDAR 144, 327
JARN-, -Ai 45; -At 207; -ar
 270; -i 294; -iti 274; -ir
 312; -eu 324; -er 250;
JANTEO 274
JARR-, -Au 126
JĀRGñ 32
Ji-, -Au 83; -Aũ 198; -Atĩ
 85, 220; -ar 82; -iti
 287; -er 82; -irtir 287;
 -irñAũ 287, 327
Jiu 109, 134
JINDAGIR 140
JIR 116, 134, 189, 190-1,
 261, 302, 304, 311; **ñAb**
 206; **jin** 189-90, 308-9;
jinñi 189-90; **jinñAi** 190;
Jen 190; **Jenñi** 190;
JJANñi 190; **JJAñi** 190
JIRT 119
JIRT-, -Au 127, -Anar 98;
 -Ab 323; -Ab **JARTAB** 323
JIRBñ 30, 35, 42, 110
JUĀR 36, 78
JULUM 36
JŪAR 69, 78
JUR 293
JURTAR 95, 258; -An 128
JURN 302-3
JURJ 140-1; -ir 140; -er 141
JETHARNIR 114
JETANAR 209-10; -rar 210;
 -rer 210; **JETRAR** 209;
JETRIR 210; **JETREX** 210

jen jen *see jir*

jeñar 304

jeñi 189-90, 311

jer 6, 190-91, 311, -keur
207

jerth 36, 114, 141

jonñaijar 40, 46; **jōdñai-**
jar 40, 72

jor 6, 127, 189-91, 254, 258,
320, 322; -**korir** 206;
-**korur** 207; -**tau** 311

jort 73

jorban 36

jorr 299, 324

jjanñi, jjanñi *see jir*

jñ

jñat 36; -**re** 307, 328, 330

jñar-, -**Ati** 330; -**er** 128

jñalerar 32

jñārjñ 32, 109

jñārp-, -**ai** 92; -**i** 329

jñīgowar 77; **jñīrgar** 32

jñiothari 250

t

tatuar 29

tapkar 261, 330

tarkai 273

tārg 30, 36

tipan 154

turt- 70; -**ai** 36

term 37, 72, 302

tēru 29

torpir 40

torbñ 30

th

thai 152, 155

thaitthar 96

thaur 31, 152, 155

thakurwar 129; **thakur-**
wai 129

thag 39; -**Aunar** 328; -**An**
329

thand 29; -**ñ** 38, 44, 109,
140

thandñharir 31

tharñijarwab 31

tharkur 37, 103; *see* **thA-**
kurwar

tharth 109

tharñi 97, 139; -**i** 67; -**er** 67

thir 152, 155

thirñar 68

therth 37

thors 54

q

qagar 128

qandqar (-**A**) 108, 127, 224

qaren 131, 135

qarkur 130, 294; **qakuar**
130; **qakuAn** 130

qarr- 37; -**Au** 126; -**Ab** 299;
-**i** 97, 99, 328; -**ini** 250;
-**isi** 299; -**ir** 330; -**eñ**
328; **qazi** 281; **qaribar**
97

qārtab 36

qārt 51

dā:rar 37
 dā:ru 131
 dārs 37
 diAti 48, 66; dijAti 48
 dibzir 110
 deurfi 155; -er 29
 debijar 29, 110
 derari 96-7
 dešariar (-A) 99; -jar (-A)
 92, 328
 deirfi 37, 72, 155 see deurfi
 dō:rig 37
 dorrar 37
 dorlu 86

dš

dšakulir 38
 dšir:th 38
 dšūir-, -Ai 284; -Ati 96
 dšūir:šA 38
 dšer 38, 97
 dšorar 83; dšorwar 31,
 38, 287
 dšorl 38, 295; -Ak 31, 103
 dšōrg 74

t

tA 89, 327; tē 311
 tAi 210
 tAis 190, 209; -i 308; -ir
 304; -er 99
 tAī 170, 229, 234; tĀj 169
 tAu 83, 89-90, 94, 99,
 127, 154, 198, 258, 261,
 265, 273, 280, 286, 299,
 311, 327-30

tAun 180, 189-90, 311; -ir
 190
 tAk 308; -u 308
 tAnar 98, 230, 303-7, 327
 tAni 307-9; -k 307; -kAi 128
 tAb 96, 99-100, 139, 260,
 265, 293-4, 302, 311, 317,
 321, 329; -Ašin 321;
 -Ašīr 321; -Ašūr 317;
 -Ašēr 321; -tAu 317;
 -šAi 302; -šAjen 321

tAmpcar 44

tAmarcar 258

tAmarsar 324

tarōwarri 89; tarwarri 89,
 329; -ir 92

tarar 194, 230, 306-7

tarer 304-5

tarkhAler 304

tAluk 308

tAler 279, 303

tAlphati 39

tAWAn 190; -en 190; -er
 190; tAWnir 190

tAs 209

tAšī 99, 301, 329

tAšāz 304; -Aū 317

tĀborlir 41

taru 69

tark 29

tart 38

tarr 311

tigunar 155

tin 180, 189-90; -š 189-90;
 -šAi 190

- tijāṛ 154; tijarīṛ 154
 tirAkīar 154
 tiranber 151; -ver 151
 tirarb 66
 tirarsir 150
 tirepan 149
 tireṣaṭh 149
 tirchar 32
 tirtarlis 148, 155
 tirpan 149
 tirsAṭhi 149
 tisArari(ko) 305
 tisArir 305; -kar 154; -kir
 154; tirsar 153, 156
 tiṣṭar 149; -i 149
 tir 180, 189-90, 301, 304
 tirj 68, 154
 tirn 38, 94, 146; -i 28, 94,
 146, 154
 tizr 96, 128, 228
 tirs 148
 tum 120, 131-2, 169-70, 198,
 210, 236, 247-50, 254,
 258, 260-1, 265, 270, 273-
 4, 276-7, 279, 295, 299,
 315, 320, 330-1; sab 206;
 -Arir 169, 327; -Arer
 169; -Aṣur 315; -Aṣer
 320; -ar 169-70, 215,
 330; -arri 169; -ā 169;
 -āArir 261; -āArer 210;
 -āser 229; -āarer 331
 turat 28; turto 69, 302-3
 tuṣi 169; -ir 320; -īṛ 320;
 -ūṛ 315; see *toi* and *twai*
- tur 169; tūr 120, 169-70,
 237, 250-1
 te 327, 331
 teuṣar 71
 tetanar 209-10
 tetarer 210
 tetar 209; -ir 210; -er 210
 ter 180, 190, 207; tenā 190
 teris 72, 147; teris 147
 terj 72
 terrā 147; -ar 72, 147;
 tjarar 147
 terl 71
 tērtarlis 72, 148; tērtarlis
 148
 tērtis 72, 148; tērtis 148
 toi 169; toṣāṭ(-āṣ) 169-70;
 toṣer 229; toṣar
 169-70; toṣur 315;
 toṣer 320; tōṣ 170; tor
 170; tor 6, 169-70, 215,
 324; torir 169; torer
 169; teir- 6; see *tuṣi*,
tur and *twai*
 tōrd 29, 109
 tjaṣi 190
 tjoṛ (from *hatjoṛ*) 254
 twai 169-70; -ī 169-70,
 237, 251; twar 169;
 also see *toi*
- th
- than 38
 thaparar 51; thaparar 39;
 thaparar 51

- thAbAiz 109
 thAmfiAra: 79; thĀbfiAra: 79; thĀbhōra: 30
 thArijar 38
 tharkul 103
 tharnerdarr 141
 tharfi 56
 thurkū 30; -u 80; thūrku 80
 thurthun 39
 thorrar 139, 328; -ir 139; -er 204
- d**
- dAur-, -Ab 39; -er 328;
 dAwAr 154
 dandar 103
 dApher 154
 dAresan 55
 dArkhar 152
 darwarjer(-e) 227
 dArozgār(-A) 97
 dAs 60, 96, 146, 299
 dAsmir 154
 dAsarwan 154, 229-30;
 dAfiarī: 154
 dAfiu 39, 56, 66, 109
 darī 134-5, 154; -ū 134, 154; dāzi 94, 131; dāru 69, 127; dārū 109, 131, 154
 dargAb 232
 dardar 327; dAddur 98
 darri 94-5
 dārt 38, 79
 diar(-A) 95, 108
 dikro 90
 din 85, 96, 99, 154, 210, 281
 difart 67
 duarrez 131-2, 136, 226
 dui 83; -u 315, 319; duir 319; duer 319
 duij 154
 dukarn 33, 227
 dugun 155; -ar 155
 dunijar (-A) 331
 dundir 69
 dundu 247
 durijari 142
 dulafiar 28; duloṣin 91, 99
 dusarkar 154; -ir 154
 duṣiAu 126
 durdfi 39, 61; -p 54, 127, 294, 327; -u 229
 durn 70; -Au 310, 315, 329; -ir 154
 durbar 41, 295
 durr 305; -i 205
 deukar 69, 83
 deutar 69, 92
 dewarri: 65, 71
 der 251-2, 285, 287; -ī 99, 328; -ir 3, 82, 99, 311, 328; -u 82, 95, 97, 126, 132, 141, 162, 190, 216, 284, 299, 310, 322, 329; -ū 258; -ti 288; -tir 288; -b 299, 324; dAi 282, 328; difar 94; difin 311, 327; difini 128-9, 329-30, difis 3, 328;

difiṣi 28, 95, 127, 162;
 difeū 141-2, 258, 311;
 difeū 169; difien 169;
 diffex 310; dirn 140,
 199, 252, 328; dirnfi 57,
 135, 252; dirnfosi 251;
 dewarl 285; djarfiAi
 265; djarfiAĩ 265;
 djarfiAu 265; djarfiAũ
 265

derkh- 268, 281; -Ai 204,
 257-8, 268, 284, 316, 320,
 323; -Aĩ 257-8; -Au 62,
 257, 268-9, 316; -Aũ
 257; -At 247, 272, 316-7,
 320, 322; -Ati 98, 249,
 257, 272, 274-7, 316,
 320; -An 257, 284; -Ab
 62, 162, 239, 257, 264,
 268, 289, 316, 320; -Abu
 283; -As 257, 268; -ar
 248, 250, 260, 316, 320;
 -iu 316; -it 247; -iti 247,
 272, 274-6; -in 320;
 -ini 248, 260, 278; -ib
 264; -isi 248-9, 260, 278,
 280; -ifi 260; -i 210, 281,
 316; -ir 248, 257, 260,
 264, 316, 320; -u 268;
 -ei 320; -eu 89, 248-9,
 260, 269-70, 316; -eũ 92,
 248-9, 260, 278, 316, 320;
 -en 132, 178, 248-51,
 260, 278, 280, 320; -es
 251; -efi 260; -efiũ 260;

-er 248, 250, 257, 260,
 264, 270, 278-80, 295,
 316, 320; -ẽr 259; -jar
 257; -nar 270; dekh-,
 -Aijar 285; -Atir 247;
 -Abai 320; -etAi 299,
 320; -etAu 316-7; -Atiu
 272, 274; -etiũ 272,
 -etin 272-3; -etifi 272;
 -etihĩ 272; -etifiũ 272;
 -etir 274-7; -etĩr 272-3;
 -etũ 272; -etur 272;
 -eteu 272; -eten 89,
 272; -eter 272; -etjar
 272; -etjir 272; -etjen
 272-3; -etjehũ 272;
 -etjẽfi 272; -obAi 264;
 -ober 264; -arinĩ 330;
 -areũ 294; -arti 294;
 -arti 95, 293; -arwati
 294; -arwab 289;
 -arwar 250; -iAi 257;
 -ibAi 320; -ibAu 316;
 -ibar 59, 62, 264, 316,
 320; -iber 264, 284;
 -ifiAi 264; -ifiAĩ 264;
 -ifiAu 264-5; -ifles 264;
 -ifiẽr 264

dexr 302-3

dẽrifi 54

dosArari(ke) 305; dosərazi
 61

dosArir 305

dor 146

dorxhũ 34

dornaz 39
dorsar 153, 156

dñ

dñaurab 39
dñau 78, 311
dñan 204
dñar- , -i 281; -i 94, 329;
-ir 95, 250; -er 98, 258;
-ti 127; -ti 322; -Ai 281;
-Ae 127
dñaram 51
dñarn 30, 39
dñijar 89; dñir 39
dñirmez 307
dñirrez 31, 307
dñuarrar 128
dñurm 40
dñerlar 59
dñor-; -Anq 83; -i 126; -eu
84; -er 83; -or 83; -watj
287; -wab 324; -wor
258; dño- , -utir 287;
-unar 83; -warir 30
dñorkhar 258
dñortir 274
dñorbiz 109, 111-2, 315,
319; -iu 315; -in 319;
dñobiawar 111

n

na 310, 327-8; -ñin 308;
-ñi 284; -ñir 308; -ñi
199, 274; no 126, 128,
141, 204-5, 247

nainuz 45, 70, 109
nair 83
nau 146, 315, 319; -i 319;
-wai 319
naumiz 154
nakhat 45, 63
nagic 305; nagixcer 305;
najak 305
nadriz 89, 91, 109-11, 130
nabrez 150, 315, 319; -ei
319; -eu 315; navrez 150
narau 302-3
nariar 45, 64-5, 110-11,
130, 154, 216, 315
nawarsir 150
nawar 154
nañ 56, 110, 128
nañar- 57; -b 45, 324
nar 308; -i 99, 310, 324;
-i tau 310; -ir 98-9, 127,
205, 210, 260, 274, 293,
295, 299, 300, 308, 327;
-j 308; -ñi 311; -ñi tau
310; -ñi: 247, 308
nar- , -or 258; -watj 287;
-war 287; nautir 287
naru 109, 116, 118
narur 61, 65, 70, 83, 109-11,
113, 130; -un 130; -unj
110, 113; naunijar 110;
nauwar 65, 95, 111;
nauwau 95
narū 130, 134, 331; -i
134-5; nāzi 131; nāzu
69; nāzū 109, 111, 131;

- nāūwar 111; nār^wAn 130
 narḡḡ-, -Ab 46; nārḡḡAi 35; nārḡḡAb 31
 narc 32, 324; -Ai 95
 nart 43
 narth 109
 narḡp 28, 110
 narḡar 91
 nikar-, -Au 132; -i 132; -er 331; nikar-, -Ai 331; -isḡ 329
 nikas-, -ī 331
 nikōḡar *see* nirk
 nit 302
 ninḡarḡAjer 151; ninḡarḡber 151; ninḡarḡver 151
 niḡar 281; -Ai 56; -Ab 64
 niḡurex 307
 nirk 29, 138-41, 145, 284, 308; -e 129; -iu 315; -in 319; -i 138-9, 315-6; nikōḡar 3
 nīḡd 108-9
 neiar 84, 87; neijar 71, 87
 neurar 43, 69, 71, 113
 newarḡAb 232
 newarḡi 71
 nēḡular 46
 nerrex 72, 305
 nork 109
 norn 46

p

 paī 227; -j 227
 paīḡhi 251
 pain 28, 128
 painḡAb 79; paīḡḡAb 79
 paisar 324
 pauar 87, -war 87, 155
 paun 155
 paugḡi 311
 pausarar 50
 pakar-, -eū 330-1; -en 330; -ti 127
 paḡḡar 92
 paḡolar 299
 pacars 54, 96, 149, 315; -An 315
 pacarsir 150; picḡarsir 150
 pacirs 91, 96, 147; paczirs 147
 pacer 154; parcer 154; parḡer 154
 pachatḡarḡ 150; picḡatḡar 150
 pachpan 149; parcarwan 149
 pachwāḡ 305
 parc 115, 119-20; -An 115
 parcarḡber 151; pac- 151; picḡarḡver 151
 parcimir 154
 parchar 44
 parḡar 44
 paḡḡawab 290
 paḡḡar 37
 paḡḡit 114; -arinḡ 114
 patḡar 33
 paturijar 28

- patorfi 56, 73
 pathoriz 58
 panarān 128
 panthir 43
 pandaraz 147; -pandrafi 147
 panseiriz 79; paseiriz 79
 panraz (-A) 299
 par 128, 226, 273, 279, 328; -ifiāz 226
 par-, -Ai 294, 311; -Ab 294, 299; -ar 131, 299, 317, 321; -ti 322
 paraū 302-3
 parart 28
 parar 204-5, 215; -ir 204; -er 204
 parerwar 72
 parorjanu 204
 parorisir 68, 73
 parkarl 99, 258
 pards 329
 parbir 42
 parazarini 114
 parfi-, -Ai 52, 284, 311; -Aijaz 286; -Ati 300; -ar 248; -ini 248; -ibar 265; -isi 248; -ir 248, 322; -eu 248; -eū 248; -en 248; -er 248, 280
 palokar 29; palkar 52, 88; palkijaz 130
 palraz 305; -er 305
 palfiar-, -wai 53; -wab 40, 57
 pasar- 40; pasarra 290
 pasijaz 54
 pasuriz 55
 pafiāz 221
 paficarn-, -Ai 56; pāfi-carni 32
 pafini 94; pafiri 94
 pafil 140, 153, 156; -er 301-3, 330
 pafunaz 69
 pafūc-, -Au 229; -i 95; -i jazū 95; -i jartiū (pafupjartiū) 273
 pāitarlis 148; pētarlirs 148
 pāitis 148; pētirz 148
 pātsathi 149; pētsath 149
 pācawāz 153; pācāz 153
 po 226, 329
 paru 131, 155
 park 33; -u 95
 parcher 32, 59, 302, 305
 partar 139-41; -i 139, 141
 partaz 28, 33, 127-8, 322; -ir 32, 40, 78
 parthar 30, 39
 pardir 32
 parnir 94, 109, 116, 140, 284, 289, 299, 331
 par 314, 319; sarl 302; -Ai 319; -Au 314; -Afur 314; -Afier 319
 parlkir 130
 parw-, -Ab 299; -ar 250; pariz 2, 131, 190, 250; pafilaū 299

pāru 129; -i 129; parī 135

pārkhīr 34

pārc 32, 97, 115, 120, 146,

153-4, 179; -o 97; -char

(pārnc̣har) 95; -ṭhaur

(pārṇṭhaur) 152; 95;

-sart (pārsart) 95

pāṛjar 36

pārtir 78

pāṛter 109, 114, 116, 130,

315, 319; -ei 319; -eu,

315, -en 130, 319

pārsī 67

pi-, -Ai 294; -Au 327; -Ab

324; -arisī 331; -ars 48;

-ir 82; -jāwarinī 290;

-inī 198; -jārinī 289; jārs

48; -jārsan 131; jārsen

131; -jārsen 327; pīr

94, 299; -pīrṇāṁ 327

piar 293; -arb 293; -eu

315; -en 319; -er 315,

319

piṭh 33

piṇḍir 87

pijar 40

pirarb 66

piḷowar 59

pisarn 91, 140

pījarar 66

pīrtisī 128

pīrṭh 33

pīrṭhar 68

pīrpar 28

pīrseṁ 58

puar 48, puwar 48

punri 45

puraniḥar 3, 143

purawar (-A) 329

purijar 51, 330

purich 40, 70; -Atī 261

purt 330-1; -ṇ 38

purs 55

perṭ 36, 40, 109, 111; -ṇ

284; peṭawar 111

perḷai 52

pori 59, 73

port 74

porṭhar 65, 74, 119

porṭhir 119

pōrchai 35

ph

phanger 44

pharṇhar 56

pharika 30

pharer 50

pharṛidar 42, 118

pharṛar 51

phal 40

phāsarwāb 77

phargun 40

phārd- 40

phin 302-3

phir 302; -ī 210, 330

phirark 220

phun 302-3

phurtir 302-3

phulaurir 49

phurṭ 40; -ī 295

phurḷan 128

phūrkaB 62; phūkibar 62
 pheɾɾar 154
 phērtar 41
 phoɾraB 30

b

baith- 41, 131, 251, 260;
 -Au 210, 310; -Ab 289,
 299; -arrab 289; -arrisj
 328; -i 251, 310; -ir 251;
 -eū 260, 299; -er 251,
 279
 baib 110
 baiaAwāɾ 153; baiaAĩɾ 153
 baunau 315
 baur 41, 64
 baurar 63
 bakerar 113, 119, 127; -ir
 113, 119
 bakir 311-2
 bakucar 33
 bakhāt 34, 273; -q 284
 bagiar 128; -jar 30
 bagfiawar 65
 bachawar 113, 119;
 bachijar 113, 119
 bajair 129, 261; -Ai 129,
 275, 310, 331; -i 41, 63,
 109, 115
 bajar-, -wai 284; -wabq
 232, 283; -wan 284; -er
 273; -Ai 300; -Aiber 284
 baɾuir 140
 baɾtar 45; -dɬiar 44
 bandurkh 61

baɾɟar 45
 batar-, -ini 94; -isi 311,
 330; -ub 264; -waū
 299; -watj 144; -war
 250; -iarb 294; -uarb
 294; -larb 294
 batarsar 103; batarchar
 103
 batris 148; batrirs 148
 badi 229
 ban 198, 333
 banar-, -i 330; -tar 332;
 -wai 99, 258; -wab 43,
 63; banaub 63; -ir 95
 banij 36
 banijar 113; banini 113
 bansir 43
 bapɾar 85, 93
 babruz 98
 bambar 87
 bajarlis 148; baiarlis
 148
 bajarsir 150
 barart 65, 132
 barer 229
 barorɟh 60
 baromɬar 44; barmɬar
 88
 barosai 129; bars (baras)
 114; 129; barsir 87;
 barsai 99
 barchir 85
 barti 87
 bardɬu 112
 barphir 87

- barwaṭ 87
 bars-, -Ab 55; -Ai 284
 baṛak-, -ar 143; -ir 143;
 -ijar 143; -war 143; -zar
 143; -zir 143; baṛkar 33
 baṛar 33, 112, 139-41, 143,
 154, 328; -ir 112, 139-41,
 143, 154; -er 61-2, 101,
 141, 143-4, 328
 bali 258
 baldir 88
 bas 85
 bas-, -Ab 55
 basto 139
 bastir 88
 baṣṭatrār 149; -i 149
 baṣṭatrīr 88
 baṣṭari 141
 baṣṭini 42, 63, 66-7, 91
 baṣṭirir 204
 baṣṭut 96, 113, 139, 144,
 198, 327
 baṣṭur-, -Aī 92, 99; -er 99
 baṣṭerrar 64
 bādarāwan 194
 bādīar 79; baṇṣīar 79
 bāsphoṛ 88
 bar 234, 249, 279
 bari 67
 baris 60, 91, 147, 153;
 baris 147
 bargh 35; -ṇ 41, 65
 barṭ-, -Ai 6, 234, 238, 249;
 -Āj 234; -er 36; -en
 234-5
 barjir 154
 bart 118, 128, 132, 254, 281,
 294, 324, 330
 bardar 224; -ṇ 29
 bardī 95, 139, 302-3
 bardh 109
 barnāber 151; barnāber
 151; barnājer 151;
 barnber 151; barnver
 151
 barp 28, 95, 329
 barph 30, 41, 110
 barbur 98
 barmān 41-2, 47, 64, 79;
 bārbān 42, 79;
 bamānan 128
 baxr 111, 154
 barr-, -Ai 319; -Au 126;
 -Atī 86; -ti 86
 barrāh 147; barrar 41,
 50, 65, 99, 147, 300, 315,
 319; barrāi 319; barrāu
 315
 barrar 135; -er 135
 barrur 70, 109, 116; -ui
 319; barrāu 315
 barṭ-, -Aj 238; -er 6
 barṭh 109; -Ai 52; -i 49
 barlir 52
 barlīr 86, 88, 308
 barwan 149
 barsaṭh 149; -i 149
 barsarāh 220
 barsu 118
 barṣer 304-5

- bārkaz** 33
bārt 281
bārti 3
bārdar 79
bārdi 30; -Ai 40; -Ab 30, 323; -Ab būrdiAb 323; **bārdiAi** 40; -i 95
bārs 110, 141
bārī 78, 110, 299
bəd 60
biar 66
biarī 254; **bijarīer** 132
bigar-, -i 129; -eu 322
birchir 68
biṭijar 28, 66, 220; -An 141
bithar 67
bidī 218, 230, 306
bintir 45
biṛawar (-A) 51, 127, 229, 333; -An 128; **biṛowar** 96, 143, 226
biṛāṣar 274
birkulri 307
bilāijar 110; **bilri** 110
bilarrir 51, 53
bisar- 41; -Ab 55
birtar 68
birn 67, 322
birs 58, 147, 152, 315; -Ak 315; -An 315; -ir 152
buar 83
bundar 43, 47
burar 198
buṛī- 41; -Ai 36; **buṛīar** 293
burt 114; -ar 114
buṛī 49, 52, 70, 139; -ar 111-2; -i 139; -ir 139; **buṛīawar** 113; **buṛīar** 111; **buṛījar** 113
būrd 70, 79; -ir 224; **būrn** 79
beuṣar 71
bejharir 99
beṭawar 251
berarm 48
berijar 154, 302
bernar 72
berri 154
berl 52, 72
bēwarir 71
bērt 71
bolar-, -eu 194; -or 143-4, 190; -wai 279; -wab 63; **balariwab** 63; **balariwar** 250
borkar 33
borl 324; -Ai 286; -ar 300; -ir 327; -eu 299; -er 100
bjar 331
bwakorau 199

bf
bfA- 251-2; -i 83, 128, 252, 281; -ir 252; -eu 270; -er 252, 302; -war 91, 252, 287; **bhar** 139, 250, 252, 311; **bher** 94, 252
bfAṣar 42; -i 55, 126; -ir 126-7

bhaujari: 68, -jaijan 129

bhagat 64

bhathiarar: 114; bhath-
ijarini 114; bhathijar-
ren 114

bhatorar 140

bhane 312

bhabrhar 42

bhar 199, 293; -ai 293;
-ai warlar: 285; -ab 284;
-i 281; -i 205, 281, 310,
328; -er (e) 154, 280-1;
-nerwarlar: 286

bhartar 91

bhalal: 52, 198

bhawarni: (-i) 92, 258

bhājab 32

bhārijar 92

bhariz 30, 42, 91, 95, 139,
198, 250, 324, 328; -i
328; -j 250; bhālar 84-5;

bhāijar 102

bharu 91, 109

bharg-, -au 268; -ati 96; -i
94, 327; -er 113

bharj-, -i 94, 97

bharthar 42

bhart 29, 109; -u 94-5

bhardaū 39

bharir: 139, 315, 319; -iu
315; -in 319

bhārg 30

bhārjar 91

bhārjar 56

bhāqdir 85

bhitar 331; -er 304; bhitrar
304; bhitrar 42, 68,
304-5

bhinaher 90

bhirkh 42

bhirjab 30

bhitrar see bhitrar

bhir 42, 113

bhit 42, 69

bhitrar 85

bhirkar 87

bhirjar 87

bhirkh 31, 109, 210; -an
131; -en 131

bhitir: 42, 49

bhinaher 90

bhirahir: 61, 78, 90, 92

bhirjan 99, 258

bhirir 76

m

mai 128, 162-3, 198, 248-50,
257-8, 260-1, 265, 268,
273-5, 278-80, 295,
299, 308, 311, 315, 317,
320, 324, 327-8, 330; -i
126-7; -hi 162-3, 330;
-hir 320; -hur 315;
-her 320; maj 162; mohi
(mwalhi) 163; mwalhi
199

mainar 113, 118

maihir 226-7

maukar 273; -er (e) 95

maut 38, 119

- maur** 64
mausir 69, 114; **-iar** 114
macar 328; **-or** 247
machorir 35, 127
majax 36; **-er** 224
majur 126
maqthar 31, 44
maqdir 29, 44
matlab 205; **-q** 198, 284
madarsai 131
manair 112, 141, 204, 261
manau 311
maner 311-2
mansawar 90
manserdixur 90; **manser-
rur** 90
mamarkhir 35, 46
mar-, **-au** 198; **-ab** 239;
-ar 248, 260, 278; **-i** 126,
169, 220; **-iu** 260, 278;
-iu 248, 260, 278; **-in** 248;
-is 251; **-i** 127, 129, 131,
162, 311, 322; **-ir** 248,
260, 278; **-ir** 248, 251,
260; **-eu** 248, 260, 278;
-eu 260, 278; **-en** 248, 260,
278; **-er** 248, 260, 278
marđ 216
marai 3
mañakati 128
mañā 227; **-iar** 213, 221;
-ijā 227
mañotarir 60, 95, 99, 258,
327, 330-1; **mahtarir**
60
mañotijar 89; **mahtijar** 89
mañinar 43
mañuar 56, 69
mañgatar ((-A) 127
mañjirar 67
maññilakir 154
maññoxlar 32
me 115, 127, 144, 154, 226,
247, 278, 294, 299, 302,
311, 323, 328-9
mar 134, 144-5, 210, 213,
227, 254, 311; **-ā** 227
marir 45-6, 79, 250
markhan 46
marchir 35
marñir 94, 140, 331
martar 331
marth 30; **-er** 59, 131
marn-, **-ati** 287; **-i** 46;
-ti 287; **manotiu** 89;
manotir 287; **mantiu**
89; **mantir** 287
marph 30
mar 324; **-au** 141, 184,
205; **-ab** 299; **-ati** 76;
-ar 185; **-in** 162; **-ini**
220; **-ib** 310; **-isi** 216;
-isi 162, 224; **-i** 96-7,
258, 299, 323; **-u** 118;
-q 190; **-eu** 127; **-eu**
127, 299; **-er** 99, 131,
229, 294, 328; **-ti** 76, 127
marçeu 96
marir 68, 112-3, 116; 119;
-ini 113, 119

marlā 110
 marsar 46, 55
 marā 56
 māṛgeu 126
 māṛjīl 154, 156
 māṛdar 39; -er 308
 miarnar 43
 miṭharir 140, 265
 miṭharb 293
 mircar 59, 66
 mil 273; -ab 299; -ar 299
 mirṭh 293
 mīṛjeū 32
 mukhijar 31
 muṛjī 224
 mudar 311-2; munar 311-2;
 mular 311-2
 mudrer 229
 murarur 48
 muṛi 56, 69; mūṛier 131
 murṭab 324
 murṣarṣ 51
 mūṛg 78, 109
 mūrj 32
 methaurir 30
 meṣaruar 90, 112, 127-8,
 141, 204-5, 221, 284, 308;
 -au 130; -an 205;
 meṣararur 90, 139,
 meṣararuai 130; meṣ-
 arur 140, meṣeruar
 43; meṣrarur 250;
 meṣruar 112; mēḍḍiar-
 rur 90
 meṣarḥ 56

merl 110
 merlar (-a) 113
 meṣorer 229
 mortir 118
 morim 43, 46, 110, 162, 299
 morr 6, 162-3, 215; -ir 258;
 -er 162; mwar 163
 morl 74
 mōrch 74

j

jA-, -i 185; -n 184; -nī 184;
 -ṣ 184, 320; -ṣai 320;
 -ṣāṭ 321; -ṣau 315;
 -ṣi 184, 320; -ṣu 47, 50,
 184, 315, 328; -ṣer 320;
 jar 184, 251, 268, 293,
 295, 303, 320, 327-9
 jark 146 *cf.* erk

r

rauā: 199; -wā: 199
 rakat 64
 rajiar *see* rajji
 rapc 307
 ranḍir 140
 rasarir 55
 rasir 114; -ir 114
 rasorir 73
 rastar 88; rastatir 88
 rāṣ-, -ai 96, 99, 127, 235,
 247, 250-1, 275, 279, 300,
 328; -āṭ 99, 113, 139,
 194, 205, 235, 250, 275;
 -au 235-6, 260-1, 275-6,

- 279; -Aū 235, 275, 278;
 -Ati 101; -An 204, 235,
 275; -Ab 224, 290;
 -Awāi 235; -Asi 250;
 -ar 60, 94, 235-6, 300,
 311, 322; -in 235; -is
 235-6; -isi 235; -i 230;
 -ir 140, 152, 235; -u 236,
 276, 279, 328; -eu 235-6,
 277; -eū 235, 260; -en
 235, 250-1; -er 141,
 235-6, 277, 280, 331;
 -ēr 250; -jar 235-6, 250
 rāhājar 56, 63
 rarut 65
 rarkhab 290
 rarij 32
 rarjar (-A) 36, 61, 96-7, 99,
 101, 115, 126, 132, 141,
 214, 250, 258, 315, 319,
 327, 330; -Ai 319; -Au
 315; -An 214
 rariji 109, 111, 139; rarijar
 111
 rart 250; -i 50
 rāiṛ -Ai 293
 rārdh -Ai 40
 rarnir 258, 327
 rarb 110
 rarm 60, 127, 141, 198,
 311; -u 289; -q 85
 rari 51
 rari 110
 risāfir 139
 rirri 49, 57, 110
 rīrdh -Ab 48 cf. rārdhAi
 rugus rugus 307
 rupaijar 152; rupajar 261;
 293, 299, 310, 322, 324,
 328
 rurir 83
 rursAi 85
 rer 126
 rerl 119
 rogihar 143
 rojke 117
 roxju 94-5, 99, 258
 roxtir 99, 210, 279, 284,
 299, 323, 328; urxtir 323
 rox, -wAi 198; -ubū 284
 rōiwāi 48
 I
 lai (Iai) 97, 229, 261, 274,
 281-2, 308, 323, 329-31
 laut-i 250
 laūjar 127; -jar (-A) 139,
 143-4, 190, 194, 210, 220,
 230; -jan 144
 lakarir 232, 293
 lag- 308; -ari 330; -areu
 198; -i 308; -er 217, 229;
 -waibar 92
 lagircer 305
 lajarb 232
 lanq 29, 109
 lambar 43, 138, 140-1; -ir
 139-41
 Iarikar (-A) 92, 97, 99, 113,
 127, 131, 139-41, 143-5,
 152, 178, 184, 199, 210,

- 220, 284, 299, 331; -**ai** 205; -**esi** 127; **lirn** 252;
 129; -**an** 128, 144, 178, **lirni** 252
 184-5; -**awar** 126, 194, **luṭarubā** 284
 230; -**inir** 113, 140; **luṭab** 49
barrar 131; **barrer** 131; **leṣṭegar** 30
laṭkix 327, 329; **laṭkix** **lex** 214, 251-2, 285, 287, 303;
 132; **laṭkijā** 132 -**ir** 94, 139, 311, 328; -**u**
laṭarir 128 126, 322, 329; -**ū** 299;
laṭbijar 119 **lewari** 285; -**tī** 288; -**tir**
laḥar 294; -**arb** 294 288; -**b** 299, 324; **ljarb**
laḥurax 56 327; **ljarḥau** 310
lāgorṭ 73 **lerkin** 311
lar 251; -**iū** 261; -**in** 250; **loiar** 84
 -**eu** 126, 308; -**o** 328; **loṭijar** 29, 330
 -**or** 284; -**war** 128 **loḥar** 56
larkh 52, 151 **lorḡ** 115, 119-20, 154; -**An**
larg 139, 251, 299; -**at** 284; 115
 -**ab** 299; -**ar** 251; -**isū** **lorṭar** 140
 251; -**i** 67, 251, 327; -**ir** **lorṇ** 43, 293; -**ū** 99; **lonarb**
 251; -**ir** 139, 329; -**en** 232, 293
 251; -**er** 67 **lorḥi** 73
larj 52, 109, 116 **lōṛdar** 49
larṭhir 52, 141
lardī 94
larjak 139
larṭ 78
larl 139, 315, 319; -**ai** 319; **w**
 -**au** 315 **wai** 178-9, 251; -**j** 250-1;
larlar 113; **lalaxin** 114; **wan** 179 *cf.* **ui** and **un**
lalaxini 113 **wais** 209; -**i** 210; -**ir** 304;
lārb 141 -**en** 307; -**er** 306
lāṛṭ 78 **wakirl** 115
likh-, -**ar** 221; -**i** 299 **wantis** *see* **onātris**
liḥ- 251; -**ini** 329; -**isi** 96; **was** 209, 306
 -**isi** 94; -**eū** 54, 59; -**en** **wah** 178-9, 315, 320; -**ai**
 320, 330; -**au** 315; -**i**
 178, 224; -**ir** 320; -**u**
 48, 50, 178, 315; -**er** 320;

- war 132, 178-9, 248-50,
 254, 308, 315, 320, 323,
 329-30; wof 214, wof 1
 178; wor 178-9
 waf 129 229-30
 warr 48, 304-5, 328
 war 324
 wot 210; -er 210
- a
- sai 131, 135, 151
 saigar 144, 307; -i 140
 sain 43
 saiti 96
 saitis 148
 sau 131, 151
 saupab 69
 sak-, -ati-, -atiu 274, 308;
 -ab 299; -iti 274
 sagar 92
 sankar 44
 sankh 44-5
 sangh 33, 87, 229; -atir 44
 sapghar (-a) 44, 99
 sapghil 154, 156
 satof 150
 satrar 149; -i 50, 149
 satrarar 50, 147; satrarar
 147; satrar 147
 satar-, -wai 79; -wab 64
 sater 154
 satraris 147, 150
 satrarber 151; satrar-
 nver 151; santarber
 151
- satrarwan 149
 satraris 150; sataris 150
 satrimir 154
 sathatrar 150
 saners 79
 santir 229-30
 sandurkh 31, 91
 sapener 132
 sapert 139
 saphar 30, 41
 sab 96, 99, 129, 144-5, 154,
 162, 170, 179, 205-6, 214,
 217, 281, 302; -ai 205-6,
 280; -an 145; kuchau
 207; keur 162; korir
 206; -rai 205; -raj 205
 saberr 99
 samai 140; -u 302; -j 302
 samarath 51
 samarer 46, 132, 230-1
 sambair 48
 sarapjarm 132
 sarofajai 139
 sarmar- 251; -ti 296; -n
 251; -nar 251; -ni 251;
 -ne 295; -wat 296;
 -war 287
 sarsath 149; -i 149
 sawaijar 155
 sawati 48, 50, 55
 sawaru 155
 sawarir 113
 sasur 55
 sahan 56
 sahar 286, 308

sāḥenarī 68
 sākiar 111
 sājḥilakī 154
 sāders 79 *cf.* saners
 saritī 301-2, 308-9; -i 302
 sarir 78
 sarīr 55; sārir 78
 sarkh 109
 sargū 94
 sarjḥar 91
 sarḥ 149; -i 149, 315, 319;
 -ia 315; -ik 315, 318;
 -in 319
 sart 28, 38, 94-5, 146; -au
 328; satawār 154;
 sataīr 154
 sarḥ 30, 96, 229; -ū 64;
 -er 220, 229
 sarḥir 39
 sardḥur 91, 113; -in 311;
 -inī 113
 sarn -, -inī 94; -ir 140
 sarb 206
 sarmarn 194
 sar 55, 97, 110
 sarḥier 52
 sarwan 55
 sarfi 54
 sarḥeb 154
 sārī 111
 sārcū 35, 97
 sārijī 32, 36, 109; -ī 76
 sārp 40, 80, 96, 110, 113,
 129-30, 132-3, 250; -an
 130; -ū 69, 76, 129, 132-3
 F. 71

sārī 109; -ū 76
 sārwar 55
 sārs 55, 110
 sijar 64
 sirāḥaner 92
 siḥarḥ 56
 sīab 66
 sirḥ 38, 68
 sirḥir 49
 sir 68
 sīrg 55, 109, 130; -an 130
 sīrc-, -ab 62; sīcibar 33, 62
 suar 69, 114, 119; -ir 114
 suar 69, 111, 113, 118;
 -anar 111
 sukhajeū 61
 sukhderu 111; -eunar 111
 sun- 311; -ai 69, 284; -au
 103; -ab 45; -arḥ 298; -i
 45, 171, 182, 201, 207, 243,
 263, 296-7, 326; -ti 45
 superd 40
 sur 55, 69
 surir 70
 surkh 34, 141; -ir 141; -er 141
 surjḥab 32
 sūrgḥiū 31
 sūrī 55
 se 59, 194, 198, 205, 312;
 -i 320; -u 316; -e 126-8,
 210, 214, 258, 260, 273,
 284, 289, 299, 308, 316,
 320, 327, 330-1, 333; ser
 96, 144, 198, 204-5, 273,
 295, 308, 316, 320, 330

setuar 55
 serAur 111-2; -war 111-2
 serar- 71; -b 68
 sewardn 294
 sewarr 71
 seholar- 71
 serJ 71, 109
 serthi 67, 109, 112, 115,
 315, 319; -iu 315; -in
 319
 sermir 43, 79; sērbir 79
 sērkai 99
 sērti 54
 sērdfi 72; -i 30
 sonarr 114; -ini 114
 sorefiir 60
 sofiarg 72
 sofiarab 56
 sofiararwab 72
 sor 179-80, 189-90, 328
 sor-, -i 311, 323; -isari 323;
 -wau 258; -wati 287;
 -war 48, 287; -wor 256;
 soutir 287; sowarisij 92
 sorJfi 274
 sort 55
 sorn 73, 109; -n 69
 sorrafi 54; -ar 55, 147;
 -s 155; sorlafi 147;
 swarrar 147
 sorrir 73, 114, 119
 sōxcati 62; sōcibar 62
 sōrthi 78
 sōrdfi 73
 sēetarlirs 148

sēetirs 148
 so 151
 swārtar 140

h

ha-, -i 6, 56, 95, 97-8, 115,
 126-8, 140-1, 144-5, 152,
 154, 194, 204, 226, 232,
 234, 247-51, 274, 278-9,
 281, 284, 293, 295, 308,
 310, 322, 328-30; -i 98,
 101, 113, 126, 128, 131,
 140-1, 144, 154, 184, 204,
 210, 220, 234, 247, 249,
 274, 299, 300, 308, 311,
 333; -u 98, 234, 247-8,
 254, 274, 278, 293, 320,
 327; -ū 234, 248-9, 257,
 274, 278, 299, 320; -tai
 3; -tar 3, 235; -tiu 254;
 -tir 3, 235; -tīr 254;
 -ten 254; -ter 235; -tjor
 254; -n 234, 247-8, 274,
 278; -wai 234; -waī
 234; -wao 234; -s 234;
 -si 234; hāī 115; -hāw
 234
 hagab 324
 hajarr 151; hazar 151
 hajurr 36
 hanar- 57
 hanrar 112-3; -ir 112
 ham 54, 56, 97, 100, 115,
 120, 126-7, 131-2, 140,
 154, 162-3, 185, 198,

204-5, 210, 224, 247-51,
265, 273-4, 279, 284,
299, 310, 311, 315, 321,
327-9, 331; -Ai 162-3,
-Ariz 162; -Arer 6, 134,
162, 210, 230, 247, 329;
-Afiiz 320; -Afiuz 315;
-Afiien 321; -Afiier 320-1;
-eriz 229; erer 131-2,
229, 299; -ar 6, 134,
140, 162-3, 215, 250, 299,
330; -ariz 162, 210;
-arrex 6; sab 206; -fi
162; -fiarr 162; -rai
162

har 85

harar 293

hari 331

haria 322

haria 294

hardir 39, 56

hal:ar 328

hās 281; -Ab 289; -Ab hūsAb

323; -AwarwAb 289;

-i 281; -eu 97

harthir 313; -iu 313; -in

313; hathinir 113;

hārthir 113, 324

harthū 76; hārth 56, 109,
118

harr 110, 328

harrir 127

haru 118

harlati 287; harlti 287

harlix 307

hāz 102, 279, 308

hārkir 194

hāzphAb 41

hāz 49, 109

hāziz 56

hiāz 97, 204, 221, 273-4,

299, 304, 327; hījāz 224

hijaz 66

hisar 97

hīz 78; -e 78

huāz (-A) 54, 194, 204, 260,

299, 304, 310, 322;

hūaz (-A) 273, 327-9

hū 324

hūzthar 37

heerAb, hurAb 323

hore 116

hor- 60, 236, 251; -i 56, 83,

139, 207, 235-6, 240, 284,

286, 328; -it 237; -iti

236, 277; -ib 235; -is

236; -i 311; -ir 234, 276;

-u 83, 236; -ū 250; -eu

236, 270; -eū 236; -er

236; -t 111, 237; -tiu

236-7, 251, 277, 280;

-tiū 277, 280; -tis 237;

-ti 128, 236, 277, 280;

-tir 288; -tīz 236-7, 277,

280; -tuz 237; -teu 237,

250-1; -teū 236-7; -ten

236, 277, 280; -tex 236-7;

-tēz 237; -tjar 237; -b

235; -bAi 235-6; -bū 232,

283; -bor 236; -bjaz

236; -jar 236; -war 236; -iflāũ 235, 265, 276;
ho-, -ibāi 235; -ibar -ifles 236; hōiflāĩ 236;
235, 276, 279; -iflāi ·hwaru 236; hwaris 236;
235; -iflāĩ 141, 235, hōrth 109
276; -iflāu 235, 276;

13

Readers may kindly make the following corrections :

<i>Page</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
6	jartar jartu	jartar jartu
12 (7th line)	Awadhī	Awadhī
19 (4th line from bottom)	here all specimens	here are all specimens
32	Jñālorar	Jñālorar
35	nāṛghai gh̃t̃uar aṇcala	nāṛghai gh̃t̃uar aṇcala
42	chabbis garbhini bñabbñar	chabris garbhini bñabñar
43	sermi	sermir
46	samaheṛ	samaheṛ
49	Arññir	Arññir
51	dharam rh	dñaram rñ
52	bñalar	bñalar
53	palharwai	palñarwai
55	srāvāṇa	śrāvāṇa
56	loharr muh mañhuar niñarrai	loñarr muñ mañhuar niñarrai
57	-ai	-ai
60	soroh̃r	soroh̃r
64	Añisarṇṇ	Añisarṇṇ
66	ghiu āhhīra	ghiu ābhīra
67	uddim	udñim

<i>Page</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
68	bñaujuriz	bñaujariz
69	sɣnoti	sɣnoti
	mañuar	mañuar
	tāru	taru
76	jārti	jarti
78	ĩngur	ĩngur
79	paseriz	paseriz
85	bar/chir	bar/chir
90	bñinañer	bñinañer
98	babbur	babrur
	kallur	kallur
	daddur	dadrur
	kakkur	kakrur
	bappaz	bapraz
	kakkaz	kakraz
99	dulñin	duloñin
109	ghui	gñui
113	bñargre	bñargrer
119	laññijaz	laññijaz
126	qairau	qairau
127	mestaruaz	mestaruaz
	larikaz	larikaz
130	nārun	narun
	kañarəwai	kañarəwai
	mestəruai	mestəruai
131	baith	baith
132	saranjarmə	saranjarmə
135	namani	nāmāni
139	riññi	riññi
140	kajugəñiz	kajugəñiz
141	sukhe	sukher
146	yark	jark
148	ontarlis	ontarlis
	uncars, oncars	upcars, opcars

<i>Page</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
150	sAtarsi	sAtarsiz
151	ekkAnɹAjeɹ	ekɹAnɹAjeɹ
152	paɹŋthAur	paɹŋthAur
154	sAtAĩɹ	sAtAĩɹ
155	guncarlizs	guncarlizs
159	driṣṭi	driṣṭi
163	§ 237	§ 236
184	yaɹ, yaŋ	jaɹ, jaŋ
	janŋ	janŋ
185	larikan	larikan
	yai	jai
191	jən	jəna
210	lAũɹija	lAũɹijaɹ
222	satasaũcarhai	satasaũcarhai
237	tvAĩ	twAĩ
250	kaiser	kaiser
	dhAriɹ	dɦAriɹ
260	derkheh	derkheɦ
	derkhih	derkhiɦ
	derkheh	derkheɦ
262	paricārika	paricārikā
273	pAɦuŋjartiũ	pAɦupjartiũ
276	dekhotiɹhoiɦAũ	dekhotiɹhoi- ɦAũ
277	dekhotiɹhortĩ	dekhotiɹhortĩɹ
280	derkheɹ hoten	derkheɹhorten
	derkheɹhotiu	derkheɹhortiu
281	niharrkai	niharrkai
287	sowAti	soɹwatĩ
293	buɹɦarɓ	buɹɦarɓ
299	atremo	etremo
304	kerkAitĩɹ	kerkAitĩɹ
305	nAɹjik	nAɹjik
	saũɦa	saũɦa

• ERRATA

4

Page	For	Read
308	kāṣṭhako	kāṣṭhako
315	karijau	karijau
316	dekhāb	derkhāb
	dekhiu	derkhiu
	urdekhībau kariṛ	urdekhībau kariṛ
320	tuhir	tufir
	dekhei	derkhei
331	bhitār	bhitār

✓
410 → 409

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